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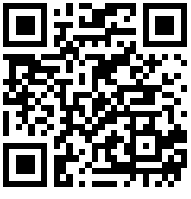

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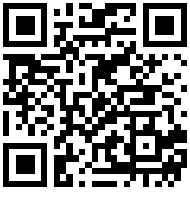

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THE MODERN LANGUAGE REVIEW

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL EDITED FOR THE MODERN HUMANITIES RESEARCH ASSOCIATION

BY

J. G. ROBERTSON

CHARLES J. SISSON

AND

EDMUND G. GARDNER

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THE TEXT OF 'PIERS PLOWMAN'

IN the *Modern Language Review*, twenty-two years ago[1], we submitted some suggestions upon the A-text of *Piers Plowman*, promising a continuation in the future. We now submit our continuation.

Our work during these intervening twenty-two years has more and more shown us how closely related are the problems of the three texts, A, B, and C, and how impossible it is to reach final results upon any one of them without the fullest consideration of the others.

It is this which must be our chief excuse for the long delay in bringing out our A-text. We had to face much more than the task of collating, classifying and weighing the readings of fifteen A-MSS. We soon found that in a great many passages, before the text of A could be fixed, it was necessary to fix the text of B. This sounds a paradoxical conclusion, but we think it cannot be avoided by any one who long studies the problems of the three texts. Dr Knott, who worked at the task quite independently of us, and who brought out his very valuable results in *Modern Philology* in 1915, was likewise impressed with the value of B in fixing A[2].

I. THE ARCHETYPAL MANUSCRIPTS.

Whether or no B was the same man as A, he used as his basis a manuscript of A much better than any A-MS. now extant[3]. And this is not surprising. Every extant A-MS. is later (and all but one are much later) than the date when B was working on the A-text. The fact that B's MS. was earlier than any A-MS. now extant does not necessarily mean that it was better; but age establishes a presumption[4] of superiority in MSS., and the presumption in this case is justified.

Moreover, this MS. was, so far as we have been able to find, quite independent of the different groups into which extant A-MSS. fall. (Here again it is worth noting that we arrive at the same conclusion as Dr Knott, working independently.)

We even found passages—although very few—in which the archetype

[1] *The Text of* Piers Plowman. *I. The A-Text*, in *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, IV, 1909, pp. 357–89.

[2] *Modern Philology*, XII, p. 149 (409).

[3] We use the letters A, B, and C both for the texts, and for the authors of the texts, without prejudice to the question of single or multiple authorship. A 1 we use for A, passus I–VIII; A 2 for A, passus IX–XII (*Vita de dowel, dobet and dobest*), again without prejudice.

[4] Westcott and Hort, *The New Testament*, Introduction, 1881, p. 33.

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of all our extant A-MSS. seems to have been obscured, but where B seems to have had the correct reading before him.

But there were other passages where we turned to B for help to hold the balance between the conflicting evidence of the A-MSS., and found that the evidence of the B-MSS. themselves was divided. Whilst the fixing of a complete B-text was a task which could be deferred, it therefore became urgent to get at any rate a clear idea of the value of the B-MSS., and to fix the text of B in a large number of crucial passages where it was needed to help in fixing the text of A.

In this investigation we have received the very greatest help from our former student and present colleague, Mrs Blackman. Much of her work is still unprinted, but a long and most important contribution on the B-text appeared in 1918[1]. Printed or unprinted, all Mrs Blackman's collations have been most generously placed at our disposal; they have been an essential foundation of our work on the A-text.

But here again precisely the same problem was found. Exactly as A cannot be fixed without reference to B, so B cannot be fixed without reference to C. For C, whether or no he was the same man as B, had access to an excellent MS. of B. He treated it very freely, and omitted much; so that constantly, and sometimes for long stretches, C's MS. of B can no longer be traced; C has substituted his own paraphrase. But when this MS. *can* be traced, in those lines or half lines which C was content to take over without alteration from B, it is often better than any extant B-MS.

But more than that. The MS. of B to which C had access gives what is obviously the correct reading in certain cases where *all* the extant B-MSS. go wrong.

Whatever the cause may have been, there is one significant fact which cannot be overlooked by students of *Piers Plowman*—the extant evidence suggests that the writer of the C-text worked from a B-text MS. which, in certain respects, was better than the ancestor of the extant B-text MSS.[2]

Mrs Blackman has made a collection of instances: four are printed by her in her article mentioned above[3], and a very much longer list will be found in the typescript of a thesis she submitted to the University of London in 1914, a copy of which can be consulted in the University Library[4].

To these we may add a few examples of our own, by way of illustration, and supplementary to some examples we gave twenty years ago[5].

[1] *Journ. of English and Germanic Philology*, XVII, pp. 489–545.
[2] See E. Blackman, *Notes on B-text MSS. of* Piers Plowman, in *Journ. of English and Germanic Philology*, XVII, p. 530.
[3] Pp. 518–19.
[4] *A Preliminary Investigation of the Pedigree of the B-text MSS. of* Piers Plowman, pp. 77–87.
[5] *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, V, p. 27.

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(*a*) Robin the Roper as Umpire.

In the alehouse which Glutton frequented there was a disputed point which the company were unable, by their conscience, to settle; as the A-text tells us:

> Þei couþe not be here consience · acorden togidere
> Til Robyn þe ropere · was red to arisen
> And nempnide (hym)[1] for a noumpere · þat no debate nere. (v, 175–7.)

'They could not agree, till Robin the Roper was counselled to arise and named for an umpire (or, as other MSS. make it, and [they] named him for an umpire), so that there should be no dispute.'

This gives quite straightforward sense: but in the B-text it becomes unintelligible:

> Þei couth nouȝte bi her conscience · acorden in treuthe
> Tyl Robyn þe ropere · arose bi þe southe
> And nempned hym for a noumpere · þat no debate nere. (v, 335–7.)

Here there are two difficulties:

(1) How can a man 'arise by the South'? The North was Lucifer's region: does a man 'arise by the South' as a protest that he is on the side of the Angels? 'By the South' cannot be a miswriting for 'by the sooth' since the MSS. agree, with remarkable unanimity, upon the spelling 'south.' Besides, whatever the faults of our B-poet, it is not his habit to use expletives idly. No asseveration is needed. Barbour can write:

> Thom Dicson wes his name, perfay,

but the B-poet would not protest 'by the sooth' that a man rose from his seat in an alehouse.

(2) And finally, even if we regard 'south' as a form of 'sooth', it does not remove the real difficulty, which is that, in the text as revised by B, it would appear that Robin arose and *named himself* for an umpire: for, with the verb 'arose' intervening, it becomes impossible now to make *nempned* refer to *þei*. But the essence of an umpire is that he must be the arbitrator accepted by all parties. Even in Glutton's alehouse Robin would not be permitted to arise and nominate *himself*: it was a rough house, and the result would probably have been awkward for Robin.

The passage, clear in A, has in B become extraordinarily difficult. Skeat gives no explanation. Yet, during the sixty and more years since Skeat published his small B-text for the use of schools and colleges in 1869, the passage must have been read in classes all over the world, many thousands of times. We wonder in how many classes there was a student

[1] him *is found in* TH_2EHKL; *omitted by* RUDVJAMN; hem W.

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sufficiently wide-awake to ask 'What does *by the South* mean?', or a teacher honest enough to reply, 'I don't know.'

In the case of three of the sixteen B-MSS. a scribe has attempted to meet the difficulty. One MS.[1] has altered *Southe* into *sothe*: this is only a superficial improvement, for, as we have seen, it still leaves Robin standing up as umpire of his own mere motion, which cannot be. With more intelligence another scribe[2] has altered *arose bi the South* to *was reysed fram his sete*: this meets the difficulty. In a third case[3] the scribe has had access to an A-text, and has corrected the passage from the A-text, reading:

Til robyn þe roper was red for to ryse.

The explanation is found when we turn to the C-text:

Þei couthe nouht by here conscience · a-corde for treuthe
Tyl Robyn þe ropere · aryse þei bysouhte
And nempned hym a nompeyr · þat no debate were. (VII, 386–8.)

The B-reading, then, is a corruption[4] of the C-reading 'besought' (in the form *bysouthe*):

aryse þei by southe
arose by þe southe.

(*b*) Some other places where C is textually superior to B.

Now this is not an isolated example: it is a fact which we have to reckon with constantly in comparing the B- and the C-texts. *How* frequent it is, will be seen from the following four examples, which are all chosen from a single passage of 130 lines.

(1) B. XIX, 178–80.

Christ, before His ascension, entrusts to Peter power of remitting sins:

And ȝaf Pieres power · and pardoun he graunted
To alle manere men · mercy & forȝyfnes,
Hym myȝte men to assoile · of alle manere synnes.

However difficult this reading may be, there is no doubt that it was the reading of the archetype from which the B-MSS. are derived. These MSS. are divided into three great families, λ, ω and τ. The text as given above is the reading of the λ family, for it is found in L and M (R is missing

[1] MS. Brit. Mus., Addl. 35287, formerly Ashburnham, 129 (M).

[2] MS. 201, Corpus Christi College, Oxford (F). This smoothing away of the difficulty is characteristic of the Corpus MS. See below.

[3] MS. HM. 114, Huntington Library (Ht), formerly Phillipps, 8252. We are indebted to Mr R. B. Haselden for information about, and collations from, the Huntington MSS.

[4] It is noteworthy that one B-MS. (R) reads *arise þe southe*. This might be regarded as showing a stage of the corruption not quite completed. More probably it is due to C-contamination, from which R is not free.

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here[1], so these two give the reading of the family). In the ω family, it is the reading of C and O, and the other MSS. are, as we shall see, divided among themselves. In the τ family it is read by W and Cr, which give us the reading of their small but highly important family.

The dissentient MSS. vary among themselves. Bm, Cot and B are three MSS. all so closely connected that they are practically one. The original from which they derive their readings had tried to make sense by altering *Hym myȝte men to assoile* into *he myȝte men asoyle*. The Huntington MS. (HM. 128) has the same reading. This gives reasonable sense, but it cannot be the original reading. For if it were, it would be inexplicable that it should be confined to so few MSS., whilst the unintelligible reading *Hym myȝte* is found in all the families.

Other MSS. in the ω family have tried to make sense by rewriting the half line: *His myȝth mowe men asoile* (C_2); *His power myȝte men assoile* (Y); *hys myght may men assoyle* (G_1). But, for the same reason, these cannot be the original reading of the archetype.

Skeat had collated Y and B, and consequently knew of these readings; but he is quite right when he says, 'These two readings are simpler, yet probably not genuine.'

He might have said 'certainly not genuine.' The passage is interesting as illustrating the principles upon which we have to go in reconstructing our archetype. It is not a question of counting individual MSS. in support of this reading or that, but of counting families. All three families, in whole or in part, support the difficult reading. The simpler readings are supported only by individual MSS. or groups.

Then, further, we must apply the principle of examining which reading might most easily grow out of the other. The more difficult reading is likely to be the more original. Starting from the difficult reading *Hym myȝte*, we can see how the different MSS. try to make sense of it in different ways. But if either of the simpler readings had been in the archetype, it would be hardly possible to account for the difficult reading having won such vogue.

Finally, let us turn to MS. Ht (HM. 114, Huntington Library, formerly Phillipps, 8252)[2]. This is a B-MS. interpolated from a C-text—in fact part of it *is* a C-text. It makes sense of the passage by prefixing *ȝave*—

[1] Eight leaves have been lost here. The other MS. of this family, the corrupt and sophisticated Corpus (F), has altered *Hym myȝte* to *& power*, thereby smoothing out the difficulty. But this is an individual correction, and does not give even the reading of the family, still less that of the B-text.

[2] Described by Skeat in the Preface to his C-text, p. xix. Skeat placed it there, not because he regarded it as on the whole a C-MS. but because he had not known of it when he wrote his Preface to the B-text.

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ȝave hym myght. And this is, in fact, the reading of the C-text, in which everything is clear:

> And ȝaf Peers power · and pardon he grauntede
> To alle manere of men · mercy and forȝyuenesse,
> And ȝaf hym myghte to asoylye men · of alle manere synnes.
> (XXII, 183–5.)

The reading of C is, then, the correct and original one. The words *And ȝaf* had dropped out of the archetype of all the extant B-MSS. and hence are missing in all the families derived from it. Individual B-MSS. or small groups have tried to make sense in their own way. One only has the correct reading, and as this MS. is heavily interpolated from a C-text, it is to be assumed that the correct reading has been interpolated back into this B-MS. by 'contamination' from a C-MS.

(2) B. XIX, 231.

Grace distributes different gifts amongst all manner of men, by which they can earn their living:

> And some he lered to laboure · a lele lyf and a trewe.

This is the reading of all the B-MSS.[1] except one, and it is unimpeachable in itself; but when we turn to the C-text, no one can doubt that it is that text which gives us the original reading:

> And somme he lerede to laboure · a londe and a watere
> And lyue by that labour · a leel lyf and a trewe.

We can see how the shorter B-reading has grown out of the reading of the C-text. The two half lines have been missed out, because of the double occurrence of the word *labour*. The scribe has written as far as the first *labour*, and on glancing back to his copy his eye has caught the second *labour*, and so the intervening words have been omitted. That, as everyone knows, is one of the very commonest causes of error in transcription.

The one B-MS. which gives this passage in the full form (found otherwise only in the C-text) is Corpus (F). Corpus shows the work of an intelligent but unfaithful scribe, who is trying to improve upon the original he finds before him. In this case, textual history makes it easier to suppose that the scribe improved his manuscript by comparing it with a C-text, than that he inherited the correct reading from the B-text he was copying.

[1] R wanting. Otherwise only slight variations, like *trewe* for *a trewe*.

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(3) B. XIX, 275.

The spirit of prudence has taught men foresight, and to adapt means to ends:

> And lerned men a ladel bugge · with a longe stele
> That cast for to kepe a crokke · and saue the fatte abouen.

That is: 'and taught men to buy a ladle with a long handle, whoever intends to keep a pot, and save the fat above (i.e. floating on the top).' The phrase is 'to *keel* the pot and save the fat[1]': the pot is 'keeled' or cooled by stirring it with the ladle. But, the poet says, it is no good setting out to buy your ladle when the pot is on the point of boiling over; foresight dictates that the ladle should be bought beforehand, by those who intend to 'keel' a pot. Not *kepe*, but *kele*, is the word we want, *and it is the reading of the C-text*. But all[2] the MSS. of the B-text have *kepe*; the error was, then, in the archetype.

(4) B. XIX, 310–11.

Piers sows the four seeds of the Four Cardinal Virtues. But commonly weeds choke the fruit of the field where they grow together:

> And so don vices · vertues worthy.
> Quod Piers 'harweth alle that kunneth kynde wit · bi conseille of this doctours.'

The adjective *worthy* seems a feeble padding out of the line—of course virtues are worthy. Then the next sentence begins suddenly, and gives us a line much too long: Piers' words alone are all that an alliterative line can carry, *Quod Piers* is hypermetric. We have only to turn to the C-text to be sure that we have there got the original reading. Weeds choke the fruit of the field:

> And so doth vices vertues · 'and for-thi,' quath Peers,
> 'Harweth alle that conneth kynde wit · by counsail of theose doctours.'

But the curious blunder which has turned *for-þi* into *worþi*, and confused the arrangement of the lines, is found in all extant B-MSS.[3]

DEDUCTIONS FROM THESE EXAMPLES.

These five examples must suffice for the moment: three of them are typical of a number of important cases where we can prove that a reading, although found in *all* the extant B-MSS., cannot really have been the reading of the original B-text, *but is a blunder which had crept into the*

[1] See the *New English Dictionary*, under *keel*, where a quotation is given from *What You Will*: 'Faith, Doricus, thy brain boils; keel it, keel it, or all the fat's in the fire.'

[2] R has eight leaves missing here. All the rest read *kepe*.

[3] RO are missing here. The remaining fourteen all have the reading as given in Skeat's B-text. Corpus (F) pads out the line by adding *fayre*: 'worthy fayre vertues.'

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archetype of all extant B-MSS., yet from which the B-MS. used in the preparation of the C-text was free.

The two other examples probably also belong to this class; in each case one B-MS. gives the correct reading otherwise limited to C-MSS., but this is probably due to the scribe having corrected his original by comparison with a C-MS. There are, however, many cases where, though most B-MSS. go wrong, one or two of them have inherited the correct reading.

Now it must always be remembered that for one case in which we can *prove* a reading erroneous, there will be many instances of erroneous readings which we cannot prove to be so: because it is only a small percentage of blunders which are so obviously blunders as to be incapable of defence. To assume otherwise is as if we should assume that a pickpocket has picked no pockets except those for picking which he has done time. When we find four such indisputable examples within the space of 130 lines, we may suspect that the MSS. of B agree in a very large number of errors and deviations from the author's manuscript. Mrs Blackman has made a list of some seventy cases where *all* the B-MSS. go wrong, and a much longer list of cases where the great majority of B-MSS., including Laud 581, go wrong; in either event the wrong reading has found its way into Skeat's B-text. In all these instances C has the correct reading. But Mrs Blackman limited her scrutiny to certain selected sections of the poem: so that the superiority of C is greater than these figures indicate. We are then bound to modify the verdict of Skeat with regard to the B-text. When he had finished editing it in 1867 he wrote:

> The numerous MSS. of the B-text agree together in a way which is sometimes astonishing. It is not uncommon to find five consecutive lines alike in all the MSS., as far as arrangement of the words is concerned, and this likeness sometimes prevails even to minute correspondences of inflexions and spelling. Hence there is a certainty, a firmness, and a conclusiveness about the text which is very satisfactory. There are probably more doubtful points in a single Canterbury Tale or a single Act in some of Shakespeare's plays than in the whole of the B-text of Piers the Plowman.... A glance at the footnotes will show that, though more MSS. have been collated than were collated for the A-text, the footnotes occupy less space, and that I have frequently found room for giving variations of a somewhat minute character[1].

Now here many statements of fact are correct; it is the inferences that are disputable. Most of the MSS. of the B-text are well written, and are accurate copies of an original from which none of them very much differs. But we have still to settle what was the character of that original: and the number of striking readings in which the MSS. all agree, but which are nevertheless obvious mistakes, shows us that the common original of

[1] Skeat's edition of the B-text, p. xxxix.

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them all had already wandered very far from the truth. The A-MSS., on the other hand, vary very much from each other, but we do not think that there are anything like as many instances in which they can be shown all to agree on an erroneous reading.

There is no inconsistency between what we have said as to the accuracy of certain lines of the B-text and the inaccuracy of certain other lines of that text. The writer of the B-text used a MS. of A which had none of the characteristic mistakes of the different extant A-MSS. or groups of A-MSS. From this he constructed his B-text. But the extant B-MSS. are not derived directly from the author's autograph, but through a transcript (or through a series of transcripts) into which a large number of errors had crept. The extant B-MSS. are for the most part much more elaborate than the A-MSS.—more spacious, with broader margins, and written with more care. But this care could not redress the errors which had already crept into the copy from which they were all made: at most it could only prevent further errors arising. So that, whilst the A-MSS. are remarkable for the large number of errors peculiar to each one individually, or to its special group, the B-MSS., with fewer individual errors, have many more errors common to their whole number.

All this is in accordance with what we are told in the B-text of the history of the poem. A short episodical vision is there introduced[1], explaining how the visionary in his youth abandoned the search for Dowel, and how, as old age approached, he was urged to avow his vision among men, and to reprove deadly sin on condition that he should publish no private scandal, and show neither favour nor envy. Imaginative (Memory) appears to the visionary and reproves him for the wild wantonness of his youth, and especially for the reckless words in which (in the A-text[2]) he had denounced Clergy and had complained that ignorance was better than learning, since the ignorant were saved rather than the learned. The poet expresses his penitence, and when his difficulties have been answered the vision is continued to its conclusion through Dowel and Dobet to Dobest.

Now the B-text runs parallel to the A-text (apart from additions and alterations made by B) to the point where this vision appears, telling how the search for Dowel was abandoned. This 'Vision of how the abandoned search was resumed' is the beginning of the B-continuation. The A-text had broken off with the words which, later, Imaginative (Memory) reproaches the poet for having used.

[1] B XI, 5–102.

[2] This link thus connects B with A_2: it leaves untouched any question of the relation of A_2 to A_1, or of C to any of the texts.

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And the facts of the MSS. agree with this. The A-text is not a brief first draft of the B-text. It is a fragment of a poem which, had it been continued, would presumably have been continued in much the same way as the completed B-text. For the accounts of Dowel and Dobet and Dobest in the A-text forecast a continuation on the same lines as we ultimately get.

The A-text breaks off so suddenly in the middle of Dowel, because the poet feels unable to solve the problems he has raised.

It seems highly probable that the A-text was never formally published. During the fifteen years intervening between the two texts, friends and admirers no doubt copied the author's unfinished MS. He may have always meant to continue it some day. He went so far as to begin a kind of continuation, which is found appended to three of the A-MSS.—but he did not bring this to any satisfactory conclusion.

The extant A-MSS. have very much the appearance of having been derived from originals which go back, if not to the author's actual autograph, at any rate to something very near it. There are passages where all the extant A-MSS. are confused or imperfect. This may sometimes be due to confusion in the author's autograph. But the A-MSS. have not the air of being all derived from one original into which a large number of scribal errors had intruded themselves.

That however is exactly what is suggested by the B-MSS., handsome as so many of them are. They indicate common derivation from an already corrupt original.

Everything suggests that the writer of the C-text, whether or no he was the same man as A or B, was the possessor of a text of B free from these current errors.

Nevertheless, whether he was the original poet or an editor, we can say that no poet—or, alternatively, no editor—ever dealt more recklessly with the work he was revising.

It is this which has led many critics to doubt whether the C-reviser *can* be the same man as A or B. The matter has been put by Professor Manly so well that it is a pity to give it in other words than his:

In the prologue, 11–16, B has taken over from A a vivid picture of the valley of the first vision:

> Thanne gan I to meten a merveilouse swevene,
> That I was in a wildernesse, wist I never where;
> As I beheldе in-to the est an heigh to the sonne,
> I seigh a toure on a toft, trielich ymaked;
> A depe dale benethe, a dongeon there-inne,
> With depe dyches and derke and dredful of sight.

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C spoils the picture thus:

> And merveylously me mette, as ich may 3ow telle;
> Al the welthe of this worlde and the woo bothe,
> Wynkyng, as it were, wyterly ich saw hyt,
> Of tryuthe and of tricherye, of tresoun and of gyle,
> Al ich saw slepynge, as ich shal 3ow telle.
> Esteward ich byhulde, after the sonne,
> And sawe a toure, as ich trowede, truthe was ther-ynne;
> Westwarde ich waitede, in a whyle after,
> And sawe a deep dale; deth, as ich lyuede,
> Wonede in tho wones, and wyckede spiritus.

The man who wrote the former might, conceivably, in the decay of his faculties write a passage like the latter; but he could not, conceivably, have spoiled the former, if he had ever been able to write it[1].

We realise the force of Professor Manly's argument—although we should ourselves hesitate to say how far it is inconceivable for an author, in revision, to spoil his own work.

But this we claim to be demonstrable from an examination of the MSS. —that C, whoever he was, had in his possession an extraordinarily good MS. of the B-text, however much he then proceeded to mutilate and rewrite it.

II. PROBLEMS OF TEXTUAL CRITICISM.

Few things look simpler, in theory, than the editing of a text from a large number of MSS.: and few things prove more complicated in practice.

A hundred years ago, many editors were satisfied to count the MSS. and trust the majority. But this pillow was snatched from under them by the great critics of the nineteenth century, and the truth that MSS. must be weighed, not counted, is now too widely known to be ignored[2].

Editors have gradually come to recognise the importance of the genealogical method of studying MSS.—a method of which early scholars like Erasmus had no conception.

To take an example in its simplest form; we may imagine two transcripts 'a' and 'b,' made from the author's autograph by two equally careful scribes. One transcript goes to a busy centre, and many copies are made, of which a large number may survive to this day, either as actual manuscripts or through their descendants; at last we may suppose that the original transcript 'a,' worn out in the service of the scriptorium, is thrown on the rubbish heap. Meantime we may suppose that 'b' remains a barren stock; but nevertheless falls into hands which preserve it, and survives to this day. Obviously 'b' alone is worth more than all the numerous descendants of the lost 'a' put together.

[1] *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, II, p. 33.
[2] *Juvenalis Saturae, editorum in usum edidit* A. E. Housman, 1905.

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And so we have the general recognition of the fact stated by Westcott and Hort that

> all textual transmission takes the form of a genealogical tree, diverging into smaller and smaller branches, of which the extant documents are casual and scattered fragments.

Each scribe, as he copies his original, makes certain mistakes. Subsequent copyists inherit these mistakes, and make further mistakes of their own. Then the critic, by observing these mistakes, can make a genealogical tree of the manuscripts. With the help of this tree he can construct his text. A reading may have the support of a majority of extant MSS., but if this majority is found, on scrutiny, to belong to one family, while the minority is made up of several independent families, the weight of families, not the larger number of actual MSS., carries the day. The whole system is explained by Westcott and Hort[1].

Obviously, it is the common possession of *erroneous* readings that shows relationship. For, in so far as they represent their original ancestor correctly, all MSS. must of course agree. So far, well: but now come the difficulties. The first is that we are necessarily arguing in a circle. The object of our tree is to enable us to decide which are the correct readings: yet we have to decide which are the incorrect readings before we can begin to form our tree.

Therefore, we have to work in three stages. (1) The individual readings of the MSS. have to be examined on their *prima facie* merits. These results are quite provisional; we cannot invoke MS.-authority at this stage; we have still to decide where it lies.

(2) Having made lists of readings which, on *a priori* grounds, seem superior or inferior, we can form some judgment as to which are the better, which the worse MSS. If we are lucky, we can classify our MSS. into families and sub-groups, united by the common errors they have inherited from their different archetypes.

(3) We can now begin to speak of manuscript relationship, and of one manuscript as being better than another. But, as we decide where the weight of manuscript authority lies, we must look back, and be prepared to alter our original judgment as to readings, if 'very strong *a posteriori* evidence from the best MSS.' (and still more from the best groups of MSS.) 'should seem to overbalance the admittedly inconclusive *a priori* evidence[2].'

These three stages are repeatedly emphasised by Westcott and Hort:

[1] *The New Testament*, Introduction, 1881, pp. 54–5.
[2] Moore, *Contributions to the Textual Criticism of the Divina Commedia*, p. xxxv.

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first, provisional judgment of readings on intrinsic, *a priori*, evidence, then estimate of the MSS., then final decision[1]. And this decision as to readings may necessitate a new estimate of MS.-authority: and so the circle begins again. There is a painful lack of finality: all we can hope for is a gradual approximation to the truth.

It is more than usually important to insist on this in the case of *Piers Plowman*, because it explains why, with the greatest respect to Skeat, his work has sometimes to be superseded. Skeat himself admitted this, in a letter which he addressed to us, and which we have already quoted in this *Review*[2]. 'I comfort myself' he added 'with the reflection that my work is by no means set aside, because it is really a reasonable basis for fresh work, and will lead to right results in the end and hereafter.'

Skeat's work on the text of *Piers* was not final: but it carried us a greater distance on the road to finality than the work of any other scholar, or group of scholars, will.

What we need nowadays is in the first place complete collations of all the MSS. Yet even when we have these, our troubles are only beginning. The greater the number of MSS. collated, and the more detailed our collations, the more complex our families seem to grow. Families break up, and side against each other in a most unfraternal way; all sorts of unexpected combinations occur. Our critical notes show, not 'brethren agreeing together in unity' but rather houses constantly divided against themselves: in fact they most often resemble Parliament on a private members' night, with all the bonds of party discipline relaxed, and Conservative, Liberal and Labour voting with or against each other, according as each man's private conscience may direct.

This confusion of MS.-relationships may be due to 'mixture' ('contamination') or it may be due to accidental coincidences. 'Mixture' arises because a MS. may be transcribed from an original belonging to one family, and then corrected from another MS. with different relationships. When this corrected transcript is in turn transcribed, the latest copy will offer readings derived from two distinct sources, yet the page will be in one uniform handwriting, showing no trace of what has occurred. This 'mixture' or 'contamination' is 'the engrafting of occasional or partial community of ancestry' upon a text which has a predominantly different ancestry.

How confusing it may be has been emphasised by us in a previous article[3]. It has often led editors to despair of making any genealogical

[1] *Introduction to the New Testament*, 1881, p. 33; *New Testament*, 1885, p. 546.
[2] *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, XI, 1916, p. 275.
[3] *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, XI, pp. 259–74.

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tree of the MSS. at all. Thus Moore expressed his belief that for the MSS. of the *Divina Commedia* 'owing to the complicated intermixture of texts, such a genealogy *never* can be constructed[1].'

There has been very much 'mixture' among the MSS. of *Piers Plowman*. Nevertheless, we can group most of the MSS. into families quite satisfactorily, on the strength of many obvious common errors. The question remains, how far the other variants, which cut across and confuse these family relationships, are to be attributed to 'mixture,' how far to mere accidental coincidences. It is a question of some importance for textual history, and an examination of a dozen lines of the A-text may help us.

We may preface this examination by pointing out that there can be no doubt that MSS. R and U of the A-text are both derived from one original. The many and important errors and variants which they have in common include the dislocation of a whole passage. In the original from which they are both copied, four pages of approximately 35 lines each had got detached from their place in Passus VII, and inserted after l. 179 of Passus I. In this order R and U have both copied them, to the sad disturbance of the author's sequence of thought. That R and U were both still following this same dislocated MS. when they reached Passus VII is proved by the fact that, in both R and U, these lines are wanting when we come to their proper place in that Passus. A dislocation of this kind could not conceivably be copied into a text by collation from another—it is palpably original.

But, when we turn to minor variants such as the omission or insertion of small words like 'the' or 'and,' the substitution of plurals for singulars or *vice versa*, the substitution of presents for pasts or *vice versa*, the substitution of synonymous or similar words or even phrases 'and,' 'ac,' 'but'; 'in,' 'on,' 'into'; 'lastiþ,' 'duriþ'; 'maid,' 'maiden'; 'hard,' 'sore,' it is a different story. Often we shall find all the MSS. divided into two camps, and, though R and U often go together into one camp, often R will go into one, U into the other.

Two reasons forbid us to attribute this disturbance of the family harmony of R and U to a deliberate collation from another manuscript. If such collation had taken place on a large scale, it must have affected many of the important variants as well. It is absurd to imagine a collator comparing his MS. systematically with another one, and altering these trivial details quite frequently, whilst leaving untouched those large common blunders which prove the relationship of R and U. And secondly,

[1] *Contributions*, p. xxxi.

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if these numerous minor variants, in which R and U go against one another, were the result of such collation, we should expect them to show some consistency among themselves. They would point to a relationship different from that indicated in the original variants which R and U have inherited from their common parent, but still a relationship consistent with itself. But this is not so. When R and U do disagree with each other, each agrees, now with one group of MSS., now with another, never consistently with anything.

V and H have a large number of common omissions, which occur too consistently to be the result of mere accident. V and H must therefore be derived from one original. Yet, in minor matters, V and H constantly assert their independence. (The same applies to K and W, though here the original connection is very much slighter, and less easily demonstrable.)

Even more closely connected than any of these are T and H_2: as Skeat says, H_2 is little else than an inferior duplicate of T. Yet, in minor matters, H_2 and T constantly assert their individuality.

A dozen lines, taken at random from the *Prologue*, will give us five examples.

Pro., l. 20. Summe putte hem to plouȝ pleiȝede ful selde (T).
But H_2 has *þe* between *to* and *plouȝ*, and in this he is in agreement with VH. But RU and KW split, RW going with T, and UK with H_2.
Pro., l. 21. In settyng and sowyng swonke ful harde (T).
But H_2 has *sore* for *harde*, and in this he is in agreement with KW, whilst RU agrees with T. But VH split, V going with T and H with H_2.
Pro., l. 25. In preyours and penaunce putten hem manye (T).
But H_2 has *to* instead of *in*, and in this he is in agreement with RU. But VH and KW split, HK going with T, VW with H_2.
Pro., l. 26. for loue of oure lord (T).
But H_2 has *þe* between *for* and *loue*, and in this he is in agreement with RU. But VH and KW split, VK going with T, HW with H_2.
Pro., l. 31. And somme chosen to chaffare (T).
But H_2 omits *And*; T is in agreement with VH. But RU and KW split, UK going with T, RW with H_2.

It will be seen that there is no kind of system in this. It must be due to the accidental and casual substitution of similars, or omission of unimportant words, carried to such a length that it makes hay of the correct family relationship.

In other words, it must be due to unfaithful copying. Of course there were institutions where considerable accuracy in transcription was demanded and attained; many MSS. are very accurate transcripts. But there were also, quite clearly, transcribers of English MSS. in the fourteenth and fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, who relieved the monotony of their work by constantly allowing themselves to make small substitutions of words or phrases, without altering the meaning. And when we remember

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that our extant MSS. are copies of copies which have passed through the hands of many scribes, when we remember that one scribe in the series, if addicted to this *substitution of similars*, throws out the whole series, so that subsequent scribes cannot get it right again, it becomes clear what a disturbing element it forms. Westcott and Hort lay down the principle that 'except where an alteration is very plausible and tempting, the chance that two transcribers have made the same alteration independently is relatively small,' so that 'while a certain number of identities of reading have to be neglected...the great bulk may at once be taken as certain evidence of a common origin[1].' But in fifteenth- or sixteenth-century English MSS. it is no unlikely assumption in the case of any two MSS. that, in both, there may have been a scribe addicted to this substitution of similars, among the series of transcribers whose work underlies each MS. And, if so, this habit of substitution may well have led to the same phrase or synonym having been substituted here and there independently, in the two MSS. Suppose the author to have written 'He rose in haste.' The alteration to 'he rose hastily' is obvious. If we find such a substitution in two distinct MSS., it is quite likely to have arisen independently, for to more than one scribe it would be 'plausible and tempting.'

Many scribes did not look back to their originals as often as verbal accuracy demands, and, whilst retaining the general sense, they carried in their heads more than they could remember quite perfectly. By accidental coincidence, two such scribes must have occasionally used the same synonym in substitution.

We doubt if enough allowance is always made for these accidental coincidences. We doubt if even that great textual critic Westcott quite realised the extent to which the same words and phrases can occur quite independently. Westcott, speaking of the Bible translation issued by the Roman Catholic English refugees of Rheims and Douay, says that the earlier English (Protestant) translations formed the groundwork of this version[2]. Whether this be so or no, the coincidences of word and phrase which he quotes to prove it seem to us singularly insufficient. (And there is some *a priori* improbability in the assumption that these English refugees based their version upon the 'false,' 'impious' and 'prophane' Protestant translations, which in their view men could only use 'with extreme danger of their soules.') To prove this assumption of borrowing, it must be shown that the Douay version repeats words and phrases of the Protestant translations *of such character* or *in such numbers* that the

[1] *Op. cit.*, Introduction, p. 46.
[2] *A General View of the History of the English Bible*, 1905, p. 245.

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possibility of their being used independently may be disregarded. Now we possess a convenient standard of comparison in certain short passages from the Gospels which Sir Thomas More translates in his devotional works. A comparison of certain verses has shown us fourteen cases of similarity between the Douay version and More's renderings. Yet, great as must have been the veneration of the Douay refugees for More, it would be far-fetched indeed to suppose that they rummaged his works for Gospel passages from which they might incorporate odd words and phrases, when they came to translate those same passages. Turning to exactly the same passages in the Protestant translations (Tyndale, the Great Bible, the *New Testament* of 1557), and comparing these with the Douay version, we find only six or seven cases of similarity. That there are more parallels between the Douay fathers and More is natural, for the Douay fathers and More both had the Vulgate text before them, whilst Tyndale used the Greek. But the point is, that the number of ways of expressing a certain conception being very limited, such parallels *must* occur. In these same verses we found Sir Thomas More going with Wyclif thirteen times, with Tyndale six, with the Great Bible nine, with the Geneva Testament of 1557 eight, with the Authorised Version of 1611 fourteen times. All quite fortuitous, and, of course, inevitable. In exactly the same way, given two scribes addicted to the substitution of similars, both independently copying the same text, it follows that they *must*, sometimes, independently substitute the same synonym or phrase. It follows that we must use the utmost caution in dealing with those very numerous variants which merely express the same conception in rather different words. There remain, of course, a large number of variants which vary in a way which we could not, without outraging probability, suppose to have arisen independently.

Dr W. W. Greg speaks of the assumption that common error has not arisen independently as an assumption which 'we do habitually make, and although it is not necessarily correct in any individual case, without it no inference as to the relation of the manuscripts would be possible[1].' In the case of *Piers Plowman* it is vital that we should attempt to discriminate between the type of variant which we can reasonably assume not to have arisen independently, and the type where such assumption would be unjustifiable.

There are a large number of variants upon which we can safely argue. But variants consisting merely in the *substitution of similars* can prove relationship only when they occur constantly and repeatedly. It is not

[1] *The Calculus of Variants*, 1927, p. 19.

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the occurrence of such variants, but their occurrence *in overwhelming proportion*, that provides the argument for common origin. We must never forget the warning of Bacon, concerning the errors made because 'Men mark when they hit, but never mark when they miss.'

III. SKEAT'S TEXTS AND COLLATIONS.

Even now, although the exploratory work is done, and the system on which the A-, B- and C-texts must be edited seems, to us at any rate, fairly clear, it must be years before the mere labour of collation can be finished; and 'the blind fury with the abhorred shears' spares text-editors no more than poets. It is therefore important to notice how far, in the meantime, Skeat's texts afford a basis for work. These mark out the path which all future work will follow. But Skeat's A-, B- and C-texts are, in fact, the Vernon MS., the Laud MS., the Phillipps (Huntington) MS.[1], with certain very grossly erroneous passages corrected; *they cannot be taken as representing the A-, B- and C-texts as these left the hands of their author or authors.*

Upon these texts Skeat collated certain selected MSS. Skeat's collations are invaluable to the worker who understands them. But Skeat did not explain his method, and consequently no one can ever understand his collations unless he or she has some such first-hand acquaintance with the MSS. as Skeat himself had.

The peculiar difficulty of collating mediæval MSS. is not always appreciated. The language was not fixed. Consequently, the number of variations in the MSS. is vast. To give an exact and precise statement of the readings of the fifty-one known MSS. of *Piers Plowman*, it would be necessary to print all the texts in fifty-one parallel columns. But this would defeat the object of collation, which is to simplify the evidence, and present it in a form which can be easily understood. In mediæval English, any *apparatus criticus* involves a very drastic process of *selection*. No *apparatus criticus* of *Piers Plowman* can present all the evidence. If it did so, it would be useless, because it would be so complex that the mind could not grasp it; it would be more difficult to comprehend than the fifty-one MSS. in parallel columns. Therefore, an *apparatus criticus* must present a selection of the evidence: that selection which the editor deems most useful.

Now Skeat was doing exploratory work, making his system as he went along; and, as we have said, he never explained his system of selection. Again, he only collated certain MSS. and these by no means necessarily

[1] Phillipps, 8231 (formerly), now Huntington, HM. 137.

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the most important, because only slowly does it become clear which *are* the most important.

Hence, although we can depend on Skeat's statements, we must be very careful how we argue from his *silences*. If he says that a MS. reads something, you may be sure that it does—subject of course to that element of human error, which in his case is exceptionally small, but which none of us can entirely eliminate. But, if he ignores that MS., it by no means follows either that the MS. is negligible, or that it has the reading of his text. That is why it is only safe to use Skeat's collations after a considerable study of them in the light of the actual MSS. themselves (or, of course, of reproductions of the MSS.).

The readings given in Skeat's A-text, B-text and C-text can be divided into five classes:

(1) Readings peculiar to the particular MS. taken as a basis—V in the A-text, L in the B-text, P in the C-text.

(2) Readings peculiar to the group of MSS. to which the MS. taken as a basis belongs (or to some sub-group within the group).

In the A-text: VH as against TRUDH$_2$JLEAKWNM.

In the B-text: LMRF as against C, B, Bm, Cot, J, Y, O, C$_2$, W, Cr, G.

In the C-text: PERMQSZWFKGN as against TH$_2$UDXYIP$_2$OLB$_2$D$_2$.

(Many of these C-MSS. are fragmentary: by no means all are available for any one passage.)

(3) A flotsam and jetsam of odd readings in which the MS. chosen as a basis shows transient resemblances to other MSS. or MS. groups with which, taken as a whole, it has no connection. These readings may be due to

(*a*) Purely accidental substitution of similars.

(*b*) Contamination.

They are the most puzzling phenomenon of all. No argument can safely be based on them.

(4) Readings inherited from the archetype of all the A-, B- or C-MSS., which, at any rate in the case of B and C, was certainly not the author's autograph. Errors from this source are very common indeed in the B-text.

(5) Finally we reach the readings which were presumably those of the actual autograph of A, B and C. It is upon these alone that we can argue with regard to authorship.

Until we are in a position to sort out these five classes of readings from each other, no conclusions can safely be drawn as to authorship merely from a textual comparison of Skeat's A-text, his B-text and his C-text.

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We have, of course, the help of Skeat's collations; but we must be careful to understand them before we build arguments upon them. Take the first example which comes to hand from Skeat's texts:

A. *Pro.*, l. 20. Summe putten hem *to þe* plouȝ.
B. *Pro.*, l. 20. Some [putten] hem *to þe* plow.
C. i, l. 22. Some putte hem *to* plow.

No variants are quoted by Skeat, and it might be rashly supposed that we have a case where the wording given by A was accepted by B and slightly altered by C. But an examination of the A-MSS. shows

to TRDEW *to þe* UH$_2$VHJLKM.

And note that the division does not run according to families: MSS. peculiarly closely related, like T and H$_2$, R and U, are found on different sides.

The majority of B-MSS. read *to þe*, but two MSS. read *to*.

The C-MSS. are also divided between *to* and *to þe*, and this division does not run according to families, any more than in the A-text.

The impossibility of drawing any conclusions at all from scribal variants of this type is obvious to those who have made any considerable examination of the MSS., and have learnt (after many disappointments) not to build upon shifting sands. It was, of course, obvious to Skeat himself—but it is not obvious from a mere inspection of Skeat's variants.

Again, Mede in Skeat's A-text is *I-Corouned with a Coroune* (II, 10). *No variants are quoted by Skeat.* In the C-text (III, 11) Skeat records most of the MSS. he collates as reading *in a corone*, though he restores *with* to his text on the authority of two C-MSS. In point of fact the A-MSS. are also divided: *wiþ a coroune* UUDVHLEAKNM; *in a coroune* TRH$_2$JW. (Note that this division cuts across groups: TH$_2$ and VH indeed go together; but R is separated from U and K from W.) And when we turn to the C-MSS. we find them pretty equally divided between *with* UDFGN and *in* IP$_2$OLB$_2$PERMQS. (Note again that each of these lists contains members of each of the two great families into which the C-MSS. are divided.)

In III, 28 [30], Skeat's A-text reads *heo* and records no variants: his B-text (III, 29) reads *heo* and records COB as reading *Sho, sche, she.* In point of fact A is divided, *heo* being the reading of TH$_2$VHL, and some form of 'she' being read by RUDJEKWN[1]. The B-text is divided in quite a different way from that which the variants recorded by Skeat suggest: *heo* LRWM, some form of 'she' C, O, B, C$_2$, G, F, Cot, Bm. Here reference to Skeat's collations, without referring to the actual MSS., has, in fact, misled distinguished scholars.

[1] Ashmole has *ȝhe.*

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Even when Skeat's collations *do* show that the variation exists in all three texts, they cannot show how extraordinarily complicated it really is. In the A-text, according to TRUDH$_2$HLAM the pardoners sent Liar to 'church' to sell pardons (II, 183); according to VJEKWN it was to 'churches.' The B- and C-texts vary in a similar way: in B (II, 221) it is usually 'churches,' but O and C$_2$ give the singular[1]; in C (III, 231) we find the singular in UDYIP$_2$RMGN, the plural in KPEQSF—*a grouping in which families are again divided against each other.*

The inferences are two: firstly, that if we wish to argue from the textual problems of A, B and C as to the authorship of the different versions, we *must* go back to the MSS.; secondly, that, when we have done so, we shall find the evidence so complicated as to discourage any hasty dogmatism.

IV. RECENT WORK ON THE TEXTS.

We have already had occasion to refer to valuable work on the A-text by Dr Knott; and honourable mention must be made of the work on the B-MSS. by Mrs Blackman[2] and on the C-MSS. by Dr Carnegy[3] and Miss Allen[4]. The way in which the three Tudor *Lives* of Sir Thomas More are based upon one another offers a problem strikingly similar to that of the A-, B- and C-texts of *Piers Plowman*; and we have to thank Dr E. V. Hitchcock for allowing us to consult her work on the numerous MSS. of Roper's *Life of More* and of Harpsfield's *Life of More*, which have afforded most instructive parallels.

All these essays are based upon the careful examination of every manuscript accessible to the writers, and they are all of very great importance. Dr Knott was working in complete independence of us and we of him, and this gives special value to our agreement on all substantial points. Though Dr Knott published after we did, he had begun work before us, and, as we have repeatedly pointed out[5], the credit of having been first in the field goes to him.

Mrs Blackman, Dr Carnegy and Miss Allen are former students of ours who have been working in close collaboration with us, and there may, of course, be faults common to the methods which we have all used. But their work, and particularly that of Mrs Blackman, seems in our judgment of very great value. So much of this work is as yet unpublished that

[1] So do B, Bm., Cot. and J, if they are here to be reckoned as B-texts.
[2] *Journ. of English and Germanic Philology*, XVII, 1918, pp. 489–545.
[3] *Problems connected with the three texts of Piers the Plowman*, 1923. (An unpublished London M.A. thesis.)
[4] *The Genealogy of the C-text MSS. of Piers Plowman*, 1923. (An unpublished London M.A. thesis.)
[5] *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, V, 1910, p. 25; XI, 1916, p. 257.

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we can hardly complain of neglect—yet it *is* remarkable that more attention has not been given to Mrs Blackman's long essay on the B-text.

Much more attention has, in fact, been aroused by the treatise of Dr Gertrud Görnemann, who published a small book, *Zur Verfasserschaft und Entstehungsgeschichte von Piers the Plowman*[1], in 1916. This has received the enthusiastic support of such good judges as Professor Fehr and the late Professor Björkman. It is a study of the relationship of the A-, B- and C-texts, and deserves the praise due to a gallant attempt made under distressingly adverse circumstances. To a lady who, during the evil years 1914–16, did her bit towards keeping the torch of learning alive in Europe, all students owe a debt of gratitude. We differ from all Dr Görnemann's conclusions, and we wrote, in 1919, a short reply to her book. We did not publish it—paper was scarce then—and we were satisfied with having formulated to ourselves our objections to Dr Görnemann's theories, and with publicly pointing out[2] that

> Her monograph has much in detail that is valuable, but its general conclusions as to MS. classification are vitiated by the fact that the writer, through no fault of her own, has been precluded from consulting the MSS.

Since that date, we have discovered that even good scholars do not realise that, before dealing with the relationship of MSS. to each other, it is desirable to have adequate information about them. We may therefore, in the future, find ourselves compelled to publish part of our reply to Dr Görnemann. For the moment, we shall only deal with those portions of her book which necessarily arise in the subsequent discussion of the work of Dr Day.

We do not suggest for a moment that work based solely on Skeat's texts is fruitless, provided that the limitations of such work are understood. Dr Görnemann has not understood the limitations, as Dr Krog has in his excellent recent monograph[3]. We also wish it to be very clearly understood that if anyone is to blame, it is not Dr Görnemann, but ourselves, who, by 1914, had failed to provide her with more accurate information.

In 1928 Dr Mabel Day published an essay on *The Revisions of Piers Plowman*[4]. In the case of Dr Day an apology is even more incumbent upon us. The value of the work done by her as Assistant Director and Secretary of the Early English Text Society is known to everyone. Her patience in bearing with us, during our long delay in producing our

[1] *Anglistische Forschungen*, XLVIII.
[2] *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, XIV, p. 129.
[3] *Studien zu Chaucer und Langland, Anglistische Forschungen*, LXV.
[4] *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, XXIII, pp. 1–27.

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A-text, passes all praise. And this forbearance is all the more striking because Dr Day is specially interested in Alliterative Poetry and in *Piers Plowman*; and our slowness in publishing our material must have handicapped her.

Dr Day, with her official position in the E.E.T.S., felt scruples about trespassing on ground where workers for the Society have already staked out a claim. Accordingly she collated none of the MSS., working solely from published material open to all[1].

Now we have tried to show above that work based solely upon Skeat's texts and collations is valuable as a first step. But it is simply a scaffolding: it gives us points of vantage from which we can better carry on our work. It does not form any solid foundation. *No final textual results can be reached, without further investigation of the MSS.* Skeat's collations save the enquirer months and years of labour, because he finds much exploratory work done for him. They suggest certain lines of enquiry. The enquirer must then turn to the MSS. themselves: some lines of enquiry will be found fruitful—sometimes it will be found that the *prima facie* appearance is altogether misleading.

The question is, how far are Dr Day's provisional theories confirmed by a collation of those MSS. which Skeat did not collate, and by a closer examination of those which he *did* collate?

If we are ever to get at the facts of this complicated business it is necessary for everybody to contribute his fragment of information and of criticism: and Dr Day is too old a friend to take it amiss if we say that we can find no confirmation of her conclusions from a further investigation of the MSS. Everything tells against them. This does not mean that they have been fruitless. We explore an avenue and find it leads nowhere. Well, we have learnt so much; we must now try others. But we must not confuse tentative exploration with demonstration.

It is necessary to make this clear, because of the recent summary of Dr Day's work in *The Year's Work in English Studies* (vol. IX, 1928). No one reading that account could gather that Dr Day's researches are based, not upon an examination of the MSS., but only upon Skeat's collations. This failure to go back to the documents is, we repeat, not the fault of Dr Day, but of our own slowness in publishing the documents. But a summary of Dr Day's theories which speaks of them as 'proved' when in fact they have still to be submitted to investigation, is likely to lead to confusion, especially when it appears in such a widely read and authori-

[1] Dr Day enquired from us about a few readings, and we supplied them. But these were too few to make any serious difference to her conclusions.

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tative compendium as *The Year's Work*, and from the pen of a scholar like Miss Everett, who is known for her careful and conscientious work. Miss Everett concludes her summary:

> Throughout this article Miss Day illustrates her points with a wealth of example of which it is impossible to give an adequate idea here. It is perhaps unnecessary to say that this is one of the most important contributions to the study of *Piers Plowman* that has appeared in recent years. One of its merits is the moderation with which the author states the conclusions to which her evidence points. But even this 'moderation' does not conceal the fact that the results of her investigations strike a serious blow at the belief in single authorship of the three versions[1].

Even so, we should have preferred to get on with our editorial work, in such limited time as other tasks allow, rather than spend time on controversy. But one of us, recently, in a preface to Mr Allan H. Bright's book, passed in review the main reasons for believing in William Langland as author of *Piers Plowman*. *The Year's Work* comments on this:

> The chief objection to Chambers' discussion is that it takes no account of the textual relations between the three versions which, on examination, have led Miss Day to such different conclusions[2].

We are left, therefore, with no choice but to review Miss Day's conclusions.

The great difficulty of controversy as to the textual problems of *Piers Plowman* consists in the abundance and complexity of the evidence. The total number of variants of all the MSS. runs to hundreds of thousands. *The Year's Work* is quite right when it speaks of the 'wealth of example' with which Dr Day illustrates her points. But even this 'wealth of example,' being based solely upon Skeat's collations, presents only a fragment of the evidence: and that fragment, apart from the rest of the evidence, is often bound to mislead us. Yet, when we have got all the evidence, it remains, as we have said, complex and difficult in the highest degree. We are convinced that the question of authorship will *mainly* have to be settled upon other grounds.

Dr Day's article fills twenty-seven pages: a commentary upon it, giving the full MS. evidence in every case, and discussing it in all its bearings, would fill at least ten times that space. If we had the time to write such a commentary, and the editors of this *Review* space to print it, we fear no one would read it. On the other hand, to pick out a point here and there and discuss that alone would be unfair to Dr Day. In controversy like this, by concentrating upon the more disputable instances and neglecting the stronger, it is possible to make the clearest case, on paper, appear weak. Space, then, absolutely prevents us from dealing

[1] *The Year's Work*, IX, 1928, p. 95. [2] Page 97.

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with the whole of Dr Day's paper; to make our own selection, and deal only with that, is unfair, unless we can be confident that we have selected the strongest arguments for consideration. It is the difficulty of any 'Replication'; Sir Thomas More felt it in his answers to Tyndale. If he answers everything, his reply may be too long for anyone to read; if he answers selected points, he may be accused of evading the real issue.

The fairest way seems to be to take the summary in *The Year's Work*, and to deal, as fully as we can, with the points there raised. That summary we shall quote, verbatim and completely[1], though necessarily paragraph by paragraph. We shall illustrate our answer by as much quotation from Dr Day's article as space permits, but we cannot take her article completely, paragraph by paragraph.

V. THE ALLEGED COLLATION OF A WITH B BY C.

We quote, then, *The Year's Work*, p. 94.

> It may be easier to follow the lines of [Miss Day's] discussion if the conclusions are stated first. She thinks that the nature of the revisions found in B and C indicate that in neither were they the work of the author of the original, and that the differences of treatment in these two revised texts point to two distinct revisers.
>
> At the outset she notices that the C revision is much more thorough-going than the B. She believes that the reviser of the C-text worked upon B but collated with A. A good example among the many she quotes is the opening part of the Vision of the Seven Deadly Sins, where in A the dreamer sees Conscience preaching with a cross; in B, Reason preaches with a cross; in C, Reason preaches and Conscience carries the cross.

That B is based upon A, and that C is based upon B, is indisputable. That C's treatment of B is more free than B's of A is also indisputable. These things are compatible with either single or multiple authorship.

As to the statement 'In revising B, C collated with A'[2], the clearest example of C combining the ideas of A and B is, as Dr Day rightly urges, C's combination of Reason as preacher with Conscience as cross-bearer. But this also has no bearing upon the question of the single or multiple authorship of the three versions. Where a poet has revised his work more than once, it will commonly be found that he reverts, occasionally, to an earlier version. Or he may adopt finally a thought which is a combination of two earlier ones. Innumerable instances of this can be quoted[3]. If A, B and C be the same man, such introduction of Reason and Conscience in C, combining the Conscience as preacher in A, with the Reason as preacher in B, might well be quite automatic, not at all the work of deliberate

[1] So far as it relates to textual problems: other problems have to be dealt with elsewhere.
[2] Dr Day's words, *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, XXIII, p. 2.
[3] We quote one below, p. 43.

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collation of texts. Anybody who has had experience of correcting his work after long intervals knows how, *unconsciously*, he reverts to an earlier draft, or unites early and later wording into a new combination. We must remember that we have been left, at the end of the preceding passus, with both Reason and Conscience standing before the King. With this picture in our minds, there is nothing very strange in first one, then the other, and finally both being brought into play.

If we had abundant evidence that C made a practice of returning to the A-reading, or of combining a B- and an A-reading, the fact might at least as reasonably be used as an argument for single as for multiple authorship. But, as a matter of fact, instances of such a thing are very few and very slender. Dr Day quotes three other instances, but they are admittedly less clear than the one we have mentioned.

So, if C be the same man as B, there is nothing in this that calls for comment: indeed, it might well have occurred more often. If C be a different man, it does not prove that C (who certainly worked upon a B-text) also collated with an A-text. The few instances would be more easily accounted for by supposing that the B-MS. which C used had got a few A-readings inserted into it: a thing which might easily have occurred; several of our extant B-MSS. are A-interpolated. For example, nothing would be more natural than that a scribe, who knew an A-text in which Conscience was the preacher, should have written 'Conscience' over the place where, in the B-text, that part is played by Reason. Then the C-man, having both in the text before him, would find a part for both to play.

Some such slight combination there may have been; but the reason why we cannot suppose that C systematically collated with A, is that traces of A-influence in the C-text are so very few in number and so very slight in weight. The case was well put by Mrs Blackman twelve years ago:

> It is just possible that the accepted C-text has some contamination from an A-text. This is, however, unlikely, as it contains no characteristic A-text lines or passages[1].

The absence of these characteristic A-text passages is strong evidence against anything which can be styled 'collation.'

The reader will remember that it has already been pointed out that all our B-MSS. are copied, for the most part with great care and accuracy, from one original, which already had characteristic errors: but that the C-text was based upon a B-MS. which was free from these serious errors; these, however, are naturally incorporated in Skeat's B-text.

[1] *Journ. of English and Germanic Philology*, XVII, p. 493.

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But, the reader may ask—and Dr Day has already suggested—is it *necessary* to suppose that the B-MS. used by C had these better readings? May C not have used a B-MS. of the current, erroneous type, and then have got the correct reading from a collation with A? On that assumption would it be still the case that traces of A-influence in C are too few to permit us to speak of 'collation' with an A-text?

We think that Dr Day has done a service by raising this question[1]. It has to be faced. The answer seems to us to be threefold:

(1) From Passus XI of the B-text to the end (Passus XX), C had a B-text before him, but no A-text existed. Yet throughout this long B-continuation the same phenomenon continues. We still find the B-MSS. all agreeing upon readings which are obviously errors, whilst the C-text gives us the correct reading. We can only explain this on the hypothesis that C *must* have had before him a text of B, in some respects at least much better than Skeat was able to construct from his partial collation of B-MSS.: better than anyone could construct from a collation of *all* the B-MSS. Some examples of this have been pointed out above, from B. XIX, 178–312. The correctness of C in these passus simply *cannot* be due to collation with the corresponding A-text, because there *is* no corresponding A-text.

In the earlier passus of B, it is true, there are instances where either explanation is theoretically possible. But there are other instances which only admit of the explanation that C had a better text of B than the archetype of all the extant B-MSS.; and these instances are decisive. We have seen that in V, 336, the B-MSS. have the nonsensical reading *arose* (in one case *arise*) *by the South*. Now, if C had tried to correct this passage by collation with A, he could have done so; in that case he would have substituted the A-reading, *was red* [counselled] *to arise*. Indeed, one of the B-MSS. did this very thing: corrected the unintelligible reading of B by substituting the A-reading. But C reads *arise thei besouzte*, showing that he had the B-reading before him in an accurate form, needing no collation with A to correct it.

(2) Whether or no we believe C to have been the same man as A and B, the whole theory that, in revising the B-text, C collated also with an A-text, suffers from an extreme *a priori* improbability. For the amazing thing about C is the reckless way in which he paraphrases and alters the B-text, changing a fine line or passage into something altogether worse, not here or there, but constantly. We have quoted above Professor Manly's words on this point[2]. Whether C was the original author or an

[1] *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, XXIII, p. 3.

[2] See above, p. 11.

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editor, we shall hardly find in good literature any parallel to such recklessness. It seems difficult, unless evidence absolutely forces us, to imagine such a man simultaneously taking the most meticulous care, comparing and collating his B-text with a MS. of the A-text, and showing something of the editorship of a Westcott or of a Hort in the care with which he strives to pick out the better reading. Indeed, as we shall show below, we should be compelled to attribute to C a knowledge of modern critical principles[1], as practised by the great scholars of the nineteenth century. Why assume such a thing, when the phenomena can be accounted for by the demonstrable fact that C had before him a MS. of B better than the original of all our extant MSS.? There is nothing incompatible between the possession of such a text and the reckless debasement of it: there is an incompatibility between the deliberate reconstruction of a good text and the reckless debasement of it.

(3) An even weightier argument is, that we do not find re-inserted in C any of the really characteristic passages which B cancelled or altered when he revised A. (The nearest approximation to anything of this kind is that, as we have seen, Conscience, who preaches in A, but has to give place to Reason in B, is allowed back in the rôle of cross-bearer in C.) Yet the alterations which B had made in the text of A had been numerous and important[2]. If C collated a text of A, why did he make so negligible a use of his collation, which would have given him a very great deal of useful matter which he might have re-inserted in the text; matter omitted or altered by B, yet nevertheless worthy of re-insertion?

What is clear, beyond all possibility of doubt, is, as we have tried to show above, that C had before him a B-text which was, in many places, much more accurate than the B-text published by Skeat: and that this text used by C at times goes right where all our B-MSS. go wrong.

VI. ON THE ALLEGED USE BY C, OF AN A-MANUSCRIPT OF THE VERNON TYPE

The Year's Work continues:

> Miss Day next proves the point that B and C use different texts of A, B's being 'on the whole' of a Trinity type, and C's of a Vernon. At least once in each version the use of a corrupt text is apparent, and this would suggest that the users were not the original author[3].

Here we come to an argument which would, if it could be maintained, indeed afford strong evidence in favour of B and C being different men,

[1] See below, p. 34.

[2] The full force of this argument will be clear to anyone who has weighed the excellent statistical discussion of Dr Fritz Krog (*Anglistische Forschungen*, LXV, pp. 133–167).

[3] *The Year's Work*, IX, 1928, pp. 94–5.

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and both different from A. Of the alleged instances of the use of a corrupt text of A by C we will take the most important first.

(*a*) Dr Day gives it in these words:

> A, II, 183: 'Dreede at þe dore stood and þe dune herde'; TUDH 'doom,' 'dome,' so B; V, 'dune'; C, 'dene, deon, done, dune,' etc. Here the right word is pretty certainly 'doom,' not 'din,' and therefore C is founded on a corrupt text[1].

The reader will remember the passage. Conscience has informed the King of the machinations of Falseness, Guile and Mede, and the King has pronounced judgment on them *in absentia*. Guile is doomed to suffer summary execution forthwith ('strike off Guile's head'), Mede is to be brought alive to the King. 'Dread that doom heard' is, says Dr Day, pretty certainly the right reading.

Now we say, and with considerable certainty, that 'Dread that doom heard' is, in our opinion, the wrong reading. We say this after twenty-two years' study of the documents and their corruptions, in which time we have weighed and reweighed this passage very many times, as each new piece of evidence came along.

And we say it, in full confidence that every reader (if indeed we have any readers) will retort, 'But how absurd; Dr Day is obviously right: the King has given a "doom," not a "din," and Fear hears it.' And very many will go further, and say, with Miss Everett in *The Year's Work*, 'This strikes a serious blow at the belief in single authorship': for here is C adopting a corrupt reading from his collation of an A-MS.—a thing the original author could never have done. So sentence goes out against William Langland.

But before giving sentence we must consider the evidence—unless we are to follow the dictum of the Queen of Hearts in *Alice in Wonderland*—'Sentence before Verdict and Verdict before Evidence.' A collation of the A-MSS. shows that 'din' *is not the reading of V only*. It is the reading of V, *and* of L, *and* of J—a fact which fundamentally alters the whole problem. Dr Day did not, of course, know this. The fact that it is the reading of these three MSS., not of one MS., does not strengthen the reading threefold: it strengthens it more nearly a hundredfold. For any MS. may make a quite unaccountable mistake, but three independent MSS. cannot be assumed to have made the same quite unaccountable mistake independently.

It may be simpler if we give the passage as it has stood for some years in our unpublished *apparatus criticus* to the A-text. We read in our text:

Dreed at þe dore stood · and þat dene herde,

[1] *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, XXIII, p. 4.

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with the footnote

dene] deone L; dune V; dyne J; dene, deon, done, dune, duende, *etc.* C-text; doom TRUDH$_2$HEAKWMN, and B-text; *we have preferred the* durior lectio.

The most famous of all 'canons of criticism' is that of 'choosing the harder reading[1].' Nothing surprises a would-be editor more at the beginning: few things are found more helpful in the end than the dogma *durior lectio principatum tenet; difficilior lectio potior.* Of course, like all helpful things, the dogma is capable of being abused and misunderstood. The editor who should put readings into his text only because they are harsher and more difficult would indeed succeed in 'making a scarecrow of his author and a byword of himself.' The words *potior, principatum tenet* are not to be interpreted as meaning that the difficult reading is forthwith to be put into the text: they *do* mean that it holds the key of the situation. For the difficult reading is a fact, which has to be accounted for[2]; until we have accounted for it, our problem is evaded, not solved. Whether our accounting for it will lead us to adopt it in our text, remains to be seen. It has done so in the case of 'din'; but the most difficult of all the readings given by the MSS. is *duende*, which no one would adopt. Nevertheless, *duende* is highly significant—*principatum tenet*—it holds a certain mastery, as we shall see.

This principle is one which the great editors of the last two centuries have held constantly in mind. It is implied already in Bengel[3] and Griesbach[4]; it is explained at length by Edward Moore[5] and by Westcott and Hort, whose comment is sheer common sense:

> That which attracts ourselves is not, on the average, unlikely to have attracted transcribers. If one various reading appears to ourselves to give much better sense, or in some other way to excel another, the same apparent superiority may have led to the introduction of the reading in the first instance. *Mere blunders apart, no motive can be thought of which could lead a scribe to introduce consciously a worse reading in place of a better*[6].

And so we get a 'paradoxical result,' as Westcott and Hort rightly call it. Dr Day feels that 'the right word is pretty certainly "doom"'—and everybody will sympathise: we thought so once ourselves. (We have turned up our old proofs and find that our provisional printed text of January 23, 1912, has the reading 'doom.' And we were at that time so certain of it that we had not even put an obelus against it as doubtful.) And now, in

[1] Westcott and Hort, *op. cit.*, Introduction, 1881, p. 28.
[2] 'Every reading is a fact, which has to be accounted for.' Westcott and Hort, *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. 23.
[3] *Novum Testamentum Græcum*, 1734, p. 384, § XXI.
[4] *Novum Testamentum Græce*, 1777, Præfatio XIV: 'præferatur lectio obscurior'; 1796, p. lxi, 'difficilior et obscurior lectio anteponenda.'
[5] *Contributions to the Textual Criticism of the Divina Commedia*, Prolegomena, XXXVI.
[6] Introduction, p. 22.

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our amended judgment (if we offend not to say that it *is* amended) we are certain that 'doom' is wrong.

Because the same reasons that appeal to Dr Day, that did appeal to us, and that we are sure appeal to every one of our readers, would have appealed to the mediæval scribe. Not a scribe but would have preferred 'doom' to 'din.' How then did 'din' come to be written? 'Blunders apart, no scribe would introduce consciously a worse reading in place of a better.' Neither would he, as Dr Moore puts it[1], have introduced 'a more difficult reading instead of an easier one,' blunders apart. Can we save ourselves by calling 'din' a mere blunder, or by saying that it was introduced unconsciously? Can we suppose, for example, that some noise may have interrupted the scribe: that he thought, 'I wish they would stop their din'; and that his hand instinctively wrote 'din' instead of 'doom'? The more absent-minded of us do that kind of thing every day. Unintelligible blunders of this sort occur in one MS. after another.

And, if, as Dr Day thought, V alone had this error, possibly such an explanation would have been plausible. But here comes in the fact that 'din' is found in V *and* L *and* J—three important MSS., and *independent of each other to a degree which hardly any others of the A-family of MSS. rival*[2]. Anything may occur *once*, but it is hardly possible for VLJ to *agree* upon a mere scribal blunder. They are all three full of blunders, but they do not agree upon their blunders. We are not justified, then, in regarding 'din' as a mere blunder—it is a genuine reading with a meaning, and we have got to find what that meaning is.

Falseness, Guile and Mede have been holding an assembly. Much more is made of this in the A-text than in the later B and C versions:

> In myddis a mounteyne · at mydmorewe tide
> Was piȝt vp a pauyloun · proud for þe nones
> And ten þousand of tentis · teldit besides
> Of kniȝtes of cuntres · of comeres aboute.

They are about to come in force to Westminster. The news comes to the King, and he commands a constable—a great military officer—to arrest these tyrants, and to execute summary martial law upon certain of them. And Dread hears—that doom? No. Who is Dread that he should be standing in the presence of King Edward III? Dread is lurking at the door (*Dreed at þe dore stood*), far from the royal presence, ready to scuttle off at a moment's notice. He hears—that *din*: clatter of armed feet, rattle of mail, shouting of words of command, tramp of horses, as this

[1] *Op. cit.*, Prolegomena, xxxvii.

[2] Dr Knott and we agree upon that. Consult his table, *Mod. Phil.*, xii, p. 136 (396) and our article, *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, iv, pp. 380–3.

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punitive expedition collects itself, in a great hurry, for the matter is urgent.

A vivid picture is called up by the one word 'din.' It is very much in the manner of A, whose power of visualisation is so remarkable, as has often been emphasised. The more we think about 'din' the more attractive it is. It adds much to the picture, whilst the commonplace 'doom' adds nothing at all.

Westcott and Hort, with their vast experience, warn us how often 'the relative attractiveness of conflicting readings becomes inverted by careful study[1].' On consideration, 'din' gives (to us) the clearest and most vivid meaning: but assuredly this is not obvious at first sight. At first sight it seems nonsense. The reading 'doom' is, then, one of those typical scribal readings which combine 'the appearance of improvement with the absence of its reality' because 'in literature of a high quality' (and *Piers Plowman* is that) 'it is as a rule improbable that a change made by transcribers should improve an author's sense, or express his full and exact sense better than he has done himself[2].'

Considerations of spelling and palæography support this argument. Either of the two forms *deone* and *dune* might lead to the spelling *done*. The rounded central vowel of the western half of England was written both *eo* and *o*; so *deone* might appear as *done*. And in all parts of the country the high back rounded vowel could be written *o* when the next letter was *n*; so a scribe who had *dune* before him and paid no attention to meaning and pronunciation might have copied the word as *done*[3]. But who would suppose that this ambiguous *done* meant 'din'? The alteration to *dome* would be inevitable.

And so the two readings 'din' and 'doom' are an example of the variation

> in which a critic is able to arrive at a strong and clear conviction that one reading [*din*] is intrinsically much the most probable, and yet to see with equal clearness how the rival reading [*doom*] could not but be attractive to average transcribers [as indeed it was to himself at first sight]. In these cases Internal Evidence of Readings attains the highest degree of certainty which its nature admits[4].

But we cannot decide yet. We must now consider the Internal Evidence of Documents—for 'KNOWLEDGE OF DOCUMENTS SHOULD PRECEDE FINAL JUDGEMENT UPON READINGS[5].' The capitals are not ours. These words are thus emphasised by Westcott and Hort.

That is why it is not possible, in a case like this, to decide which reading is 'pretty certainly' right before having collations of all the MSS. before us.

[1] Introduction, p. 22.
[2] Introduction, p. 27.
[3] As was done by the scribe of F (Cambridge Univ. Ff. 5, 35.)
[4] Westcott and Hort, *Introduction*, p. 29.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 31.

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Let us start from 'din.' That is the reading of VLJ, three of the most independent and important A-MSS. We have seen that the alteration to 'doom' by some scribes was inevitable: 'doom' is read by TRUDH$_2$HEAKWMN. It seems an impressive number of MSS. But 'MSS. must be weighed, not counted.' To count and follow the majority is the most fallible of all methods[1]. Of these twelve MSS. H alone is really independent of the rest. It usually goes with V, and the fact that it reads 'doom' against V's 'din' may have to be attributed to an independent change. The other eleven MSS. are all more or less related—some of them very closely related—and their combined evidence is not as strong as that of the group VLJ, where the independence of the different members gives weight to their evidence.

The B-MSS. read 'doom.' This does not mean that B himself adopted that reading. We have seen that all the B-MSS. often go wrong, having inherited an inferior reading from their common ancestor, *which was not the autograph of the B-poet*, but a faulty and mistaken transcript from it. The test is—what was the reading of *the B-MS. which C had before him*—a B-MS. which, as we have seen above so often, is free from these errors found in all current texts of B.

Turning to C, we find that C had before him the reading 'din.' He took it: and his scribes had to make the best they could of it[2]. They were obviously nonplussed: two of them altered it to 'doom,' as earlier A and B scribes had done before them; one satisfied himself by writing *duende*, which shows how puzzled he was; one wrote *sone*. But that some form of the word 'din' was in the MS. which C used as a basis is clear. It is just one further bit of evidence pointing in the same direction as all the rest, and showing that there was a B-text, used by C, which was more accurate than the archetype of the existing B-MSS.

There is no difficulty in the view that the poet wrote 'din' alike in A, B and C, and that in most A-MSS., in the archetype from which *all* B-MSS. are derived, and in at least two C-MSS., this was altered to 'doom'—an inevitable alteration.

Now turn to the rival theory of Dr Day, which supposes 'doom' to be the original reading. There is no objection to 'doom' in itself, but it is extraordinarily difficult to account for three independent A-MSS., V, L and J, having all altered it to 'din'—the last change any scribe would be likely to make, because, as Dr Day says, 'doom' seems 'pretty certainly'

[1] See above, p. 11. Nevertheless, there are cases where, bad as the method is, it is the only one left open to us. But we can never have much confidence in it.

[2] C III, 217. Dene, deon, dune, *etc.* UYP$_2$PRMQS; dome DN; duende E; done F; sone G.

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right (at first sight). No scribe would consciously introduce a more difficult reading instead of an easier one, says Dr Moore. But we should have to imagine three scribes doing so independently, or else, *unconsciously* making exactly the same strange corruption. Which is surely unreasonable.

The received B-reading 'doom' presents no difficulty on either hypothesis.

Then comes C. 'The C-text is a minute revision of the whole of B,' says Dr Day, quite rightly. But she thinks C collated his B-text with an A-MS. of the Vernon type. However this may be (and we have seen strong reason to doubt it), Dr Day believes that C had before him the B-text. *Why did he not adopt* 'doom,' the reading of all B-MSS., if, as Dr Day says, it is 'pretty certainly' right? But he did *not* adopt it. Dr Day thinks that he collated with a MS. of the Vernon type. And from this he took the reading which, she thinks, is 'pretty certainly' wrong, and deliberately inserted it in his text. Dr Day's argument depends on making C do the very thing which, as Dr Moore and Westcott and Hort say, no one would do. Is it reasonable to suppose that, having a reading before him apparently right in his B-text, he collated an A-text in order to derive from that text a reading apparently wrong? It is not here a question of a scribe following an inferior MS., where he can do nothing else. The B-MSS. give good clear sense, 'doom.' If C inserted 'din' from an A-text of the Vernon type, by collation, he must have done this *consciously*. And further, why did he at the same time overlook the overwhelming majority of typical Vernon mis-readings—many of them quite plausible and attractive—and select just this one above all others—a reading on the face of it inferior—to put into his C-text?

But, it may be retorted, Professors Chambers and Grattan think it, despite its apparent inferiority, the better reading, so why not C also? We think it the better reading because we have collated MSS. J and L and have found that they support V. But C had not that advantage. And we have always before our minds the warning about not neglecting the *durior lectio*. We have read, and we hope profited by, Westcott and Hort's Introduction and Dr Moore's Prolegomena. C had not. And even so, it took some years for us to see things in this light.

This is what we meant when we said above that Dr Day's theory of C collating his B- and A-texts together and forming a new text from them, assumes that C is a modern editor, with all the apparatus of nineteenth- or twentieth-century criticism at his disposal.

So the whole argument hangs upon Dr Day's assumption (*a*) that

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'doom' is 'pretty certainly' right, and then (*b*) that C nevertheless expelled it from his text, and inserted the reading from an A-text which is 'pretty certainly' not right. 'And therefore C is founded on a corrupt text.'

Why is it that, if a scholar makes a dogmatic statement without attempt at proof, little attention is paid it; but if a deduction is derived, by a perilous series of arguments, from a dogmatic statement, itself alleged without attempt at proof, it is held to have great value?

The two other cases, in which C is alleged to have adopted a corrupt reading from an A-MS., are even more hypothetical.

(*b*) In A III, 107–8 [101–2] Mede replies to the king's question whether she will wed Conscience. The critical text of A is very difficult to make out here, but MS. authority favours

'ȝe lord,' quaþ þat lady · 'lord forbede ellis,
But I be holly at ȝour heste · honge me ellys.'

The repetition of *ellis* is clumsy, and seems to have led to the omission of the second of these lines in TDH_2, owing to 'homoioteleuton': the eye of the transcriber of the manuscript from which those three MSS. were copied slipped from the one word *ellis* to the other, and so the line was lost.

The B-text as given by Skeat runs:

'ȝe lorde,' quod þat lady · lorde forbede elles,
But I be holely at ȝowre heste · let hange me sone.
(B, III, 111–12.)

Sone has been substituted for *ellis*, to avoid the awkward repetition. This reading is that of Skeat's edition, and was certainly that of the archetypal MS. from which all extant B-MSS. derive. But it was apparently *not* the reading of the B-text which C used. That text apparently had *ellis* at the end of both lines, just as the A-text had. C seems to have mended things by altering not the second line, but the first:

'ȝe lord,' quod þat lady · lord hit me forbede,
But I be holly at þin hest · lat hange me elles. (C, IV, 147–8.)

Now in place of this explanation, Dr Day assumes a series of conjectural borrowings and collations which appear to us extraordinarily complicated. The Vernon MS. of A has the same reading as the B-text, *sone*. Dr Day accordingly assumes that B got his reading *sone* from a MS. of the Vernon type. (Yet her theory normally is that B followed a MS 'of the Trinity type,' and is thereby differentiated from C, who followed one of the Vernon type.) Then she supposes that C got his reading *elles* by collation with an A-MS. of the U type. (Yet her theory normally is that

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C collated with a MS. of the Vernon type—the very type which C is here supposed to desert in favour of U.) So Dr Day has to assume that, just at the point where B, for no assignable reason, chose to act in a quite unusual way, there also C, also for no reason that can be gathered, happened to act in a quite unusual way. Then Dr Day further assumes that this reading *elles*, which C is assumed to have taken from a MS. of the U-type, is erroneous, and that C is therefore shown to be 'founded on a corrupt text.'

But, in point of fact, this reading of U is also supported by R and J, and thus (though Dr Day of course could not know this) it has stronger MS. support than any other reading. The sense also is good. It seems to us that it has the best claim to be the correct reading, and that, as such, it was naturally inherited by C, through his correct MS. of the B-text. Our explanation of course involves the corollary that the alternative reading *sone*, shared by V and the B-MSS., is a corruption. It is, we think, one of the very numerous corruptions common to all the B-MSS. Among the A-MSS., it is found in VEAM. E, A and M are MSS. which are subject to B-contamination, and so, to a much less degree, is V in all probability. All may have got this reading from collation with some B-MS.

For we must never forget that, although the A-text precedes the B-text, nevertheless, all the extant MSS. of the A-text are later than the B-text, and the majority are much later. So that there is plenty of scope for a backwash of B- and C-readings upon MSS. of the A-text, which complicates our problem immensely. In most A-MSS., B- or C-contamination can be *proved* by the casual introduction of occasional B- or C-lines. Such lines occur in many MSS., including E, A and M, and they seem to have occurred in the common ancestor of V and H. So that, granting that there has been 'contamination,' Dr Day's assumption that it is necessarily the A-MS. which has influenced the B-MS. is not justified. The influence may just as well have been working in the opposite direction. This refusal to allow for the possibility of the B-text imposing its readings upon MSS. of the A-text, vitiates Dr Day's arguments here and elsewhere. The 'contamination' of A-MSS. from B- or C-texts is a most disturbing factor, which for our part we only learnt to take properly into consideration after a good deal of experience of the ever increasing complexity of the problem. There is no denying it in the case of certain corrupt and composite MSS., like W or K. But it is only with great unwillingness that we have been compelled to admit possible traces of it in A-MSS. of primary importance, such as V, H and U. Yet we have been driven to

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the conclusion that it is never safe to neglect the possibility of it in these MSS.

This passage then is one of quite exceptional complexity, and one where dogmatism would be more than usually dangerous. Dr Day's explanation would involve a chain of three assumptions, all, as it seems to us, extraordinarily unlikely. Nor is it clear to us what these assumptions would prove. Her main argument is that B differs from C in that B follows a MS. of the Trinity type and C one of the Vernon. Yet here it is assumed that B follows a MS. of the Vernon type whilst C does not—an assumption which must surely invalidate the main argument. Nor can we see how this assumption helps to prove multiple authorship. It is no part of the theory of single authorship to assume that William Langland made his new texts necessarily from the original rough drafts of his earlier texts. He may have used fair copies, transcribed by copyists, and these may—nay, must—have contained errors. There has been much argument as to whether one and the same man could or could not, after a lapse of fifteen or more years, have adopted from such transcripts certain assumed *gross and obvious* errors. But here it is no question of an obvious error, it is a question of two ways of expressing the same thought. What *can* be proved from this, as to authorship? Is it seriously argued that, after the lapse of fifteen years, the original author would necessarily have detected a slight scribal change, which makes no difference whatever to the sense?

(*c*) Even more hopeless is it to draw any argument from Dr Day's next example. In A III, 134 (126) Mede gives the gaolers gold

To vnfetere þe fals · fle where hym lykiþ.

Here MSS. VHW of the A-text have *and* before *fle*, and VJE *hem* instead of *him*. In both these readings Skeat's C-text agrees with the reading offered by V, and Dr Day sees in this signs of collation with an inferior text. The mere addition or insertion of *and* is negligible, but *hem* for *him* alters the meaning: *þe fals* is presumably the character in the allegory so called; but if we alter *him* to the plural *hem*, it must mean false people generally. In this inferior reading, Dr Day argues, the C-text follows V: she says 'all C-MSS. but IFM read "hem."'

But this is not so. The C-readings are *him*, IUDYP$_2$MSFKGN; *hem*, PERQ. So the real C-reading is, after all, *him*, not *hem*. It is not merely that *him* turns out to be the reading of eleven as against four MSS.: the point is that these eleven represent a diversity and strength of tradition which the remaining four cannot approach. Of the two great groups into

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which the C-MSS. fall, one group (the better one) is unanimous for *him*, and the overwhelming weight of authority in the second group is also on the same side: *hem* is the reading of only one sub-group, and not unanimous at that. The actual reading, in fact, is the reverse of what Dr Day's argument demands.

Which shows once again that, before judging, we must have fuller collations before us than Skeat's editions afford.

(*d*) The case in which the B-text is supposed to show a corruption incompatible with B being the same man as A is equally assailable.

Here again it is suggested that the writer of B collated from a MS. of the Vernon (VH) type.

In A v, 152 (153) the A-MSS. (except VH)[1] make Glutton say to the alewife:

Hast þou [ought] quaþ he · any hote spices.

The B-text gives:

Hastow auȝte in þi purs · any hote spices.

The C-text:

What hauest þow quaþ he · eny hote spices.

The B-MSS., and the VH MSS. of the A-text, are then the only ones which have the words *in þi purs*. Dr Day's contention is that *in þi purs* is an afterthought, an erroneous addition of VH, which B adopted. Since B usually does not share the errors of the VH family, Dr Day assumes that here he collated with an A-MS. of that type. Thereby, it is argued, he was following the worse text, and affording some argument that he was not the original author.

Now, in the first place, we do not regard this variant as one upon which *alone* any argument at all can be safely based. To speak of asking an alewife 'if she has spices' or 'if she has spices in her pouch' (the natural place to keep them) is to use two phrases of a kind which the ancestor of VH (who was treating the A-text very freely) and B (who was doing the same) might well have happened to interchange independently. Obviously, such coincidences are very unlikely to occur frequently. But in a thousand lines, in the course of which both the ancestral MS. of VH and the B-reviser make constant small alterations, what is to prevent their having once by accident made the same (very obvious) variation? Variants of this kind, we claim, prove no connection between two groups of MSS. if they occur in isolation. They must be found in certain numbers.

[1] ought UJL; *om* TRDH$_2$EKWM; ouȝt I þi purs VH.

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May we quote what we wrote on this line some fourteen years ago, but did not trouble to print at that time?

> There were thousands of alewives and thousands of gluttons in fourteenth-century London. The words must have been uttered dozens of times every day, and were doubtless current, just as in twentieth-century London the words 'Have a drink?' 'Well, I don't mind.' Suppose two men to utter these words in the presence of a dozen others. If called upon later to repeat what had been said, some of the dozen would give the formula 'I don't mind if I do,' others 'I don't mind.' We cannot divide them up into families according to their preference for either formula. It is the mere froth and foam of current speech.

We are sure, we repeat, that no argument can be based upon a variant like this, *in isolation*. We must find more similar instances pointing in the same direction, and the group *may* then have significance. Dr Knott[1] regards this, together with some half dozen other cases, as an example of VH preserving the *correct* reading, although all the other thirteen A-MSS. go wrong: these correct readings were then inherited, he holds, by the B-text. This was of course not through any collation of B with the VH family, but simply because they *are* the correct readings, and as such were found in the MS. of A which B used, a MS. which was free from all the peculiar misreadings both of VH and of the rival group of A-MSS. but would naturally share a *correct* reading with either. We ourselves doubt (and we have expressed this doubt elsewhere)[2] whether even these seven examples taken together are striking enough to give us much confidence in any conclusion we base on them. But, if we *are* to draw any inference, we have incomparably more confidence in Dr Knott's than in Dr Day's: for an inference drawn from a group of seven readings pointing the same way is immeasurably stronger than an inference drawn from one in isolation.

However, for the sake of argument, let us grant Dr Day's first assumption (against ourselves) that *in þi purs* is a reading of sufficient importance to base an argument upon it in isolation, and her second assumption (against Dr Knott) that it is an erroneous reading. (This is essential for her argument, for the common possession of the *correct* reading, we have constantly to emphasise, proves no special relationship.) We have still a third assumption to consider, that this incorrect reading was adopted, by collation, from an A-MS. of the Vernon type, by the author of the B-text. Why? Why cannot the collation have been in the opposite direction? If *in þi purs* really *is* an erroneous reading, the obvious explanation seems to us to be that it was interpolated into the ancestor of VH from some B-MS., *not vice versa*.

[1] *Mod. Phil.*, XII, 1915, p. 138 (398).
[2] *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, XI, 1916, p. 262.

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Yet, even if here again it be assumed that we are wrong, and that Dr Day is right, she has still only proved that an erroneous reading was inserted (by collation from a MS. of the VH type) into the ancestor of all the extant B-MSS. which, we have so often seen, was something very different from the autograph of B himself. B himself is not necessarily implicated at all. Nothing is necessarily proved, beyond the corruptness of the archetype of all the extant B-MSS.—which we know already. Only if and when the corruption is shared by the accurate MS. of B which C inherited, have we any grounds for thinking that the author of B is himself involved—and that is not the case here. Therefore, after all, we have attained nothing beyond further confirmation of the fact that the archetype of all B-MSS. was frequently erroneous. That the error in this case was due to B himself is mere assumption.

So that Dr Day's argument is only valid if we allow her to make four assumptions in succession. Assuming that each assumption is as likely as not to be right (and this seems to us a very hopeful assumption), the chance of all four assumptions coming off in succession would be one in sixteen.

To sum up: of these four instances where an *incorrect* reading is alleged to have been adopted by the reviser, an examination of the MSS. definitely disproves one, and most seriously weakens the remaining three. Each of these remaining three depends upon a most perilous series of assumptions: if one link in the chain fails, the whole argument fails in each case.

Yet *The Year's Work* speaks of Dr Day having 'proved the point' that B and C used different texts of A, and of 'the use of a corrupt text' being apparent.

We have dealt with the cases where Dr Day tries to show that the readings which she thinks were inserted into their respective texts by B or by C, from their supposed collation of an A-MS. of the Vernon type, are *incorrect* readings. We have not space to deal with the others, nor is it necessary; for, apart from the *incorrect* readings, these instances prove nothing. If the readings which B or C share with Vernon are *correct*, or if, though inaccurate, they may fairly be supposed to have arisen independently, no question of 'contamination' arises.

Space forbids our going at length into Dr Day's list. The only instance she quotes from the *Prologue* is, that the Vernon MS. and C share the reading 'lived hard' instead of 'lived strait.' This she attributes to contamination. Now there are, according to our lists, 86 Vernon variants in

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the *Prologue*, whilst the C-text makes such extensive and reckless changes that a mere enumeration becomes difficult. (Let the reader turn back to p. 11 and mark the wholesale way in which C alters the text he had before him, inherited from A and B.) The question is—which on *a priori* grounds is most likely, (*a*) that on the one hand, among all this great welter of changes, most of them merely substitution of similars, it should happen *by accident* that we get this reading 'lived hard' for 'lived strait' in both Vernon and C, or (*b*) on the other hand, that C, whilst making all these reckless changes, constantly altering both phraseology and meaning, nevertheless, coming to the phrase 'lived strait,' said to himself, 'I should like to alter that to "lived hard" but dare not do so without MS. authority'—and so consulted a MS. of the Vernon type.

We are convinced that, whether C was the same man as B and A, or not, he would have altered 'lived strait' to 'lived hard' without a moment's hesitation, if he had wanted to. There are also, in fact, in the *Prologue* two or three other insignificant variants common to the Vernon MS. and the C-text, which Dr Day has missed. But they also prove absolutely nothing. The real test is this. Among the 86 Vernon variants in the *Prologue* are a large number of important ones—not synonyms, but real changes of meaning—which could not recur accidentally. It is by the occurrence or non-occurrence of *these* in the C-text that we must judge whether it has been collated with a MS. of the Vernon type. For example, when

His sel shulde not be sent · to disseyue þe peple (l. 76.)

appears in Vernon as:

Heo scholde not beo so hardi · to deceyue so þe peple,

we have a change which could not recur by mere coincidence. There are nine[1] such variants in the Vernon text of the *Prologue*, which C might have taken over. *But in no single case does C do so.*

Now turn to Passus I. In this Passus there are some 170 Vernon variants. Of these 170, seventeen are important and are shared by H (VH variants). Not one of the seventeen is copied in the C-text. These are the cases that must be investigated if we want to find out whether or no there is Vernon-contamination of C. Dr Day does not investigate any one of them. She quotes instead two instances which tell directly *against* her theory that B and C used different types of A, B's being 'on the whole' of a Trinity type, and C's of a Vernon. For in these cases (A I, 11, 125) Trinity and Vernon actually go together. In the first case B agrees

[1] At ll. 21, 22, 32, 53, 76, 78, 79, 82, 107. Cases where C diverges from both or all the rival A-readings are, of course, not enumerated.

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with the Trinity + Vernon reading and C does not; in the second case C agrees with the Trinity + Vernon reading and B does not. In both cases the variations are due merely to the substitution of similars, and nothing could show more pointedly how impossible it is to base any kind of argument on this phenomenon.

We have drawn up a list of the important VH variants in the *Prologue* and Passus I–VI. They number 101, and 76 of them occur in places where the C-text runs quite parallel with the A-text. These 76 should be considered completely, as a group.

We meant to print the list, but space forbids. If our colleagues really think that the matter needs further argument, we will print our lists later, completely.

To consider a few selected cases of the substitution of similars, apart from the complete lists, is fallacious, because the likelihood of coincidences depends upon the total number of possibilities. A man should not stake his whole fortune upon the chance of throwing double sixes at a single toss of the dice, for the coincidence is improbable. But let him toss the dice often enough, and the chance that the coincidence will in the end occur ceases to be improbable: if he goes on, sooner or later it *must* occur. The fact is obvious, yet philologists seem constantly to overlook its significance.

VII. ON THE ALLEGED UNWILLINGNESS OF C TO DEPART FROM THE ESTABLISHED VERSION, WHERE A AND B AGREE.

Finally *The Year's Work* tells us:

> An important point made by Dr Görnemann and emphasised by Miss Day, is that 'where B treats A freely C does the same by B.' This probably is due to the fact that where A and B agreed, the reviser of C was unwilling to depart from the established version, but if they disagreed, he felt free to treat his material as he liked.

Now if C really *does* avoid altering the text, where A and B agree, this obviously supplies no reason why we should assume multiple authorship. On the contrary, if a poet, on first revising his work, is satisfied with a passage, it is natural that he should remain satisfied, and leave it untouched in a second revision. But if he is dissatisfied, and recasts his work, he may well still remain dissatisfied, and recast it again. In 1798 Wordsworth wrote:

> Beside their moss-grown hut of clay,
> Not twenty paces from the door,
> A scrap of land they have, but they
> Are poorest of the poor.
> This scrap of land he from the heath
> Enclosed when he was stronger;
> But what avails the land to them
> Which they can till no longer?

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In 1827 Wordsworth, leaving the rest unchanged, modified the last couplet. And, never altering a word in the first six lines, he recast again the last couplet in 1828, again in 1832, again in 1837, again in 1840; finally, in 1845, he returned in this last couplet to what is almost the reading of 1798, incorporating however one later change: very much in the manner in which C combines A and B with regard to the preaching of Conscience and Reason.

It is necessary, in fairness to Dr Day, to make it clear that she does not claim this alleged practice of C as a proof of multiple authorship. On the contrary, she says the facts suggest to her that, 'assuming multiple authorship, where A and B agree, C had too much respect for the established version to make large alterations.' Dr Day is merely suggesting an explanation compatible with the multiple authorship which, on other grounds, she thinks likely.

But *is* it really true that, where A and B agree, C is 'unwilling to depart from the established version'? It will be remembered that Professor Manly[1] found proof that C must be a different man, in the reckless way in which C altered the established version, which B had taken over unchanged from A.

Dr Görnemann has, of course, asserted that it is very rare to find examples of single lines which vary in one of the three versions only[2]. In proof, she produced ten instances of lines which vary in all three versions. The first is A Pro., 58:

For coueityse of copes · construeth hit ille.

B Pro., 61:

For coueitise of copis · construed it as thei wolde.

C 1, 59:

For coueitise of copes · contrariede som doctors.

It is as if we should assert that fair-haired children are rare in a certain town, and, as evidence, produce ten dark-haired children. But, on examination, it will be found that the alleged A-reading *construeth hit ille* is a 'Vernon' misreading. The line really runs in the A-text:

For coueitise of copis · construide it as þei wolde.

A and B, then, in reality are alike here; yet C feels free to modify the line; and it is thus an example of the very thing asserted to be rare. On examination the same is found to apply to at least three of the other lines quoted. Four of our ten dark-haired children, prove, in fact, to be merely fair-haired children whose hair has been dyed. And the dye is coming off.

[1] See above, p. 11.

[2] 'Einzelne Zeilen die nur in einer der drei Versionen abweichen, sind sehr selten,' p. 86.

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VIII. THE TEST FROM ALLITERATION.

This concludes the examination of the summary, as given in *The Year's Work*, of Dr Day's work on the textual problems of *Piers Plowman*. It is impossible here to enter into other questions, such as the conception of the character of Piers in A, B, and C. These must be reserved for another place. And a large number of the textual problems which Dr Day raises have, of necessity, to be passed over for want of space. But we cannot ignore the paper which Dr Day published in 1922, *Alliteration of the Versions of Piers Plowman, in its bearing on their Authorship*[1].

In this article Dr Day published some very useful statistics showing the way prepositions and conjunctions were allowed to alliterate in *Piers Plowman*.

How *b*usy they *be* · a*b*out the maze.

Such alliteration is a feature of all the sections into which Professor Manly and his followers would divide the poem: it is found in A 1, A 2, B and C[2].

Now it may be admitted that, if we had found that A consistently allowed prepositions and conjunctions to alliterate in large numbers, whilst in the B- or C-additions such alliteration was avoided, we should have had an argument against unity of authorship. So far the evidence is purely negative: all versions allow such alliteration.

But Dr Day finds that 'in the different sections, different prepositions alliterate,' and she finds in this an even stronger argument than would have been found in the complete exclusion of such alliteration from certain sections:

> Although a poet might very conceivably alter his practice in allowing them [the prepositions] to alliterate, it is not likely that he would at different periods employ different selections of alliterating prepositions[3].

Now the most remarkable feature of this investigation is that the difference is most striking, not between A 1, A 2, B and C, but between two sections of B—the section which Dr Day calls B 1, where B is making additions from time to time to A, and the section which she calls B 2, where B leaves A behind, and makes the long continuation (Passus XI–XX). John But's work Dr Day finds too short to allow of statistics of any value:

> But (she says) as regards the rest of the poem, I think it can be definitely stated that the evidence of the alliteration of *Piers Plowman* points towards its being the

[1] *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, XVII, pp. 403–9.

[2] In using the words B and C in this section we follow Dr Day's practice. B means the B-additions; it excludes lines taken over from A. C means the C-additions; it excludes lines taken over from A or B.

[3] Page 407.

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work of five different hands [i.e., A 1, A 2, B 1, B 2 and C], and that this evidence is most constraining where it differentiates that part of the B-text which is a revision of the A-text [B 1] from the later cantos continuing the work [B 2][1].

Now this result ought, we think, to give rise to considerable hesitation. No investigator hitherto, whatever his belief, has tried to separate B into two authors. If Dr Day's new test demands such differentiation, it looks as if it were approaching dangerously near a *reductio ad absurdum*. We are to believe that one writer (B 1) worked through A, making additions like the *Rat Parliament* from time to time, and that then a quite different man picked up the work and wrote the long B-continuation, Passus XI–XX.

This is more serious for Professor Manly than for any of us, for the peculiarities of B, which differentiate this remarkable writer on the one hand from A, and on the other from C, are one of the foundations of Manly's argument. If B cannot maintain his identity, and is to be himself subject to dichotomy, where are we to stop?

Dr Day is quite clear about her result, in both the divisions into which her investigation falls:

In both cases, it is between B 1 and B 2 that the distinction is clearest, most strikingly in the alliteration of the prepositions *for* and *to*[2].

Space does not admit of a detailed examination of every instance. We will therefore take Dr Day's case where she herself regards it as strongest —in the prepositions *for* and *to*. She says:

for plays an important part in distinguishing between the sections. It alliterates in A 1 (10 times), in B 2 (15 times), and C (11 or 12 times), but not in A 2, and once only in B 1[3].

Certainly *for* alliterates 15 times in B 2: but it does not alliterate there with any regularity. In B 2, Passus XI (431 lines), it alliterates 5 times; then in Passus XII (293 lines), XIII (460 lines), XIV (332 lines), and in the first 476 lines of XV it alliterates not at all; that makes a passage in all of 1561 lines which B 2 manages to write without ever letting the alliteration fall on *for*: yet had he kept up the rate at which he alliterated on *for* in Passus XI, he should have alliterated thus in this passage some 16 or 18 times[4].

How does this affect the argument that the 'sharp distinction' between the fondness of B 2 for this alliteration, and the unwillingness of A 2 and B 1 so to alliterate, constitutes a 'not negligible argument[5]' in favour of multiple authorship?

A 2 contains 751 lines in all: it is argued that the writer is not the same man as B 2 because he does not alliterate on *for*. Yet now we find that

[1] Page 407. [2] Page 407. [3] Page 405.
[4] We assume the complete accuracy of Dr Day's lists, upon which our argument is based.
[5] Page 406.

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B 2 can write a passage of more than twice the length of A 2, and never alliterate on *for*. Still more strange is the argument that B 1 (who after all *does* manage to alliterate on *for* once in his 1100 odd lines) must be separated (on the ground of his sparing use of this alliteration) from B 2, whose predilection for it is shown in 15 examples. For we now find B 2 writing a passage much longer than the whole of B 1 and never alliterating on *for* at all.

B 2 after this period of abstention gives us a passage in which we have two more alliterations on *for*. Then from XVI, 163 to XVIII, 429 (a passage of 892 lines) such alliteration never occurs. Then from XVIII, 430 to the end of the poem—a slightly shorter passage (864 lines)—it occurs *eight* times.

So that, *if this test is worth anything*, our B-text must be divided not into B 1 and B 2, but into six: B 1 (in which the *for* alliteration does occur, but only once), B 2 (where it is very frequent), B 3 (where it is quite non-existent), B 4 (where it occurs), B 5 (where again it is quite non-existent), and B 6 (where again it is very frequent). And note that the distinctions between B 2, B 4 and B 6 on the one hand, and B 3 and B 5 on the other, are actually sharper than those which distinguish either of them from B 1. These distinctions give us, if we add A 1, A 2, John But and C, ten authors for *Piers Plowman*; or, if we lump together B 2, B 4, B 6 and B 3, B 5, at any rate seven authors.

The next most striking criterion Dr Day finds is the alliteration of *to*[1]. This alliterates, we are told, in A 1 (twice), in A 2 (4 times), in B 2 (11 times), in C (5 times), but not in B 1, hence distinguishing sharply between B 1 and B 2. Yet in B 2 *to* never alliterates between XIII, 431 and XVI, 147, a space of 1108 lines—that is to say, a space about as long as B 1 itself. This passage, then, must be taken from B 2 and given to a separate author, or else to B 1.

And it is not merely a question of *for* and *to*. We find a different group of alliterating prepositions, conjunctions and adverbs in every passus of B 2. For example, *against* and *ere* alliterate in Passus XIX (*ere* twice), but never again throughout the whole remaining nine passus of B 2 (3557 lines). Or take Passus XVI and XVII. These form a section of 625 lines, and in this section we find alliteration on *afore*, *beside*, *under*, and *without* (twice). Yet none of these words alliterate anywhere else in the remaining 3410 lines of B 2.

But when we try to divide B 2 up on this basis, we find it impossible: *because each preposition or conjunction would give us a different distribution.*

[1] Page 407.

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Our different alliterating tests cross, interchange and cancel out. No human ingenuity *can* divide B 2 on any such basis, and we agree that Dr Day was right in leaving her B 2 a unit, one and indivisible.

Now we are anxious to go as far as possible with Dr Day. Accepting her view that it is not likely that a poet would employ different selections of alliterating prepositions at different times, we are driven to admit that B 2 was the kind of person who *did* this unlikely thing. Yet it is just because they do this unlikely thing that A 1, A 2, B 1 and C are distinguished by Dr Day from B 2 and from each other. If it *is* an unlikely and exceptional thing, then the fact that A 1, A 2, B 1, B 2 and C all do it, can only be an argument in favour of their being all one and the same man—a man who did exceptional things, no doubt.

Of course we do not wish to draw any such conclusion. What has happened seems to us capable of the simplest of explanations. If we play a game of musical chairs, as the chairs grow fewer, more and more players must stand out. Precisely so, as we diminish the size of the units we consider, so do more and more alliterating prepositions have to stand out.

The falling of the alliteration upon these unstressed words is not a very common thing: it occurs on an average about three times in 100 lines, or so. In a short section of 700 lines we should accordingly expect to find only a score of instances, or thereabouts. And the number of unstressed words considered is rather large: it amounts to 35. Therefore, in such a short section, there simply is not room for them all to occur. And the law of averages does not allow us to demand that even the commoner ones shall occur with any frequency. A long section of 4000 lines is a different matter—it gives scope and opportunity.

Dr Day's B 2 comprises 4035 lines. This gives plenty of room for examples to occur of alliteration on the great majority of the 35 words which Dr Day has examined. Not on quite all, for we must still allow something for chance. 'In B 2 practically all alliterate, the only important exception being *while*[1].' We cannot draw any argument from the absence of *while*: but most of the rest are there, as on such a broad basis they ought to be.

Next in length comes C, which consists of about 2000 lines or more—that is, only half the length of B 2. We are not surprised to find a much shorter list of alliterating words. 'The principal alliterating words in C are *before, by, for, from, so, to, with*[2].'

A 1 comes next with 1833 lines: 'the principal alliterating words are *for, from, so, while, with*[3].' So *before, by* and *to* are no longer found

[1] Page 406. [2] Page 406. [3] Page 406.

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frequently alliterating in A 1. Yet *before* occurs twice in A 1: although in B 2, which Dr Day finds 'distinguished from all the other texts by the variety of its alliteration,' it never occurs after xv, 297—that is, in 2222 lines, a passage much longer than A 1. In A 1 *by* occurs twice: yet in B 2 it never occurs between xiii, 369 and xx, 95, a passage of 2652 lines. In A 1 *to* also occurs twice, and we have seen how occasional is its appearance in B 2, where two passages, one of 1561 lines and another of 892 lines, occur without it. A 1 then is, in proportion to its length, adequately supplied with alliteration on *before*, *by* and *to*: and Dr Day gives A 1 *for*, *from*, *so* and *with*; so it is in fact provided with *the very same alliterating words as C*, a section of about the same length, where the principal alliterating words are, as we have seen, *before*, *by*, *to*, *for*, *from*, *so*, *with*.

From which we can argue that sections of about 2000 lines will probably be well provided with most of these more commonly alliterating words.

When we come to the short sections, B 1 (1100 lines) and A 2 (751 lines), we find exactly what we might expect. These briefer sections do not give room for so many of the prepositions to occur. Many of the alliterating words are not found at all, others occur only once.

'In B 1,' Dr Day tells us, 'the principal alliterating words are *by* and *with*.' This is natural, for they are amongst the commonest in all sections, and therefore will be the last to disappear as we consider shorter and still shorter sections. *With* alliterates in all sections, A 1, A 2, B 1, B 2, and C, *by* in every one except the 751 lines of A 2, where its absence is quite intelligible; it is simply attributable to the shortness of the section. What is really much more remarkable is that, although *by* alliterates 8 times in B 2, nevertheless, as we have seen, there is a continuous length of 2652 lines in B 2 in which *by* does not alliterate. Which shows how great a measure of variation we must be prepared to find, even in sections admittedly written by one and the same author.

In the 751 lines of A 2 there simply is not room, as has been pointed out, for any of these alliterating words to appear with very great frequency: *to* alliterates 4 times: it is a word which alliterates also twice in A 1, 11 times in B (we have seen how erratically), 5 times in C.

All this is, then, exactly what we should expect if the texts were written by one man. As we consider shorter and ever shorter sections, the examples of a phenomenon which is in any case not very common naturally become fewer and fewer, more and more subject to chance.

Of course the same person would not deliberately 'at different periods employ different selections of alliterating prepositions.' But chance will

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necessitate that he should employ them with a certain irregularity. Dr Day's statistics merely show the operation of the law which dictates the premium a man has to pay when he insures his house against theft or fire—the more we spread the chance the less the individual risk becomes.

All that is proved is the impossibility of arguing upon a too limited basis: the smaller the number of lines considered, the more erratic become the results.

'The variety of alliteration found in B 2 divides it from all the other texts[1].' Of course. But if we cut up the 4000 lines of B 2 into sections of 2000 lines each, this variety of alliteration is much impaired. If we cut it up into sections of 1000 lines, it becomes still less. Equally, if we compare B 2 with sections of approximately 2000 lines, namely A 1 and C, the variety is impaired; if with sections of approximately 1000 lines, namely A 2 and B 1, it becomes again less.

IX. AT THE SHRINE OF POSEIDON.

A pious Greek once took an Epicurean philosopher, who had denied that the gods intervene in human affairs, to the temple of Poseidon, and showed him the votive tablets of those who had called upon the sea-god in the moment of danger, and had come safe to land. 'There,' he said triumphantly. 'Aye,' said the sceptic, 'but where are the tablets of those who were drowned?'

It is no good collecting the 'pros' unless we also collect the 'cons': or to put it in another way, it is no good collecting instances in favour of a certain hypothesis, unless we go on to estimate whether these instances are more than we might reasonably expect to find as the result of purely fortuitous coincidences.

A great scholar has put it:

> But while it is wise to observe things that are alike, it is also wise to look for things that differ: for when the imagination is carried away by the detection of points of resemblance—one of the most pleasing of mental pursuits—it is apt to be impatient of any divergence in its new found parallels, and so may overlook, or refuse to recognise such[2].

We have had our eyes constantly open to this danger, but it would be insolent to suppose that we have therefore escaped it. For it is a fault common to the whole human race. We have already quoted the saying of Francis Bacon, 'Men mark when they hit, but never mark when they miss.'

[1] Page 407.

[2] Mahan, *Sea Power*, p. 3.

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NOTE.

Manuscripts of *Piers Plowman*.

Since Skeat drew up his list, so many manuscripts of *Piers Plowman* have changed hands, and so many have been discovered, that it is desirable to have a list revised to date. In the following lists the letters or 'sigla' devised by Skeat to signify the different MSS. have been, as far as possible, retained. In consequence, the same letter is used for different MSS., provided they are not of the same 'Text.' In some cases different 'Texts,' preserved in the same MS., have to be signified by different letters. Thus the A-text preserved in Bodl. Digby 145 is signified by K, the C-text in the same MS. by D_2, because in the case of the C-text the letter K had already been appropriated by Skeat for MS. Digby 171.

A complete revision of the 'sigla' may ultimately be called for; but it would cause unnecessary confusion to introduce it yet.

No attempt is made to record systematically the imperfections of the MSS. in the following list.

Manuscripts of the A-text.

T Trin. Coll. Camb. R.3.14.
R Bodl., Rawlinson, Poet., 137.
U University College, Oxford, 45.
D Bodl., Douce, 323.
H_2 Brit. Mus., Harl., 6041.
V Bodl., Vernon. (Printed by Skeat.)
H Brit. Mus., Harl., 875.
J MS. formerly in the possession of Sir Henry Ingilby.
L Lincoln's Inn, 150.
E Trin. Coll., Dublin, D.4.12.
A Bodl., Ashmole, 1468.
K Bodl., Digby, 145.
W The Duke of Westminster's MS. at Eaton Hall.
N National Library of Wales.
M MS. in the possession of Allan H. Bright, Esq.
H_3 Brit. Mus.[1], Harl., 3954.

Manuscripts of the B-text.

L Bodl., Laud, Misc. 581. (Printed by Skeat.)
M Brit. Mus., Addl., 35287. (Formerly Ashburnham, 129.)
R Bodl., Rawlinson, Poet., 38 (imperfect: a fragment was found in Brit. Mus., Lansdowne, 398).
F Corpus Christi Coll., Oxford, 201.
C Cambridge Univ. Lib., Dd.1.17.
B Bodley, 814 (B-text from B iii)[2].
Bm Brit. Mus., Addl., 10574 (B-text from B iii).
Cot Brit. Mus., Cotton, Caligula, A.xi (B-text from B iii).
J Bodl.[3], James 2.
Y Newnham Coll., Cambridge. (Formerly Yates-Thompson.)
O Oriel Coll., Oxford, 79.
C_2 Cambridge Univ. Lib., Ll.4.14.

[1] This is B-contaminated, and so corrupt in its earlier passus that we have not collated it.

[2] On this see Skeat's B-text, pp. 391–3.

[3] Almost negligible. A modern transcript of a few hundred lines 'taken at random from a text closely resembling that of B.' It is available only for one of the passages discussed above.

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G Cambridge Univ. Lib.[1], Gg.4.31.
W Trin. Coll. Camb., B.15.17. (Printed by Wright, 1842, 1856.)
Cr Lost MS.[2], known from Crowley's printed edition.
Hm Huntington Library, California, HM. 128. (Formerly Ashburnham 130.)
Ht Huntington Library, California, HM. 114. (Formerly Phillipps 8252.)

MANUSCRIPTS OF THE C-TEXT.

T Trin. Coll. Camb., R.3.14 (C-text from C. XII, 297).
H_2 Brit. Mus., Harl., 6041 (C-text from C. XII, 297).
U Brit. Mus., Addl., 35157.
D Bodl., Douce, 104.
X Huntington Library, California[3], HM. 143.
Y Bodl., Digby, 102.
I MS. in the possession of the Earl of Ilchester.
P_2 Brit. Mus., Addl., 34779. (Formerly Phillipps 9056.)
O Brit. Mus., Addl. 10574 (C-text to C. III, 128).
L Brit. Mus., Cotton, Caligula, A. XI (C-text to C. III, 128).
B_2 Bodley, 814 (C-text to C. III, 128).
D_2 Bodl., Digby, 145 (C-text from C. XIII).
P Huntington Library, California, HM. 114. (Formerly Phillipps, 8231: printed by Whitaker and Skeat.)
E Bodl., Laud, 656.
R Brit. Mus., Royal Library, 18. B. XVII.
M Brit. Mus., Cotton, Vespasian, B. XVI.
Q Cambridge Univ. Lib., Addl., 4325.
S Corpus Christi Coll. Camb., 293.
Z Bodley, 851.
W The Duke of Westminster's MS. at Eaton Hall (C-text from C. XIII).
F Cambridge Univ. Lib., Ff.5.35.
K Bodl., Digby, 171.
G Cambridge Univ. Lib., Dd.3.13.
N Brit. Mus., Harl., 2376.
V Trin. Coll. Dublin, D.4.1.
N_2 National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth. (Very corrupt, but mainly C-text from C. XI.)

R. W. CHAMBERS.
J. H. G. GRATTAN.

LONDON,
LIVERPOOL.

[1] G 1 stands for Pro.-Pass. VII; G 2 Pass. VIII–XX.

[2] Cr. 1, Cr. 2, Cr. 3 distinguish the three editions (all dated 1550); Cr. 4 is Rogers' reprint of 1561; Cr. 5 MS. 201 Caius Coll. Camb., which is a transcript of Cr. 4.

[3] This MS. had been unknown till July 1924. It was then sold by Messrs Sotheby, through whose courtesy we were allowed to make as full an examination of it as time permitted. For further information we are indebted to Mr R. B. Haselden, the curator of MSS. at the Huntington Library.

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LUCIAN AND BOIARDO IN 'TIMON OF ATHENS'

BETWEEN twenty and thirty years ago I read the following statement by an authority I had every reason to hold in high respect:

> The first Italian comedies, like the tragedies, were written in rhyme. One early example is entitled to notice, both on account of the subject and as the work of an excellent poet, the *Timone* of Boiardo. It is little more than a translation of Lucian's Dialogue, yet was, we feel confident, the channel through which Shakespeare gained the acquaintance with that work revealed in his *Timon of Athens*[1].

The claim, which the bulk of his proper subject of course forbade Dr Garnett to substantiate, a little surprised me, as one I did not remember to have seen made before, nor now can I recall any critic, old or recent, who has adverted to it[2]. Myself had not then, I think, read Boiardo's piece, but I registered a vow to do so, and performing it no long time afterwards came to the conclusion that Dr Garnett was perfectly right. Since he had not argued the matter, that course was open to myself; and about 1909–10 I put down much to which I had not then time to give proper shape, and which has lain idly by me ever since. Lighting upon it recently and still feeling it sound, I resolved to complete my article. Leaving out as matter generally agreed upon Shakespeare's debt to North's Plutarch and to Painter—save that John Alday's translation (? 1566, 1574 and 1581) of Pierre Boaistuau's tale in *Theatrum Mundi* (French trs. 1558) has perhaps a better claim to notice even than Painter's —omitting, too, the whole question brought to a head by Fleay as to suspected portions of *Timon of Athens*, because it has mainly to do with Alcibiades and Apemantus, characters of which Lucian and Boiardo make no mention, I confine myself to these two last-named authors.

Beyond Plutarch's bare allusion to 'wrong offered' to Timon and to Antony's citation of him as a parallel for ingratitude shown to himself by supposed friends, we hear nothing from him or his translators of any life of Timon preceding his misanthropy. That large development of the tale which we find in Shakespeare—Timon's great wealth, extravagance, ruin, and vain appeal to fair-weather friends; his self-imposed exile, discovery of treasure, visitation by and stern repulse of former flatterers—these are, so far as we know, imaginary additions to the story made in a work many

[1] Richard Garnett, *Italian Literature*, London, 1898, p. 230.

[2] Prof. E. G. Gardner, *Dukes and Poets in Ferrara*, 1904, p. 276, spoke of it only as 'heralding Shakespeare.' Mr. K. Deighton, *Timon* (Arden ed., 1905), illustrated its debt to Lucian without mention of Boiardo.

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years later than the *Lives*, the *Timon sive Misanthropos* of Lucian[1], whose Greek it is highly unlikely that Shakespeare could read. He might, just possibly, study the dialogue in Erasmus' Latin translation, which first appeared at Lyons 1535[2], though the dedication therein of this particular dialogue to Thomas Ruthall, bearing date 'Londini, Anno MDIIII,' states it to have been made on the eve of his leaving England in that year. The whole of Lucian was translated by Jakob Motsheym of Strassburg in 1538[3]; and Tschischwitz enumerated three Italian versions published at Venice, 'before 1527,' in 1535, and in 1551, respectively; besides 'Lucien, traduit par Filbert Bretin. Imprimé par Abel L'Angelier, Paris, 1582[4].' None of these, surely, can rival Boiardo's work as a probable source for Shakespeare; nor would even Lucian's *Cynicus*, translated by More in the Lyons volume above, be a good source for Apemantus, for he defends his simple life against a more luxurious habit with quiet good sense, not abusively, not churlishly; and for the tarter, more contentious dialectic of either the railer or the misanthrope, Shakespeare might find a better model in the Diogenes of Lyly's *Campaspe*.

Obviously Lucian has, by whatever means, contributed far more to our play than have Plutarch or Painter. So far as yet appears, the whole of the first three Acts (save for Alcibiades and Apemantus) rests on the retrospective details supplied by the Greek dialogue. From a remark of Hermes (c. 8), that Timon's ruin was wrought less by pity and good nature than by simplicity and lack of insight into character, comes Shakespeare's picture of the great spendthrift, avoiding all that is unpleasant, allowing himself to expand in a foolish glow of lazy benevolence, and prompted as much by love of admiration and flattery as by a real charity. Lucian's 'What girl would not open her bosom to receive so faire a lover flowing down from the roof?' (c. 41), where he calls the gold ὑπέρυθρον (Boiardo, 'rubicondo') and does not name Danae, surely reappears in

> Thou ever young, fresh, lov'd, and delicate wooer,
> Whose *blush* doth thaw the consecrated snow
> That lies on Dian's lap! (Act IV, Sc. iii, 387–9.)

The Poet of Acts I and V is created from Gnathonides who offers his dithyrambic ode in Lucian's c. 46. The gifts to his servant and Ventidius have their origin in those to Philiades and Demeas (cc. 47, 49). In

[1] Plutarch's life-dates are put roughly at c. A.D. 50–130; Lucian's, equally uncertain, at c. A.D. 120–200. We may safely put the *Timon* later by several decades than the *Life of Antony*, which moreover does not mention it.

[2] *Luciani Samosatensis dialogi aliquot D. Erasmo Roterodamo & T. Moro interpretibus....* Lugdini, 1535, 8°, pp. 193–221. Earlier eds.—at Louvain 1515, 4°; Antwerp 1528, 8°; and one by 'Wynandus de Worde: Londini, 1528,' 8°—did not include the *Timon*.

[3] Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship*, II, p. 267.

[4] *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch*, 1869, IV, p. 196.

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Demeas' speeches we have the germ of the large part allotted by Shakespeare to the Senate or individual senators; while Demeas' fiction of the repulse of the Peloponnesians by Timon at Acharnæ (c. 50) is the origin of those genuine exploits of Timon in the field referred to by Alcibiades—

> How cursed Athens, mindless of thy worth,
> Forgetting thy great deeds, when neighbour states,
> But for thy sword and fortune, trod upon them—
> (Act IV, Sc. iii, 43–5.)

exploits which alone can justify the Senate's offer to the misanthrope of the captaincy against Alcibiades, from which they anticipate an immediate success (Act v, Sc. ii, 165–9). Nothing of all this is in Plutarch; but, from the little he does say of Apemantus and Alcibiades, Shakespeare has developed those subtle contrasts which most of all stamp the play as planned wholly by himself—the contrast between Apemantus' natural, gratuitous malevolence and one prompted by ineffaceable memory of bitter wrongs; the further contrast between two men wronged alike, the one of whom (Alcibiades) is practical and self-controlled enough to engineer his own redress and temper revenge with moderation, while the other, injured in his whole heart and being, cannot even profit by compensation that comes of its own accord. These contrasts are not in Plutarch, and of course not in Lucian who lacks the two figures; but some model for the second contrast, together with a full reproduction of all the Lucianic matter, and some further parallels of conduct and diction, are to be found in the piece to which Dr Garnett drew attention—the *Timone Comoedia*, namely, of Boiardo, author of the *Orlando Innamorato* and of much pastoral and other poetry besides. To his play[1] then, and especially his additions therein to Lucian's Dialogue, I must now beg the reader's patient attention.

The piece, performed at Ferrara before Ercole I at an uncertain date (? 1487)[2], has 1911 lines of text, of which about 700 are original additions of Boiardo. The whole of Lucian's matter is faithfully reproduced, and,

[1] The *ed. princeps* 1500 in-4 bears title *Timone Comoedia del Magnifico Cõte* Matheo Maria Boyardo. The colophon (sig. G iii v.) runs 'Qui finisse una comoedia dicta Timone traducta de uno dialogo de Luciano per el Magnifico cõdam Mathe Maria Boyardo stampata in Scandiano per Peregrino di pasquali e Gasparo criuello da Scandiano. Regnante el Magnifico e generoso Conte e caualiero Misiere Zoanne Boyardo Conte de Scandiano, de Arceto: et coetera. M. 500. adi 12 Feuerare.' A copy of this is in Brit. Mus., also of the next eds., Bologna 1503 in-8, Venezia 1504 in-8, 1513: there were also, Venezia 1517, and 1518, and a *rifacimento* by Baruffaldi, Ferrara 1809 in-4. The text here followed is A. Solerti's reprint of the *ed. princeps* in his quatercentenary edition of *Le Poesie Volgari e Latine* 1894, which corrects a few errors and slightly modernises the spelling. I have also collated the *ed. princeps* and that of 1513. No English translation is known to me.

[2] D'Ancona e Bacci, *Manuale*, II, p. 147.

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where he is thus translating, his development is very slight. But the conversion of the Dialogue into a strictly dramatic form gave him opportunity for large insertions. We get a short Prologue and a long Argument both delivered by 'Lucian,' a definite division of Lucian's continuous narrative without time-intervals into four Acts separated by three nights, consequent original speeches by Timon at the beginning or end of some of these, and finally, after a fourth night, an entirely new fifth Act by Boiardo, introducing two more characters and supplying a conclusion to a story which Lucian left unfinished. D'Ancona, who sketches the piece[1], classes it among those secular plays containing mythological and allegorical figures—Politian's *Orfeo* 1471, Nicolò da Correggio's *Cefalo* 1486—transition pieces to the *Commedia erudita* from the *Sacre Rappresentazioni*, a form to which the Greek dialogue with its scenes on Olympus as well as on the earth admirably adapts itself. As in the *Orfeo* there was a double stage, showing however not earth and hell, but earth and heaven; in the latter of which Jupiter conferred with Mercury[2] and Wealth, while Timon and the other human characters occupied the lower stage. An often-mentioned *monte* would represent Mt Hymettus, and afford Mercury and Wealth a means of transit to the earth. The Acts are divided into scenes indicated throughout by short prose stage directions. Shakespeare's own scheme was independent and markedly different: nevertheless his play exhibits distinct traces, both in language and treatment, of Boiardo's, from which I take it he also derived all his Lucianic matter.

The Prologue of 24 lines, spoken by 'Lucian,' says 'it is Ercole's graciousness that has turned him from a Greek into an Italian and sent him to afford the audience delight[3].' From his further Argument of 62 lines, equally absent from the Greek text, we learn that Timon's father Echecratides, though gently born, spent his life in amassing wealth by usury, lived poorly, and died leaving his son hardly out of boyhood and utterly ignorant of the value of money. A career of extravagance, with gifts of palaces, villas and lands to this one and that, has reduced the heir to poverty unawares; and mockery and repulse by those he had enriched have driven him to labour for a scanty subsistence, his heart filled with rage against men and blasphemy of gods who, out of a regard for sporadic virtue, omit to efface a wicked world. I quote a few lines from this, the

[1] *Origini del Teatro italiano* (2nd ed. 1891), II, pp. 8–11.

[2] The names are Latinised: Prof. E. Gardner suggested that Boiardo may have followed Aurispa's translation.

[3] At the head of the 'Prologo' the title is repeated adding 'traducta de uno dialogo de Lucião a complacẽtia de lo Illustrissimo principe Signore Hercule Estense Duca de Ferrara: & cætera.'

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only clear statement of Timon's wealthy days open to Shakespeare. The piece is in *terza rima* throughout.

E lo erede rimase con letizia;
Questo è Timon da lui nato e disceso,
Che aponto allor uscia di puerizia.
Né ancora avendo per la etate empreso
Come si fa la libra ad oncia ad oncia
E de la libra poi se aduna el peso,
Tenendo spesa inordinata e sconcia
Procurò sí, per quella ereditade,
Che adiudicata fu sancia prononcia[1].
Non se avedendo prima[2], come accade,
Di abondante divenne bisognoso,
Di bisognoso cadde in povertade.
Venuto al fin mendico e vergognoso,
Vien da color schernito e discaciato[3]
Che per lui richi vivono in riposo.
Tutto el tesor, che el patre avea lassato,
Pallagi e ville e gran possessione,
Donando a questo e a quello, ha consumato;
Et è condutto in tal derisione,
Che cum la testa e brace discoperte
Se veste una peliza de montone....

Lucian retires as Timon enters and begins digging. Presently, suspending his task, the misanthrope turns his face heavenwards and declaims against Jupiter, following the Greek closely without addition of consequence. Then 'the curtains of heaven open,' and Jove and Mercury are discovered; but again their colloquy follows the Greek closely to the end of Lucian's c. 11, the next addition of importance being Boiardo's fourth scene, a short soliloquy of 19 lines for Timon ere he retires to rest, showing alike the scholar and the poet, and suggestive for Shakespeare's play.

Timone passa oltro al monte: e prima che vi arrivi va dicendo queste parole.
Questo poco ha di ben la vita umana,
Che el sonno, che è similimo a la morte,
Dal tristo affanno alquanto la alontana.
La notte al sole aperte ha già le porte,
Ed io dormendo scordarò tante onte
Poi che altro piú non è che me conforte.
Ora io voglio passare oltro a quel monte,
Per coricarmi al picolo tugurio,
Che io me ho construtto a lato de la fonte.
Cosí mi concedesse il Dio Mercurio,
Che io non sognasse alcuna vista umana:
Già non potrei veder pegior augurio.
Quale orso o tigre o qual fiera piú strana
Non ha de la sua schiatta conoscenza?
La aspide sola è contro a' figli insana.

[1] 'That the case was decided without any pleading.'
[2] 'Quite unawares': cf. *Timon*, Act I, Sc. ii, 186–7: Act II, Sc. ii, 134 sqq.—not in Lucian.
[3] Act IV, Sc. iii, 208: 'Thy flatterers... have forgot/That Timon ever was': this, however, is in Lucian, c. 8, 'neither recognising him any more, nor looking at him.'

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Tra quella e noi ha poca differenza:
Chi ben cercasse la natura al fondo,
Credete a me, che n'ho la experienza,
Pegior bestia de l'omo non ha el mondo.

He passes to the hillside; the curtains close, and the first Act is over.

Only the last two Acts of *Timon of Athens* correspond to the action presented in Lucian and Boiardo. In the first scene of Act IV Timon, quitting Athens, pronounces his heavy curse upon the city. Its sustained invective differentiates it from the pathetic lines just quoted; but it affords at least one marked parallel to them in

Timon will to the woods; where he shall find
The unkindest beast more kinder than mankind.

Boiardo's second Act reproduces Lucian's cc. 11–30, the speakers being Jupiter and Wealth, and afterwards Wealth and Mercury on their way to earth. Shakespeare's play dispenses altogether with these mythological and allegorical characters, and affords no distinct reminiscences of Wealth's speeches. But Boiardo's third Act begins with another 12 lines inserted for Timon as he resumes work, which are again significant:

Per util de altrui e per mio danno
Zapai, tapin, lo altro ier questo terreno,
Che ancor guardando me rinova affanno.
Cosí potessi io seminario apieno
Di quella erba, che a l'omo è piú nemica,
Aconito, napello, o di velleno;
O germugliasse, in loco de la spica,
Occisione e fame e pestilenza;
Chè non mi gravarebbe la fatica,
Pur che perisse la umana semenza,
E ch'io vedesse ciascuno omo in pene.
Oh, fosse el mondo posto a mia sentenza!

Characters in Menandrian comedy were wont to reproach the sterility of the soil of Attica, and, in Lucian, Wealth as they approach hears the clank of Timon's mattock against the stones; but his dialogue has no word anywhere of poison. Yet in Shakespeare, as Timon begins digging, we get an aspiration not unlike Boiardo's, though it might be a mere coincidence:

O blessed breeding sun! draw from the earth
Rotten humidity; below thy sister's orb
Infect the air!...
Destruction fang mankind! Earth, yield me roots!
Who seeks for better of thee, sauce his palate
With thy most operant poison: (Act IV, Sc. iii, 1 sqq.)

and, later, the invocation:

Common mother thou,...
Ensear thy fertile and conceptious womb,
Let it no more bring out ungrateful man!
Go great with *tigers, dragons, wolves, and bears*;...
Dry up thy marrows, vines and plough-torn leas, etc.
(*Ibid.*, 178 sqq.)

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Shakespeare, of course, omits the long colloquy on the god's arrival (Luc. cc. 31–41), making Timon's speech on entry (Boiardo, Act III, Sc. i, just given) one with that in which he finds the gold (Boiardo, Act III, Sc. iv); and further he deletes entirely that note of exultation at the discovery which appears in the Greek and the Italian. There the misanthrope digs eagerly to unearth the just-promised hoard: in Shakespeare (Act IV, Sc. iii) he begins to dig solely for roots to eat; and the *trouvaille*, though it astonishes him and suggests the first of the grand passages on gold as the great enemy of mankind, is received at first with a profound indifference:

> What is here?
> Gold! yellow, glittering, precious gold! No, gods,
> I am no idle votarist. Roots, you clear heavens!
> Thus much of this will make black white, foul fair...
> ...What this, you gods? *Why this*
> *Will lug your priests and servants from your sides:...*
> *This yellow slave*
> *Will knit and break religions...*
> Come damned earth....I will make thee
> Do thy right nature.—[*March afar off*] Ha! a drum? thou'rt quick,
> But yet I'll bury thee. (Act IV, Sc. iii, 25–45.)

Two points here crave a mention. In Lucian, cc. 29–30, we had Hermes exclaiming that they had forgotten to bring Treasure, and Wealth replying that it was hidden underground. But, in Boiardo, Hermes' simple exclamation is amplified thus:

> Pure el tesoro abiam dimenticato,
> Sanza del qual non si fa mai contento
> Lo omo là giú, *né Dio viene onorato.*
> Li vasi nostri de oro e de argento
> Voglian ne' templi, e la veste pompose
> Di gemme, e rico el sacro apparamento....

Is not this the origin of Shakespeare's expressions italicised just above? As for 'Do thy right nature,' it would accord with Timon's personal indifference to the gold to interpret it of yielding food for man, i.e., the roots he is seeking: but his preceding thought has just suggested the grand mischief as the instrument of his vengeance, and he digs now to unearth it. This, indeed, is the use to which he straightway puts it, and for no other purpose does he value it at all. Hence, too, his instinctive hiding of it at the first sound of the drum. In Lucian, though he is over-joyed at the discovery and talks of building a tower for it and himself, he makes no attempt to hide it, perhaps has not time: the first of his visitors, Gnathonides, even proposes that some of it will make a good salve for the wound Timon has just given him. In Boiardo there are no visitors on the

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heels of the discovery, and Act III closes with Timon's exit, for the purpose of finding a hiding-place:

> Ma, come io vedo, el ciel già se fa bruno,
> E già li occei cominciano a rispondere.
> Meglio che io passi il monte, et è opportuno
> Che io cerchi dove io possa lo oro ascondere.

The night gone, Boiardo's fourth Act opens with an original address of 46 lines to the audience by a new allegorical figure 'Fama,' swifter than wind, lightning or wild beast, who, after assuring the ladies she is not going to divulge their secrets and is well aware how ill men treat them, announces that she has spread the news of Timon's find in Athens; and his hope of gloating over the gold in solitude is likely to be disappointed, for people flock to gold like flies to warm milk. Shakespeare has additional reason for deleting Fame (with all Lucian's allegorical figures) in that he has already had Rumour prologising in *II Hen. IV*: he allows the reader to imagine the report spread by Alcibiades and the women. Boiardo continues with a long speech of seventy lines for Timon, the first fifty-four of which, save a hint or two from Wealth's previous speeches, are wholly unrepresented in Lucian. Timon begins to feel his new wealth a burden, and himself a slave to its preservation. Speculating where to hide it, his eye falls on the tomb of one Timocrates, buried hard by ten years before. Men's superstitious dread of violating a grave will make that a safe repository for his treasure. As he groans over the task of removing the heavy stone which covers it, he reflects on the toil already spent in finding and securing his rich urn, on the agitation it has caused him since, on the exhausting effort now required to place it once more in hiding. He will make it sure, however, depositing it at the very bottom. To his amazement he finds, within, two more urns filled with coin. Does Timocrates still pursue among the dead that life of avarice and extortion which he followed when alive? His son and heir Philocorus lies in prison for debt, and begs 'un soldo[1]' from this man and that. Well, let him bear his fate, or a worse: Timon shall be the heir of Timocrates. The difference here from Shakespeare's treatment is so crucial that we must quote the passage which exhibits it:

> Ma che vedo io? o Dio, o Iove, o Iove,
> O Mercurio, O Richeza, ben ponete
> Per ajutarmi tutte vostre prove.
> Qua son due orne piene de monete!

[1] Tschischwitz (*Jahrbuch*, IV, 1869, p. 196) remarked 'Solidares' in Shakespeare's play, Act III, Sc. i, 47, as significant of some French or Italian original; the mediæval *solidus* being represented by O.F. *sol*, Ital. *soldo*, and a *sol d'or* (*solidus aureus*) being anciently current in France.

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Sí queto ho il mare, e il vento ho sí secondo,
Che, non piscando, ho i pesci ne la rete.
Chi pose qua quest' oro in tanto pondo?
Credo che Timocrate spoglia e morti
Come faceva e vivi essendo al mondo;
Né scio come fortuna, o el ciel, comporti
Che costui, morto, tanto oro possiede,
E il figlio vivo è in tanti disconforti.
Filocoro, che a lui rimase erede,
Dimora a la pregione, e, mendicando,
A questo, a quel che passa un soldo chiede.
Ma a che vado io li altrui danni contando?
Che monta a me se quellò è in stato rio?
Cosí se stia, e segua pegiorando.
Lo crede a Timocrate sarò io,
Filocoro starà ne le catene,
Quello che esser dovea suo, sarà pur mio.
Oymé! Che gente è questa....

At the moment of this iniquitous decision (resuming Lucian, c. 45) Timon catches sight of men approaching, and the blood leaves his heart. The rest of Boiardo's fourth Act is occupied by the successive interviews with Gnathonides, Philiades, Demeas and Thrasycles, all slightly developed from Lucian's cc. 46–57, containing of course the mention of a dithyrambic ode which suggests Shakespeare's Poet, and Demeas' amusing invention of Timon's athletic and military prowess of which we spoke on p. 54. In Shakespeare the place of Thrasycles the philosopher is taken, less amusingly, by cynic Apemantus; but we may observe that while Lucian's Thrasycles protests his diet is barley-cake, thyme or cress with salt as a luxury (*μᾶζα...ἢ κάρδαμον, ἤ, εἴ ποτε τρυφῴην, ὀλίγον τῶν ἁλῶν*), Boiardo's says 'Mio cibo è il pane e l'erbe e *le radici*,' which roots are eaten not only by Shakespeare's Timon but by Apemantus at the banquet (Act I, Sc. ii, 73). On the approach of the last batch of visitors, where Lucian's Timon ascends the rock, Boiardo's climbs upon the roof of his hut as a vantage for his missiles; and, having rid himself of the intruders, turns again to his night's rest.

Here, with the end of Boiardo's fourth Act, we are at the end of Lucian's dialogue; so that the Italian's fifth Act is wholly new, though heralded by his previous allusion to dead Timocrates and his imprisoned son Philocorus, and coloured in manner and matter by Plautus. We do not, however, part company with Timon; and this last Act, pure Boiardo, is perhaps more suggestive than any for my thesis. It opens with 79 lines spoken by 'Lo Auxilio' (Help) as in the prologue by 'Auxilium' in Plautus' *Cistellaria*, Act I, Sc. iii[1]. He points out Timon's mistake in

[1] I do not well understand the need for the translation of 'Auxilio' into 'Boethius, a national figure, as he may almost be called, of Italian literature and its outgrowths' (*English Dramatic Literature*, I, p. 228)—perhaps the ingenuity was Klein's.

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affecting solitude and complete independence: every man, great or small, poor or rich, needs Help at times. He has not come, however, to utter platitudes, but to assist the audience by telling them that old Timocrates, foreseeing his son Philocorus' extravagance, reserved most of his property hidden in his tomb, arranging for his own interment by night without lights, and exacting from his son a pledge that after ten years he would visit the tomb, carrying with him a sealed letter, which, having there read it, he is to place beneath his father's head. The ten years have now elapsed; and Philocorus, detained in prison yet mindful of his promise, sends his servant 'or rather his freedman' to the tomb, with the letter yet unopened. Auxilio here retires: and Timon acquaints us that, after another sleepless night, he has fallen asleep at morn to dream[1] that two ants were busy about his treasure with predatory intent. He will kill all ants that he finds at work—but the approach of two visitors, small and brown, with the stealthy gait of foxes, suggests a better explanation.

In the freedman Parmeno we get the first suggestion for the faithful steward, due probably to Stasimus, Lysiteles' servant in the *Trinummus*, where there is a treasure similarly hidden by an absent father to protect it from his extravagant son. Parmeno on his way to the tomb is talking with a slave-friend named Syrus:

Syr. Freeman though you are, you still persist in serving your former master: one so good as that is sure of trouble all his life.

Par. Am I not bound to one who has given me the greatest of all gifts, freedom? I had an easy time in his service: it is right I should support him now he is in prison. He suffers great wrong: his own generosity has ruined him, and I see no hope, since his friends have all abandoned him.

The reader notes the introduction in Philocorus of a parallel case to Timon's, to which Boiardo gives a different issue. This is the modified anticipation of the second contrast, between Alcibiades and Timon, alluded to above. Questioned about his present errand, Parmeno mentions the sealed letter, which he is too scrupulous to open since it is addressed to Pluto. But Syrus, on pretence of looking at the superscription, breaks the seal, and finds Timocrates' announcement of the treasure in reserve, with a charge to Philocorus to govern his life better. They approach the misanthrope, hoping he hasn't forestalled them. Timon opposes them as tomb-robbers. If their mission is to Pluto, he will himself despatch them thither with his mattock: why should he respect a couple of rascally slaves? Parmeno informs him of his enfranchisement: Syrus, somewhat illogically, protests that his master, Chremes, is as much a slave as he, governed solely by avarice, unable to rest from toils and dangers

[1] Compare Demipho's dream and attempt to interpret it in *Mercator*, Act II, Sc. i.

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which may augment his wealth. He alone is free who is superior to his desires, to fears of poverty, and to men's praise or blame[1]. The misanthrope, impressed by arguments which accord so aptly with his recent feelings, resolves to care no more about his new-found riches, but to follow his former savage and lonely life till death arrive to end it. Here at length we have an original for the indifference of Shakespeare's Timon: Boiardo's hero attaining at the close the same result, the exorcising of the passion for wealth, which Shakespeare, with better judgment, represents as an undeviating consequence of the first irreconcilable breach. I quote part of Boiardo's speech, which seems to have suggested, besides this general point, at least four detailed points to the finer poet:

Or io vi posi, in mio mal ponto, el pede,
E la pena a dritura è stabilita
A colui che ha provato, e poi non crede.
Adunque io seguirò la prima vita
Che io me avea presa, inculta e solitaria,
In sin che morte la averà finita...
In qualche monte *o in qualche selva strana*
Mi pascierò de' fructi che vi nascano,
E cacierò la sete a la fontana.
E quando al verno e rami se disfrascano,
Nel tronco concavato de un gran rovero
Me faran letto le fronde che cascano,
Or che in qualche spelunca avrò ricovero.
Ma vestir sancia aiuto non mi posso;
Ben è de ogni animal l'omo piú povero,
Chè ogni altro nasce cum la veste addosso,
E l'omo ignudo debile e mendico
Sol de malicia e falsità riscosso.

The four Shakespeare points of which this speech reminds us are:

(1) The woodland life and shelter in a cave (nothing of trees or cave in Lucian, nor in Plutarch, though Barckley's *Felicity of Man* (1598) has 'deserts' and 'in the woods').

(2) The particular words:

The mouths, the tongues, the eyes, and hearts of men...
That numberless upon me stuck *as leaves*
Do on the oak, have with one winter's breath
Fell from their boughs, and left me open, bare
For every storm that blows. (Act IV, Sc. iii, 163–6.)

(3) Timon's precept to the banditti:

Why should you want? Behold, *the earth hath roots,*
Within this mile break forth a hundred springs,
The oaks bear mast, the briers scarlet hips,
The bounteous housewife, nature, on each bush
Lays her full mess before you. Want! why want?...
You must eat men. (*Ibid.*, 423–31: cf. last line of the Italian above.)

[1] The slave 'philosophising' is another Plautine *cliché*.

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(4) Some fine lines of Apemantus seem to recall the defencelessness of man against the elements as compared with the animal world:

> What! thinkst
> That *the bleak air*, thy boisterous chamberlain,
> Will put thy shirt on warm? will these moss'd trees,
> That have outliv'd the eagle, page thy heels
> And skip when thou point'st out? will *the cold brook*,
> Candied with ice, caudle thy morning taste
> To cure the o'ernight's surfeit? Call *the creatures*
> *Whose naked natures live in all the spite*
> *Of wreakful heaven, whose bare unhoused trunks*,
> *To the conflicting elements expos'd*,
> *Answer mere nature*; bid them flatter thee. (*Ibid.*, 222–32.)

The favourite objection, that such parallels might occur independently to any poet, has never much impressed me. Intellectual wealth, to which choice is most troublesome, can also best afford to borrow; and Shakespeare knew that in expression he could better the best.

But the attitude of Boiardo's hero to mankind remains like Shakespeare's quite unchanged. Though no longer anxious about his treasure, he drives off Parmeno and Syrus, who conceal themselves in the neighbourhood with intent to return; and finally, with a reminiscence of Plutarch's fig-tree, assures the audience that, however rough he may be with others, he is not insensible to *their* claims upon him, and anyone who wants to hang himself may borrow the cord round his waist. Lastly, in a Plautine epilogue, Auxilio dismisses them and sketches the sequel. The two slaves won't come back till dark when respectable folk should be at home, and then they'll prefer to get the treasure without witnesses. Philocorus will receive the two urns Timocrates has saved for him, and will be prodigal no more, but make liberality square with reason. Parmeno and Syrus will divide Timon's urn between them, and live in freedom and friendly intercourse in Athens. Wealth that comes without toil is the sweetest: may that be the audience's experience!

I have already summarised the Lucianic points which Shakespeare could hardly find elsewhere than in Boiardo; and now need only sum up those, not in the classical sources, which he might also borrow from him. While the large proportion of soliloquy is proper to the subject-matter and partly represented in Lucian, the first two of those added by Boiardo in his Act I, Sc. iv and Act III, Sc. i, correspond both in position and purport to the first two in the fourth Act of Shakespeare, each of which contains an idea found in its Italian counterpart: (1) that beasts have more feeling for their kind than man for his, (2) the wish that earth would pervert her nature to man's destruction. Lucian almost entirely lacks allusions to Nature; and has no reference to the animal world beyond

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Timon's resolve to lead 'the wolf's life' (c. 42), and Hermes' comparison of his flatterers to crows, wolves and vultures (c. 8). Next, in Boiardo alone do we find mention of a woodland life, of possible shelter in a cave, of roots as a philosopher's food, of the change of seasons, the fall of the leaf, and human helplessness in the inclemency of winter which the beasts are naturally equipped to meet: and all these points are developed in Shakespeare's play in lines whose poetry indicates them as unquestionably his. Again only in Boiardo and Shakespeare, not in Lucian, do we get either a re-hiding, or an abjuration, of the treasure: and the strong emphasis laid by both poets on gold as a source of mental anxiety and moral corruption—the former strongest in Boiardo, the latter in Shakespeare—is given no such prominence in Lucian; where Thrasycles only affects to abuse it as a curse (c. 56), and though Timon at first urges that it is Wealth who has caused all his trouble (c. 36), his opposition is easily quelled by argument and he accepts his subsequent find with rapture. Further the Italian piece exhibits a balance of characters, absent in Lucian, but followed in Shakespeare. Boiardo contrasts two ruined spendthrifts, Timon and Philocorus, each originally left wealthy, though the father of the one was remiss, of the other heedful. Both are vilely treated by those they have benefited, and both find new wealth; but Philocorus alone is able to profit by it, while Timon betrays the ruin of his nature by readiness to inflict a careless wrong on one quite guiltless towards himself. Shakespeare has no second ruined spendthrift, but Boiardo's contrast between Timon and Philocorus is maintained by Alcibiades' retention of humanity and moral balance under ungrateful wrong inflicted, while Timon is soured to the point of insulting him while offering sympathy, of rejecting the sincere *amende* of the Senate, and repelling the one man (Flavius) of whose honesty he is convinced. With only the partial example of Thrasycles, Shakespeare has also balanced likeness in unlikeness in Apemantus and Timon. Lastly Boiardo has set him the example of qualifying the base world of the Greek satirist with two amiable figures, Parmeno and Syrus, who seem to be the originals of the faithful steward Flavius and the sympathetic servant Flaminius[1].

But was there any other channel through which the joint influence of Lucian and Boiardo might act on Shakespeare? Putting aside those Latin, Italian and French translations of the Greek mentioned on p. 53 as leaving Boiardo's influence quite unaccounted for, there remains the university play preserved only in Strutt's MS. (but edited by Dyce in 1842 and reprinted in Hazlitt's *Shakespeare Library*, Pt II, Vol. II, pp. 390–

[1] *Timon of Athens*, Act III, Sc. i, 50 sqq.

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484), which MS., said Steevens, 'appears to have been written, or transcribed, about 1600.' Weak as it is in dialogue and conduct, its author is evidently a scholar. He is familiar with Plautus, quotes an iambic line of Greek preserved by Suetonius, closely reproduces a few bits of Lucian's dialogue (e.g. in two philosophers, and in Demeas); and, if we may trust Timon's civil Epilogue to the audience (resembling Boiardo's, though lacking the rope), may even have known the latter and perhaps have derived his share of Lucian through him. The following points of treatment seem to anticipate Shakespeare:

1. It has nearly three Acts showing Timon's extravagant life with companions before his ruin is announced by a shipwrecked sailor (p. 445).

2. A faithful servant, Laches (a name in Lucian, c. 58), remonstrates against the extravagance near the outset, is discharged, returns in disguise, and, on Timon's ruin, insists on companioning him, and drives off the visitors.

3. A pretended banquet in Act IV in which Timon pelts his false friends with stones painted as artichokes (cf. Shakespeare, Act III, Sc. vi, last line).

4. Two brief invocations by Timon of the sun, not in Lucian or Boiardo:

> O Titan, seest thou this, and is it seene (p. 457),
>
> Thee, thee, O sunne, I doe to witnesse call,
> These harde misfortunes I haue not deseru'd! (p. 459).
> (Cf. Shakesp., Act. IV, Sc. iii, 1; v, Sc. i, 136, 228.)

5. Timon having quitted the city, followed by Laches, at the end of Act IV, is found (Act V, Sc. ii) digging with him in 'fields' without motive suggested, and again in V, iii, when he finds gold:

> What's this? I am amaz'd! what doe I see?
> Splendour of gould reflects vpon myne eyes:
> Is Cynthia tralucent in the darke?
> Where shall I turne myne eyes? .What, *shall I hide*
> *My new found treasure vnderneath the earth,*
> Or shall I drowne it in the ocean? [Luc. c. 56.]
> *Though all the world loue thee, Timon hates thee:*
> Ile drowne thee in the seas profunditie. [*He offers to goe drowne it*]
> *Lach.* Stay, master, stay; where runn you headlong thus?
> *Tim.* To drowne the ruyne of the world and me....
> Vnder bright gould lurks wretched miserie;
> I speake it by experience.
> *Lach.* *Vnder bright gould publique reuenge doth lurke:*
> Keep it, yf you are wise, keepe it, I saye;
> *Thus maist thou be reueng'd of thy false friends,*
> Exterminating them owt of thie dores.
> *Tim.* Thou hast prevayled, Laches.
> *Far from the cittie is a desart place,*
> *Where the thick shaddowes of the cypresse trees*
> Obscure the daye light, and madge howlett whoopes:
> That as a place Ile chuse for my repose.

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Let that day be vnfortunate wherein
I see a man! *thee alsoe will I flye,*
As ffearefull of thee.
Lach. I will followe thee.
Tim. *Thy loue doth vex me: Timon hates all men,*
Yea, I detest them with a deadlie hate;
Neither the gods themselues doe I affect. [*Exeunt Tim. and Lach.*]

This, and the banquet, are the things most suggestive. The first instinctive impulse to hide the treasure is quickly overborne by a sense of its mischief; and its retention is adopted only to injure his foes. It looks as if Shakespeare might be indebted to it, yet it is not apparent how he could know of this MS. piece, and its large introduction of superfluous characters and incidents might be a borrower's effort to assert originality or infuse comedy. Can we be sure that Steevens' date (1600) for the MS. is near enough? Put at 1608 the anonymous piece might be the debtor: put even at 1606, Laches' part might find a far closer model in the relations and characters of Kent and Lear (produced 26 December, 1605) than in the Parmeno of Boiardo; and there still remains the possibility that the author drew on an earlier play on the subject, containing the false banquet, and now absorbed in the Folio play. But this university piece, though I felt bound to notice it, cannot nullify our total evidence of Shakespeare's debt to Boiardo. It has nothing more than I have mentioned: its boisterous Laches, though he acts like Flavius, smacks more of Plautus than of Boiardo's Parmeno; the cypress shades above are its sole hint of a woodland life, and the Epilogue's tone is no more than that common to epilogues. Granted the author's use of Lucian and Plautus he need never have seen Boiardo at all.

To argue fully the larger question of Shakespeare's knowledge of Italian is impossible in this paper—it involves too many other plays. Scholarly scepticism on this head, recurrent since Farmer's essay of 1767, has, I fancy, considerably weakened. This easiest, perhaps, of foreign languages was the fashionable accomplishment of Shakespeare's day, and one that he had every motive, social as well as literary, for acquiring. At Southampton's house he could scarce avoid meeting John Florio, that Italian exile born and resident in England, Southampton's tutor in Italian in 1589, reader in Italian to Anne of Denmark 1603, groom of the chamber to King James 1604. Has any one yet collected from his *First Fruites* 1578 and *Second Frvtes* 1591 the many phrases that reappear in Shakespeare's plays? Some, no doubt, are proverbs common to the two, or more, nations: does that prove that a writer of one nation cannot have been reminded of a proverb by a writer of another? All know that Shakespeare read in Florio's *Montaigne*, and that Holofernes quotes 'Venetia, Venetia,' etc.,

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found in both the manuals mentioned. Here are a few more. Italian and English are given side by side in Florio:

Florio.	Shakespeare.
1st Fr., f. 13 v.: Fate di necessità virtù.	*Two Gent.*, Act iv, Sc. i, 62; *R.* ii, Act i, Sc. iii, 278: Make a virtue of necessity.
1st Fr., f. 10 r.: Who heares, sees, and holds his peace, may alway liue in peace.	*Ham.* Act i, Sc. iii, 65: Beware of entrance to a quarrel. Take each man's censure, etc. Costly thy habit as thy purse can buy.
2nd Fr., p. 99: Auoide all quarels, and neuer fall at ods for cost. [Travel precepts.]	
1st Fr., f. 89 v.: The woorthy myndes looke not vnto what is geuen them, but vnto the geuers mynd.	*Ham.*, Act iii, Sc. i, 100: ...to the noble mind Rich gifts wax poor when givers prove unkind.
2nd Fr., pp. 114–15: Io vado imparando, ma faccio come il gambaro. [I go on learning, but do as the lobster does.]	*Ham.*, Act ii, Sc. ii, 210: ...like the crab, go backward.
2nd Fr., p. 172 (Of loue & of women): Meglio esser Cimone, che Timone d'Atenne.	*L.L.L.*, Act iv, Sc. iii, 170 (in similar context): And critic Timon laugh at idle toys.
1st Fr., f. 31 v.: Lombardie is the garden of the world.	*Taming*, Act i, Sc. i, 4: ...fruitful Lombardy, The pleasant garden of great Italy.
2nd Fr., pp. 170–1: Quella statua, o più tosto Stoico, Zenocrate. [Such a stock, I should haue said a Stoick, a Zenocrates.]	*Ibid.*, Act i, Sc. i, 31: Let's be no stoics, nor no stocks, I pray.
2nd Fr., p. 181: Euen of prickles Roses doe proceede And whitest Lillies from a stinkinge weede; [followed by a mention of 'the purest and softest springs.']	*Sonnet* 35: Roses have thorns and silver fountains mud. *Sonnet* 94: Lilies that fester smell far worse than weeds.

Does an intelligent and busy Shakespeare study conversation-manuals at this rate, unless he is learning Italian? How easily might he hear from Florio of the *commedia erudita* with its large harvest of amusing pieces throughout the Cinquecento! In the work of the most prolific of its many dramatists, Giovammaria Cecchi (1518–87) in particular, I have found things curiously suggestive in plot for some early plays of Shakespeare. That publication of their work in England by John Wolfe or his partner, Pietro Ubaldini, can only be traced in regard to Aretino, is not enough to establish the negative in Shakespeare's case. Florio must have had some examples in his library, and might well communicate such to a dramatist of his early receptivity and later fame. May not Boiardo's *Il Timone* also have reached him through this channel? certainly it has a beauty of sentiment and language that would appeal to him; and Ariosto's work, if it had eclipsed Boiardo's *Orlando*, must at the same time have perpetuated its author's fame.

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Nothing more differentiates Shakespeare's handling from Boiardo's than his entire rejection of a second finding of treasure, and the taint of baseness it reveals in the hero. Though the Italian Timon began the scene (Act IV, Sc. ii) with complaints of the load of care his first find has engendered, he is clearly still the slave of common human covetousness, and utters exclamations of rapture over the second treasure-trove as over the first. Shakespeare unhesitatingly sacrifices the additional sensation to the sterner demands of his conception of the character. His Timon is soured beyond the possibility of pleasure in what can best yield such among a world of living men; and he properly exempts him even from the miser's solitary gloating, purchasing thereby his right to the grand passages on the fatal power of money. Boiardo's Timon, not merely covetous but capable of withholding the second treasure from its rightful owner of whose sore need he is fully conscious, not only forfeits the sympathy his previous speeches have enlisted, but quite effaces the gulf between him and his wrongers, and makes us feel he might still have been comfortable among the respectable rogues of Athens. True he soon repents of the first impulse in view of Syrus' arguments, but his motives for doing so are purely self-regarding—he cannot face the anxiety the custody of the gold will impose. Far more consistent is Shakespeare's annihilation in the misanthrope of all motives save hunger, an abhorrence of the universal moral degradation, and a desire for revenge—a state to which he has been wrought far less by his loss of fortune than of faith in and sense of kinship with a base mankind. The attitude may fail in recognising his own share of blame; it may be practically mistaken, as Boiardo's Auxilio indicates as well as Shakespeare's Alcibiades: nevertheless this passionate assertion of the higher nature, this inability to compromise, carries something of the grandeur of the death of Cato. Dramatically it may exhibit the tragic excess, where Boiardo is only writing comedy; but it preserves a moral dignity that retains our sympathy and justifies the 'noble Timon' of the close.

I fear this article is a sad reaction to an antiquated source-study from tuneful tramps and the inspection of textual *viscera*; but, if the augurs begin slinging, I can creep under the ample ægis of Dr Richard Garnett.

R. Warwick Bond.

Nottingham.

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THE WATER-BRIDGE IN CHRÉTIEN'S 'CHARRETTE'

CHRÉTIEN could have handed on to us from his poetic predecessors, who catered for the Anglo-Norman court, many, many stories about Arthur's mysterious queen—the winning as well as the losing of her—and about those tantalising figures, Dodinel, Sagremor, Ider, Kay, Arthur's son Lohut, and so on, who obviously were great heroes once, but in Chrétien's elegant narrative are uncomprehended torsos. He must have known a mass of Arthurian story which still glowed with that exuberant, credulous fancy which we call Celtic, grotesque but beautiful. However, Chrétien over-polished his wares, he rubbed off all that primitive bloom, and he threw away many a pretty wild flower. A conspicuous example of this, as well as one of the most exasperatingly ill-constructed of early Arthurian romances, is his *Charrette*. So it was a shrewd compliment that he paid his Lady of Champagne at the beginning of the poem when he so courteously made her entirely responsible for its plot and its tone[1].

One of the numerous examples of Chrétien's waste of the older material, and one that has considerable antiquarian interest, is the episode of the water-bridge. Gawain, who pops in and out of this story as he does of so many others—and not unnaturally here, since it is likely that he was the original hero—on the second day of the quest chooses to force his way into the forbidden land over the water-bridge while Lancelot tries the sword-bridge. This water-bridge, we are told, was a sub-aqueous contrivance only a foot and a half wide, placed exactly at half the depth of the river; there was just as much water over it as under it[2]. We hear no more of Gawain for four days and several thousand lines—until Lancelot has rescued the queen. Then Lancelot, rebuffed by Guinevere, goes to seek Gawain[3]. He gets into trouble, however, and it is not till another thousand lines that Gawain is more or less incidentally found by the crowd[4]: he had fallen off the bridge into deep water, and was bobbing about nearly drowned. He had on just his rusted hauberk, helm, and *chauces de fer* (no more, forsooth, than a modern diver!), having left lance, shield and horse on the other side. They drew him out and it was some time before he could speak.

This seems comical at first glance, this bridge under the water, too

[1] This may be too loose a translation of the much-discussed *sens*. See the acute remarks of Prof. Nitze in Chap. III of *Lancelot and Guinevere*, by Tom Peete Cross and William Albert Nitze, Chicago, 1930, which came to hand after this article was written, and from which I cull a few notes. See also Nitze, *Romania*, XLIV, pp. 14 f., and Foerster's note in his edition of the *Karrenritter*, l. 26.

[2] *Charrette*, ll. 660–669. [3] *Ibid.*, l. 4100. [4] *Ibid.*, l. 5125.

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deep for horse or man, off which the doughty hero falls; and one is constrained to think that it is a case where Chrétien has come upon something primitive which he did not comprehend, or which he preferred to alter. This primitive something may have been a tale about a lake-dweller's fortress—one of those crannogs, found in many parts of the world, but extremely common in Scotland and Ireland. A crannog is a natural or artificial islet, strongly stockaded, and approached with difficulty through the bog or lake by an under-water causeway. In Ireland, especially, these ancient haunts often became castles, and maintained themselves till modern times, indeed played an important part in history; for in them the native chiefs held out against the English up into the seventeenth century; and we have accounts of attacks, which were not always successful, upon them thus late. It is, we may suppose, the sub-aqueous causeway or bridge to some mysterious crannog that Chrétien is dealing with. In real life it would be a road of stone, or walk of wood securely pinned down, just far enough below the surface of the water to be fordable. It might have sharp turns, or even interruptions, to deceive the stranger; and the whole affair, including sometimes both ends, would be invisible[1].

Now such a crannog and such a causeway Chrétien actually had in one of his principal sources—the French (Anglo-Norman?) original of Ulrich von Zatzikhoven's *Lanzelet*. The germ of most of the genuine Lancelot episodes in the *Charrette* can be found there[2]. Of course the greater part in

[1] See in general: R. Munro, *Lake-Dwellings of Europe*, London, 1890, and *Ancient Scottish Lake Dwellings*, Edinburgh, 1882; W. G. Wood-Martin, *The Lake Dwellings of Ireland*, Dublin and London, 1886; and R. A. S. Macalister's *Archaeology of Ireland*, London, 1928. Much is to be found in the local antiquarian publications of Ireland and in the British *Inventory of Monuments*, for example the Wigtown volume. The under-water approaches are mentioned in Munro's *Ancient Scottish Lake Dwellings*, pp. 31, 36, 39, 53, 57, 60, 65, 245, 247 (no detailed plans); in his *Lake Dwellings of Europe*, p. 477; in Wood-Martin, pp. 43, 190; in Macalister, p. 184; in the *Inventory of Monuments* for Wigtown, pp. 40, 390. On crannogs as castles, see Wood-Martin, p. 33, Munro's *Europe*, p. 481. As for sieges, Wood-Martin describes an Irish crannog-castle captured by Sir Richard Brigham in 1586, which had a circular wall 90 ft. in diameter, 30 ft. in height and 8 ft. thick at the top. And Munro quotes the contemporary account of an attack in 1566 by Deputy Lord Sydney on a crannog near Omagh, where the scaling party used rafts, but were repulsed, and one Edward Vaughan was pushed off the ramparts and drowned (although he could swim perfectly) on account of his heavy armament. Gawain had better luck! The earliest affair of this kind which I have seen cited is the sack of a great crannog at Lagore, near Dunshauchlin in Meath, in 848 (Macalister, p. 184). One may suppose that King Arthur's campaign against the islanders in the Lake of Wonders near Alclyde, so entertainingly described by Geoffrey of Monmouth, IX, 6, was of the same sort. Its setting is very like Dodinel's and Malduk's habitat in the *Lanzelet*.

[2] I have listed most of the resemblances between the two poems in a review of Cross and Nitze's *Lancelot and Guinevere* written for *Modern Language Notes*. They are very much more numerous than Bächtold (*Der Lanzelet des Ulrich von Zatzikhoven*, Frauenfeld, 1870), G. Paris (*Romania*, X and XII), Märtens (*Romanische Studien*, V), Foerster (in his edition of the *Karrenritter*), Miss Weston (*The Legend of Sir Lancelot du Lac*, London, 1901), and others, have noticed. For the rape of Guinevere itself, however, another source than the *Lanzelet* must be postulated.

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bulk and interest of Chrétien's poem is taken up with something original—an elaborate representation of courtly love, a modified version of the rape of Guinevere, and a complete making over of the character of Lancelot, necessitated by his becoming the queen's lover[1]. But a close comparison of the two pieces will show that a surprising number of subsidiary motifs in the *Charrette* have an older, more elaborate and more satisfactory form in the *Lanzelet*. Furthermore, it is to be emphasised that this neglected[2] German poem is to be considered a sufficiently faithful translation of its French original, as nearly all such Middle High German romances are of their French originals. It is a precious replica of a pre-Chrétien Arthurian romance[3]; and Chrétien's treatment of the episode under discussion, his reduction of it to such contemptible dimensions, is typical of the treatment which the rich old material underwent at his hands and at those of his followers.

In the *Lanzelet*, then, we find a really interesting adventure, reasonably developed in the colourful, primitive manner. After the magnificent Valerin of Tanglewood, whose magic castle, mist-enshrouded, is further guarded by a serpent hedge, has carried off the queen[4], Lancelot of the many loves, tricky Tristan, Arthur, and Karjet set out on the perilous task of enlisting the wizard, Malduk the Wise; for without the aid of this sinister personage the queen cannot be rescued. So they rode into the forest near Kardigan, until they arrived at the Shrieking Moss, whereon no horse could come. There was a great lake in it, and out of the lake ran a clear river. But no beast, however thirsty, dared drink of that stream. The fish there are square, as long as your arm (the English have many such) and the water is at times so hot that all creatures shun it; and at those times the Moss yells so that any animal that should be near expires forthwith. If a person harms one of the birds which throng the lake, he is dead within the year. But at this awkward juncture who should appear but Dodines[5] the Wild, Dodines of the Broad Hand (broad feet might

[1] On all this, but especially on Chrétien's achievement in exalting Courtly Love, see Cross and Nitze, *Lancelot and Guinevere*; Myrrha Lot-Borodine in *Medieval Studies in Memory of Gertrude Schoepperle Loomis*, Paris and New York, 1927, pp. 22, 32, 33, etc.; Miss L. A. Paton in *Sir Lancelot of the Lake*, London, 1929, Introduction III.

[2] The fact that it is extremely difficult to find a copy of Hahn's edition has kept many scholars in ignorance of the value of this romance.

[3] The evidence for this I hope to publish at some time.

[4] *Lanzelet*, ed. Hahn, Frankfort, 1845, ll. 5031 f., 6765 f.

[5] This form, for the commoner Dodinel, occurs in Chrétien, and is perhaps to be preferred. See Foerster's *Erec*, note to l. 1700; and Huet in *Romania*, XLIII, pp. 96–102. Brugger, in his interesting article on Bliocadrans in *Medieval Studies in Memory of Gertrude Schoepperle Loomis*, pp. 163 f., agrees with Foerster in thinking the *-el* form of Dodinel's name the older, although he does not, perhaps, give sufficient weight to the evidence for the *-s* form in the older texts—like the French original of the *Lanzelet*. The root meaning of the word, he believes—more or less in agreement with Meyer-Lübke in

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better serve a swamp dweller!) who harried the King of Ireland. (The whole business of mists and bogs and fords is very Ireland.) *His* steed proudly trod the morass which engulfed his enemies. Dodinel's fortress by the Moss was just a natural tower of rock, round as a candle; and here he lavishly entertained the heroes. Then he led them by the hazardous Steaming Ford (another water-bridge) over the wild river—they had to cover the horses' heads before they would venture upon it—and so on to the Misty Lake[1], in the middle of which was the wizard's castle. To it there led a bridge, but no one could discover it from the bank of the lake[2], or from the castle[3], without the help of the wizard or of the wizard's witching daughter. (It must have been under the water.) Providentially the girl, who was as learned as she was lovely, sympathised with the king; and she came riding, beautifully dressed, hawk on fist, over the bridge, to be his mediator with her terrible parent. Malduk's hard condition was that, in return for his magic to release the queen, Arthur should surrender to him his two particular aversions, Gawain and Erec (some lost story here); and to this the unwilling king finally agreed. Then Dodines led the four back home by an easy way, where there was none of these fearsome fords and bridges[4]. The sequel[5] of this adventure was of course the rescue of Gawain and Erec, by Lancelet and a small army. Having no guide, they got over the lake by the help of their remarkable seventeen-year old ally, Esêalt the Long, who had grown an ell a month since he was born[6]. He supported swimmers, and lifted horses and men over the wall, so that they saved their friends and slew the wizard of the castle. But they were glad to find an easier way back, when the complacent 'daughter' showed them the invisible bridge.

Zeit. f. frz. Spr. XLIV, 169—to be *fool*. So Dodinel = Young Fool, an epithet appropriate for his class, which is that of Lancelot, Perceval, Libeaus Desconus, Wigalois and Carduino; and one might well accept Brugger's suggestion that the names of Carduino and his father Dondinello have got transposed. But Brugger wavers as to the originality of Dodinel's 'savagery'; for instance, on p. 166 n., he calls the quality a factitious addition in the *Vulgate Merlin*. Surely it's a suitable quality for his sort. On Carduino see Edmund G. Gardner's *Arthurian Legend in Italian Literature*, pp. 252 f., especially pp. 257–8. A. C. L. Brown notices Dodinel as an Irish helpful host in *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assn.* XX, p. 677.

[1] These mists that wrap the wizard's mere and the castle of the otherworld prince may be just the usual magic mist; but one may suspect that the climate of the western isles has something to do with them, and that even the objectionable Irish fogs were sublimated (or precipitated) into fairy properties by the charms of the French romancers, avid for this 'Celtic' material. Compare the dramatic story in William of Newburgh of the capture of William the Lion in 1174 during a fog sent straight from Heaven to aid the pious English. In general, the fullest collection of 'Celtic' motifs in Arthurian romance is found in the numerous articles of A. C. L. Brown, and T. P. Cross. Roger Sherman Loomis and Laura Hibbard Loomis have struck out on a new and interesting path in this large field.

[2] *Lanzelet*, l. 7164.

[3] *Ibid.*, l. 7654.

[4] This episode ends at l. 7324.

[5] Ll. 7508 f.

[6] Cf. Ephialtes.

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Such is the rather extended episode from which probably came in some fashion Chrétien's water-bridge[1]. These lake fortresses, together with the manners and customs of the imaginative barbarians who built them, and all the wonders of that wild, remote country, seem to have made a great impression upon the Normans and their French allies in their first visits and campaigns in Ireland, for their early romances are shot through with glistering Irish threads. The puzzling Dodinel le Sauvage, who in the bulk of the romances is a mere foil to the hero of the moment, is revealed in this stirring romance, which was carried over to Germany to sweeten the exile of a hostage for Richard Lionheart, as one of the wild Irish, a mysterious bog-trotting prince. It is a pity that the poet's poet who lived so long among the wild Irish, who must have heard of many a raid upon the bog and lake strongholds, who named a son Silvanus, and who celebrated the adventures of a repressive Irish viceroy, did not utilise this figure in his *Faery Queen*. Could he have had him in mind in his *Satyrane*:

> A satyrs sonne, yborne in forrest wild,
> By strange adventure as it did betyde,
> And there begotten of a Lady mild,
> Fayre Thyamis daughter of Labryde,

a hunter and a daunter of wild beasts, as well as a noble knight?[2]

But surely the prince of crannog-dwellers was he who ousted the great Gawain from so many adventures, he who became the favourite of Marie of Champagne and has remained the favourite of all ladies since—Lancelot of the Lake! And no wonder, for was he not brought up by beautiful ladies on a flowery crannog, jewelled and golden, happy, innocent and secure within its round crystalline walls? Did not these magic stones give him such charm that no one could refuse him anything askable? was he not the *wîpsaelige* Lancelot—the lucky in love?[3]

K. G. T. WEBSTER.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

[1] There are other water-bridges, though none suit so well. See Nitze's note in *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assn. Amer.* XXIV, p. 409; to which the causeways in the *Historia Meriodoci*, ed. J. D. Bruce, in *Hesperia*, 1913, p. 44, might be added. A very interesting analogue is that cited by Foerster, *Karrenritter*, p. lxxii, and Nitze in *Lancelot and Guinevere*, p. 24 n. and p. 26 n., from Andreas Capellanus' *De Amore*, pp. 295 f. of Trojel's ed. Here it is a suspension bridge, the middle of which dips under the water, especially when a big fellow on the farther bank shakes it. This long story in Andreas appears to be fundamentally the same as the very brief one in Pierre Berchuire's *Reductorii Moralis libri quattuordecem*, etc., Paris, 1521, fo. cccxix verso, i.e., the Prologue to Book XIV: they are otherworld adventures.

[2] *Faery Queen*, I, VI, 21, etc.; III, VII, 30, etc.; IV, IV, 15, etc.

[3] See the charming description of this boy's upbringing by the lake-fairy in the *Lanzelet*, ll. 189 f.

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MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

Old English Notes.

1. *Wulf and Eadwacer.*

The little poem of the *Exeter Book* which is printed in Grein-Wülcker as the first of the O.E. *Riddles* and is sometimes called 'Wulf and Eadwacer,' is usually regarded as the utterance of a woman. She is supposed to be thinking about her lover, whose name is Wulf, whom his enemies are seeking to slay. She notes the difference of their fortunes, and her thoughts go back to their courting days. 'When it was rainy weather and I sat despondent, the bold fellow would embrace me; I liked it, yet I liked it not (i.e., I was coy). Wulf, my Wulf, 'twas not hunger that made me ill, 'twas my longing for thee, thy rare visits and my sorrowful heart.' Then come four puzzling lines: 'Dost thou hear, Eadwacer, Wulf is carrying off our whelp to the woods. That is easily parted which was never joined, our song together.' Who is 'Eadwacer,' and why 'whelp'? Professor R. W. Chambers informs me that he heard the late Sir Israel Gollancz in 1892 in a lecture put forward the suggestion that the poem is a dramatic monologue, and he thinks he was the originator of this view, 'although all sorts of permutations and combinations are no doubt current. The lady is wedded to Wulf. The lady's people do not succour him when he falls into trouble (*on þreat cymeð*). The lady prides herself that she is more loyal than her people (*ungelice is us*). Nevertheless, in the end, she is unfaithful to Wulf and deserts him for Eadwacer (who is *se beaducafa*). Wulf takes his revenge by carrying off the child of the lady and Eadwacer.' I offer a very different explanation. A female dog of a romantic temperament is dreaming, day-dreaming perhaps, of a wolf with whom she has actually had, or dreams she had, a love-affair in the course of her rambles in the forest. She dreams that her masters are hot on the trail of the wolf, the felon beast, on a neighbouring island in the fen. At this juncture she is awakened from her dream by the terrified yelping of her puppy.

Instantly she turns to her lawful mate, slumbering by her side, with the cry, 'Wake up, Eadwacer, a wolf is carrying off our puppy to the forest.' Then she consoles herself with the reflection that as she has never really bayed the moon with any wolf the abrupt parting with her dream-lover brings no pang. It has been merely a foolish dream.

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Thus explained, the poem would seem to be one of the 'mystification' class of which the formal riddles with the ending 'Saga hwæt ic hatte' are the normal type. The name of the watch-dog, Eadwacer, is an apt one, as it means 'guardian of wealth'; it is also humorous, as it recalls the historical character Odoacer, king of Italy, slain by Theodoric in A.D. 493. Even to-day dogs may bear such names as Caesar, Pompey, Napoleon, and in Germany the name Phylax is, or was, not uncommon.

2. *Scilling.*

In *Widsith*, ll. 103–4, we read:

> þonne wit Scilling sciran reorde
> for uncrum sigedryhtne song ahofan.

'Scilling' is usually regarded as the name of a man, a fellow-gleeman and friend of Widsith. I suggest that it is the name of Widsith's harp, his constant companion. The name is related to *scillan, scellan, sciellan*, 'to resound,' 'twang'; cf. the adjective *sciell*, 'resounding,' 'twanging,' as in the *Rhyme Poem*, l. 27, *scyl wæs hearpe*. For the termination *-ing* cf. the sword-names, *Mimming, Hrunting, Nægling*.

W. J. Sedgefield.

Manchester.

The Freres Contree.

In Fragment III (Manly) or Group D (Chaucer Society) of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, l. 1301 (Skeat 1299), the Friar begins his tale with a reference to *my contree*. Unluckily he does not tell us where it is. Professor Manly thinks that the Friar's country was Holderness, in Yorkshire[1]. He has discussed the point in more places than one. I will quote the fullest and most cautious statement of his position. It reads as follows:

> The Friar does not name a definite place as the scene of his tale. He does, however, tell us in a general way that the events occurred 'in my contree,' and near a town where dwelt an archdeacon. That the scene actually lay in the North, not far at any rate from Yorkshire, is indicated by the language. Chaucer clearly makes in the tales of the Summoner and the Friar a definite attempt to use dialect for the production of a sense of reality, just as he had done in the dialect spoken by Alan and John in the *Reeve's Tale*. He does this, not by writing the tales in dialect throughout, but by introducing into the dialogue words which distinctly belong to the dialect and subtly create an atmosphere and a background. Of such words there are decidedly more in the tale of the Summoner and [that of] the Friar than have been noted as northern by the editors. Such words are 'Brock' and 'Scott,' the names of the carter's horses; 'hayt,' the word used to urge them to their utmost efforts; 'tholed'; 'caples,' the term

[1] *Canterbury Tales*, New York, 1928, p. 586.

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used by the Summoner for the carter's horses, and the form 'thou lixt.' That Chaucer is consciously realistic in these details is indicated by the fact that northern words and forms appear scarcely at all in his writings except when the speakers are from the North or the North Midland. The tales (*sic*) of the Reeve and those of the Summoner and the Friar are notable in this respect[1].

Mr Manly bases his contention on six words (or forms): *Brock*, *Scot*, *hayt*, *tholed*, *caples* and *lixt*. These he regards as northern. He may also have had in mind the *waryangles* of l. 1408, which Skeat notes as a northern name of the shrike. At any rate, I can find no other word in the *Friar's Tale* which is 'noted as northern by the editors.' In the *English Dialect Dictionary* (abbreviated hereafter *E.D.D.*) the word *wariangle*, 'red-backed shrike,' is recorded as used in Yorkshire, Staffordshire, Derbyshire and Shropshire. The *N.E.D.*, on the other hand, marks the term obsolete, with the following comment:

Apart from the doubtful O.E. form and two obscure passages in M.E. the evidence for the existence of the word is almost solely drawn from dictionaries, glossaries, and dialect collections of doubtful value.

Vol. x of the *N.E.D.* is much more recent, of course, than the *E.D.D.*, and is in every way more authoritative. The criticism just quoted must therefore be taken most seriously. Perhaps Mr Manly shared the scepticism of the editors of the *N.E.D.* In any case, in spite of Skeat's note, he did not include *wariangle* in his list of northern words. If we admit the evidence on which the editors of the *N.E.D.* cast doubt, we must conclude that in early modern times *wariangle* was more or less current in the Western Midlands and in the North. It cannot therefore be regarded as a word peculiar to the North Country.

Of the words which Mr Manly does list, *brock*, 'horse,' is recorded in the *E.D.D.* as current in Northumberland and Kent. In the *N.E.D.* it is marked dialectal but not northern. I have found no evidence that it occurs in Yorkshire. *Scot* is noted in the *E.D.D.* as 'a common name for Suffolk horses'; in Chaucer's day the name was also current in Norfolk, if one may judge by l. 616 of the *Prologue*. It was therefore not a name peculiar to the North Country, if indeed current there at all. *Hait* is put down in the *E.D.D.* as 'in *gen.* dial. use in Sc. and Eng.' The *N.E.D.* likewise treats it as a word of general geographical distribution. *Thole*, 'endure,' is now a dialectal word of the North, but in the fourteenth century it was still current in the South as well. Thus, it occurs in l. 410 of the *Castle of Love* (MS. Vernon, f. 292), a poem written in the South-east Midland dialect[2]. *Caple*, 'horse,' is given in the *E.D.D.* as current in Scotland, Lancashire and Cheshire. The last county, along with the

[1] *Some New Light on Chaucer*, New York, 1926, pp. 105f.
[2] Cf. further J. E. Wells, *Manual*, p. 367.

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southern part of Lancashire, belongs linguistically to the Midland rather than the Northern area. The occurrence of the word in M.E. texts like *Land of Cockaygne* and *Piers Plowman* indicates that in Chaucer's day it was not a term confined to the North, and at no time does it seem to have been a shibboleth which would serve to distinguish the native of Yorkshire. It seems rather to belong to West Britain as against East Britain, whether north or south.

As regards the form *lixt* (pres. ind. 2 sg. of *lyen*, 'lie, speak untruth'), we no doubt have to do with a variant of O.E. *lihst*, parallel to O.E. *wexan*, 'grow,' alongside *wehsan*. The forms in question are Late West Saxon. The variation between *hs* and *x* seems to have been merely graphic; the pronunciation was [*ks*], whatever the spelling[1]. I have not found the spelling *lixt* in O.E., but it occurs in M.E. monuments, like the *Tale of Gamelyn* (l. 297) and *St Andrew* (l. 28), which could hardly be called northern[2]. The northern forms listed in the *N.E.D.* are *lighes*, *leies*, *lies*, *lyes* and *leis*. The form *lixt* is also listed, but is not reckoned among the *northern* forms. We may with safety conclude that *lixt* is not specifically northern and does not support the theory that Yorkshire was the scene of the *Friar's Tale*.

It remains to point out that the Friar himself gives us a very definite indication (negative though it be) of the whereabouts of his country. The passage reads thus:

This somonour, that was as ful of jangles
As ful of venym been thise waryangles,
And evere enqueryng upon everythyng,
'Brother,' quod he, 'where is now youre dwellyng,
Another day if that I sholde yow seche?'
This yeman him answerde in softe speche;
'Brother,' quod he, 'fer in the north contree,
Where-as I hope somtyme I shal thee see.
Er we departe, I shal thee so wel wisse
That of myn hous ne shaltow nevere mysse.'

In his note on l. 1413, Mr Manly defines the yeman's (i.e., devil's) *north contree* as 'an ambiguous term meaning either "North England" or "the infernal regions."' In other words, the Friar here gives us a pun. Since, however, he makes his fiend say that the *north contree* is *fer*, it is obvious that the scene of the *Friar's Tale* is far from North England.

KEMP MALONE.

BALTIMORE.

[1] See K. D. Bülbring, *Altenglisches Elementarbuch*, p. 189.

[2] *Gamelyn*, in Skeat's *Chaucer*, IV, pp. 645 ff.; *St Andrew* (MS. Harley 2277), in Furnivall's *E.E.P.*, pp. 98 ff.

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English Players at the Swedish Court.

From correspondence among the bundle of uncalendared Swedish State Papers for the years 1592–1608 the names of John Howse and Brigges may be added certainly, and James Hill and Leonard Tucker tentatively, to the list of Elizabethan musicians and players who sought a livelihood in foreign courts.

It is in connexion with the story of the worshipful Mr James Hill that these names come to notice: the details are regrettably scanty and discreditable. Hill describes himself as 'sometymes a poore studiant of the Inns of Courte[1],' and it appears from a letter to his father-in-law, Mr Scryvener at Ipswich, that the difficulty of making a living in England and 'the vilanye wrought' him 'by that wicked woman Gooding' drove him abroad to Sweden, 'the coldest country of the earth,' where he found some consolation in the favour of Duke Charles and of certain ladies of the Court[2].

Before leaving England Hill had put himself at the disposal of Vice-Chamberlain Sir Thomas Heneage as Her Majesty's servant, and the chance to prove his loyalty came with his discovery of a traitor in the person of Thomas Cornewallis, alias George Graye, who sought refuge at the Swedish Court in August 1592. Curious to know the reason of his banishment Hill wound himself into his confidence and sent Heneage copies of many dangerous papers.

In the postscript to a letter dated from Stockholm, January 12, 1592/3, he mentioned that 'The Fyrst letter I directed to yowr honor was by one John howse Anglius that served the Ducke as a trumpeter and willed him to delyver it to one John Coote, Tho Fishes man the Ducks Inglishe merchaunt, which I hope is safely delyvered[3].' The packet evidently miscarried, and fortunately for us, Hill recapitulates the details of the plot in a letter to Burghley dated February 16, 1592/3[4].

The English in Stockholm took sides over the arrest of Cornewallis and among the baser sort 'one that playeth the iester to the Duck,' later referred to as 'this Brigges,' slandered Hill, and said that he was 'but a player in Ingland.' Taken together with Heberer's record that there were English 'comoedianten und springer' in Nyköping for the wedding of Duke Charles in August 1592[5], Brigges' accusation suggests that Hill had lately fallen foul of some members of the profession. Eight years later the

[1] *State Papers*, 95, I, f. 70.
[2] *Ibid.*, f. 64 v.
[3] *Ibid.*, f. 68.
[4] *Ibid.*, ff. 70–1.
[5] *Ægyptiaca Servita* (Dedicatory letter, Aug. 10, 1610), p. 626. See also Sir E. K. Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, II, p. 274.

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charge was repeated in a curious way. The Swedish State Papers contain a safe-conduct and letter of recommendation for Hill to travel into England[1], but the reason for his journey is given in a document now preserved among the Domestic State Papers which takes the form of an open letter signed by eight witnesses, friends of Hill, dated 'Att Nycopen in Swethen this iiiith of May in the yeare of our Lord God' (1600)[2]:

> We whose names be heare under written remaininge in Swethen doe certifye unto those to whome this presents shall come that Leonard Tucker our countriman hath heare in open courte appeached the wor^{ll} M^{r} James hill for a Shellom...and that further M^{r} hill had been heartofore a player, and havinge stolen away their apparrell, came into this countrey of Swethen, where he nowe remaineth in service of his excellencie.
>
> And that also M^{r} Hill had been a Taylor, & that he had heartofore bene an Apprentice to a Taylor in Ipswich, w^{ch} is in Suffo:

The evidence was considered insufficient, but by the Duke's command and for the satisfaction of the 'commone sorte of people,' Hill bound Tucker to appear with him in an English Court. According to Hill's friends all these matters of discord

> grewe only upon thys, that he shoulde lay to his chardge that he was a principal cause of the deathe of a brother of his in bringinge a quarrell betwene him & a Scottishman, w^{ch} upon the whole p(ro)ceedinge of the matter, & upon his owne open confessinge to have reported the wordes w^{ch} breade the quarrell, we have lykewise cause to thincke w^{ch} wordes M^{r} hills brother did in his lief tyme in the hearinge of some of us, utterly denye to have spoken unto the same Leo. Tucker.

The clumsy pronouns make it difficult to be quite certain of the origin of the quarrel but it does not affect the offence against the players. John Caunton, John Nichols (Nicolaj) and Thomas Fisk each affirm that 'myself hearde not of the words *stolen away*, but of takinge away their apparrell, and yet stolen away stoode upon the record of the co^{r}t w^{ch} myself heard reade openly.' William Greene testifies that 'the sayd Tucker did call him shellam player roge & tayler.'

Of the witnesses Johannes Nicolaj was Hill's companion ambassador in 1599[3]: Fisk, no doubt, was the merchant[4] and John Toote is probably to be identified with his man John Coote, mentioned in 1593[5]. I have found no further trace of Richard Havill or of Christopher Graye, who was illiterate and could only make his mark. The surnames Greene and Slaughter are familiar. Greene is perhaps too common for us to suppose that this William was any connexion of the Thomas Greene of 'Tu Quoque' reputation, or of the John Greene who was in Germany in 1608

[1] *State Papers*, 95, I, ff. 138, 140. [2] *Dom. S.P.* XII, 274, f. 278.
[3] *State Papers*, 95, I, ff. 118, 119. See also the Latin letter on f. 63 commissioning Jacobus Hillius and Joanes Nicolaj dated tentatively 1591, which is, however, a copy of the letters dated May 4, 1599.
[4] *Ibid.*, ff. 33, 59. [5] *Ibid.*, f. 68.

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and 1615[1]. Slaughter is more distinctive, and since acting runs in families, if this Thomas Slaughter was any relation of the Martin Slater or Slaughter who belonged to the Admiral's men from 1594–7 and was in Scotland in 1591, he too may have been a player[2].

It was hardly to be expected that we should find in the Swedish correspondence more about the English jester and trumpeter; the malice of Brigges and the apparent untrustworthiness of Howse are incidental to the grave concerns of the supposed Cornewallis; but it is disappointing that the State Papers yield no further information about Leonard Tucker and the theft of the player's apparel. The more we learn of Hill's career, however, the less are we inclined to believe that he was at any time 'traitor,' 'shellom,' 'roge,' 'taylor,' 'taylor's apprentice' or 'player,' and though we lose sight of him as an actor there is compensation in the account of his adventures as ambassador and commander of 'brave regiments' which gives us in outline the portrait of one of the many unfortunate enterprising Elizabethan gentlemen who learned to put little trust in Princes or in Queens.

KATHLEEN M. LEA.

LONDON.

LEIGH HUNT AND 'THE TOWN.'

Mr Blunden's recent biography of Leigh Hunt has created fresh interest in the man and his works. Since that book was written, some papers have been discovered which throw more light upon the man, and which tell of the troubled origin of one of his more popular publications, *The Town*.

In April 1834 appeared *Leigh Hunt's London Journal* which contains some of his best writing. It was published by Charles Knight, and issued weekly at 1½*d.* per copy. Towards the end of the year, it was decided to equalise the size of the monthly sets, and Supplements were published, entitled *The Streets of the Metropolis; Their Memories and Great Men*. These were continued, when necessary, during 1835, but were left unfinished when the *Journal* was discontinued for want of subscribers in December 1835. They appeared, however, in 1848, in complete form as *The Town*, which proved to that and succeeding generations one of the most pleasant literary guides to the Metropolis. It has since been republished several times, and is now included in the *World's Classics* series.

[1] *Elizabethan Stage*, II, p. 320.

[2] *Ibid.*, II, p. 340.

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According to Leigh Hunt, a closer acquaintance was made of Knight, after Hunt moved to Old Brompton, where he found

> a landlord in the person of Charles Knight, with whom an intercourse commenced, which I believe had pleasure on both sides. I am sure it has been a good to myself. If I had not a reverence of a peculiar sort for the inevitable past, I could wish that I had begun writing for Mr Knight immediately, instead of attempting to set up another periodical work of my own....
>
> (Leigh Hunt's *Autobiography*, edited by E. Blunden, *World's Classics*, 1928, ch. XXIV, pp. 499, 500.)

The only direct reference Hunt makes to *The Town* is when he tells of his removal to Chelsea, and of a house in which

> we remained seven years; in the course of which, besides contributing some articles to the Edinburgh and Westminster Reviews, and producing a good deal of the book since called *The Town*, I set up the London Journal. (*Autobiography*, p. 505.)

The fact is, however, that Leigh Hunt was brought into contact with Knight over *The Town*, as early as 1829. In that year the work was suggested by Leigh Hunt to his friend Brougham, President of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, for inclusion in the Society's Library of Entertaining Knowledge. We learn this from Brougham's letter to Leigh Hunt:

> Your letter which I have just received is very agreeable to me, both because it lets me know that you are well and because it conveys a wish to co-operate in one of the most important of the Society's works. I write by this post to Mr Hill [Matthew Davenport Hill] who is at the head of that department, and I have strongly recommended to him the opening an immediate correspondence with you....Almost all that the Society publishes passes thro' my hands in one stage or another ...and I am sure *you* will hold yourself safe in my hands.
>
> (B.M. Add. MSS. 38109, f. 63. Letter, Brougham to Leigh Hunt, marked in pencil: '1829'.)

The manuscript papers and letters of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge are in the Library of University College, London, and it is these which supply details for the chequered beginnings of *The Town*. The extracts given below are from a bundle of letters for 1829, referred to as 'S.D.U.K. *Letters*, 1829,' from the Minute Books of the Society and from a bundle of receipts for 1834. They are printed by kind permission of the Provost of University College.

In November 1829 a specimen of a work on London entitled *Anecdotes of the Metropolis* was delivered to Charles Knight, publisher to the Society for the Library of Entertaining Knowledge. Knight sent it to the Society with a note stating that 'owing to particular circumstances he [the author] is most anxious to know whether the Committee would desire him to go on....' (S.D.U.K. *Letters*, 1829). Mr Hill reported to the Committee that Brougham had examined the specimen and highly approved of it.

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Leigh Hunt was engaged to proceed with the work and Knight was authorised to pay on account, as the MS. was delivered. (*Minutes of the Entertaining Knowledge Committee*, November 2, 1829.)

The fact that author and publisher were on friendly terms did not, however, prevent a certain amount of friction over financial matters. A week after the scheme had been sanctioned we have Knight writing to Thomas Coates, Secretary to the Society:

> ...Hunt's affair certainly annoyed me—for I hate squabbles with anybody—particularly money squabbles. I threatened him with official hard-heartedness at first—but he beat me with his talk about feelings and eight children. However I am delighted that he made it necessary by his extravagant expectations that you should take him in hand.... (S.D.U.K. *Letters*, 1829: C. Knight to T. Coates, November, 1829.)

Knight then drew up a statement of his business relations with Leigh Hunt, sent it to Mr Hill and wrote to Coates informing him of the fact, adding:

> ...I find...that Mr Hunt has relieved me from an unpleasant part of the duty I had to perform, by a written communication to the Chairman [Brougham]. His statement of our interviews and correspondence is quite correct. I ought, however, to add in explanation, that upon his applying to me on Tuesday week for £20, I sent him a check dated Saturday, principally to intimate to him that it would be necessary that he should give me time, in future, for the examination of the MS. previously to receiving payment, and further that the unpleasant conversation to which Mr Hunt alludes,...arose from Mr Hunt's pressing not only for a second payment of £20 upon the delivery of the MS. but for further advance, at the same time, of another £20, upon MS. to be forthcoming....I hope the Committee will believe that I have endeavoured to spare Mr Hunt's feelings as much as I possibly could, consistently with my duty in the administration of their funds.
>
> (S.D.U.K. *Letters*, 1829: C. Knight to T. Coates undated, but Nov. 1829.)

Leigh Hunt evidently hoped for more lenient treatment from the Committee, since he drew up a very neat Memorandum of six quarto pages for their benefit, giving particulars of his dealings with Knight and copies of the letters which had passed between them, complete to the smallest detail of address and punctuation:

> For the Chairman & Committee of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, if Mr Knight should bring occasion of [words crossed through] of its being laid before them.
>
> The first portion of the copy was sent to Mr Knight on Tuesday the 3rd of November. He sent me in return a check for £20, with the following note:—
>
> Mr Knight to Mr L. Hunt.
>
> DEAR SIR,
>
> I hope I shall not disappoint you in sending my check for *Saturday*[1]. I find my Banker's balance shorter than I expected, being just now drained for Almanac stamps. I should in general prefer your sending on a Saturday, on which day I make up my Cash Book for Payments.
>
> Your's truly
> CHAS KNIGHT.
>
> [1] This italic is Mr Knight's own.

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In consequence of this letter I had an interview with Mr Knight on the Friday, of a very unpleasant and to me very unexpected nature, the particulars of which I am prepared to state if Mr Knight pleases, & which ended in his agreeing to give me £20 on the following Monday, on the receipt of the second portion of copy. The portion was sent, but answered by the transmission of £12 only, with the following letter:

Mr Knight to Mr L. Hunt.

DEAR SIR,

I am confined to my bed by an illness, which I hope to be free from in a day or two. According to my calculation the copy sent (35 pages of MS.) will make 24 printed pages. There are 416 in the volume. Agreably to my promise to pay you as the Copy is delivered, I send £12—I have not received the Introduction from Mr Brougham, so that I cannot estimate the correctness of the former payment of £20.

Your's very truly,
C. KNIGHT.

Monday.
Mr Hunt.

This letter I answered as follows:

Mr L. Hunt to Mr Knight.

Cromwell Lane, November 10, 1829.

DEAR SIR,

I am sorry to hear that you are unwell, and hope this letter will find you are recovering. My ears are ringing, at this moment, with hard work; as indeed they have been these three months, ever since I wrote, one day, sixteen hours at a stretch. Yet I must write on.

Either your calculation or mine is erroneous. My own mode of reckoning, or rather that of two of my family here, who are better accountants than myself, and have taken great pains with it, is as follows.

The volume, which we took as a specimen (the first that came to hand), contains (including plates) ~~eleven~~ 11 sheets and 2 thirds, each sheet containing 36 pages.—The 77 plates in this volume, (as correctly as can be squared with the volume to be written) are given to the odd sheet and two thirds, leaving 10 sheets in the volume of letter-press; which at the rate of £200 a volume, is £20 the sheet; and at the average of 27 pages strictly counted, that sheet contains 10,800 words, the pages thus counted being selected from those that have no plates.

Now the words in the two portions of copy hitherto sent, have all been counted; and in *each* portion are 10,800 words and upwards.

Perhaps on considering this calculation, you will see reason to doubt the accuracy of your own; and communicate with my son, the bearer, accordingly.

Your's sincerely,
LEIGH HUNT.

To Mr Charles Knight.
Pall Mall East.

To this answer Mr Knight sent the following reply.

Mr Knight to Mr L. Hunt.

DR SIR,

I am still confined. I have no reason to doubt the accuracy of my calculation, which is founded upon some experience; but it is one of the miseries of the arrangement which you require, that *the press*, as in all other cases, cannot decide the ~~matter~~ question, I much fear, too, for the quality of the MS;—and however excellent might be the Introduction, I doubt whether the Committee are prepared to pay £20 per sheet for long transcripts from Brayley, and other books of no value as authorities. I must candidly say, that my responsibility to the Committee has never been so

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pressed upon, as in your case; and I must therefore bring the matter fully before them, which I shall be able to do, if I am well enough, on Thursday.

I remain,
Dear Sir,
Your's very truly
CHAS. KNIGHT.

Leigh Hunt Esq^re.

It was impossible for me, & I conceived unnecessary, to make a rejoinder to this letter,—in which my anxious specimen of calculation was answered by Mr Knight's reference to his 'experience,' & in which it was distinctly intimated that I was making long transcripts from other authors for which I expected undue payment.

The rate of payment (as *about* £200) had been settled between Mr Hill, Mr Knight, & myself, when I first had the pleasure of seeing Mr Hill on the subject of the work; and when I last mentioned it to Mr Knight, (which was on the evening of the day the Committee met upon it), he told me, that nothing had been said at the meeting respecting the amount of payment; but that he conceived that I might vote it at what I did.

As to the long transcripts from Brayley & others—in the first place, they are, in general, not long, except in one or two instances, where I thought the curiosity of the subjects allowed it, such as in speaking of the singular crowds that once infested St Paul's, and in the more interesting portraits of Jane Shore drawn by Holinshed, Sir Thomas More, & Drayton. Secondly, M^r Knight, of his own accord sends me Brayley, *whom I did not ask for*, and does *not* send me, after repeated promises, *the books I did*:— & thirdly the following is a list of my quotations from Brayley, by which it will be seen, that for the most part, I only quote from him where he himself has quoted from writers of acknowledged authority:—

List of Quotations from Brayley.

1. A quotation from *Wren*, because the Parentalia was too expensive to procure.

[Here follow eleven other quotations.]

If I had been an unconscientious writer, I might have quoted all these authors *themselves*, as it is very customary to do, but not having taken the passages from their works, I could not in honour do it. Such an unhandsomeness might have saved me from Mr Knight's unhandsome imputation; but it would have been worthy neither of my employers nor myself, nor in the end have been of real good to anybody.

What the 'other books' are, besides Brayley, that are of 'no authority,' I am to learn. At all events, I have quoted none that have not referred to real authorities; and it was my intention in the Preface to state that I had verified all their quotations. In some instances I have done so; but I could not find time immediately to go to the British Museum for the rest; and surely it was not necessary.

I am at the disposal of the Committee, to write their work as they shall think fit, always being secure that they will not wish me to do it in any manner incompatible with my conscience; and I shall be most happy to have a fixed understanding of what they shall think proper for me to receive. I will only add, that I reckon confidently upon them for a liberal construction of my quotations, when I do make them; & I trust that they will agree with me in thinking, that an author is to be judged, not merely from the extracts which either his sense of duty or his enthusiasm may induce him to make, but from the frames in which he may be able to lay them, & from the general cast of mind, interest, & vivacity, which it may be within his power to throw over the work.

P.S. It is difficult to know how to omit old stories respecting so prominent a place as St Paul's & the neighbourhood. It does not appear to me, even desirable to do so; nor to say the truth, should I have said as little as I have of the modern cathedral, if Mr Knight had not given me to understand, that a volume was contemplated, by & by, upon St Paul's and Westminster Abbey.

I hope I have *much* to ~~say~~ tell in the work, *which has never before been brought together*,

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& that the Society will think so; but if I omit the most entertaining passages from Stow Pennant, & others, the reader of a work written subsequently to them all, & bound to comprise as much entertainment as possible, will surely have reason to consider it incomplete. Good old stories bear telling again & again, especially with new comment. Old readers would miss them as old friends; & the new ought to have them, for the same reasons that they interested the old. The Society however may have other, & better views on this point; and I await their pleasure.

(S.D.U.K. *Letters* K–Z, 1829 (in a letter from C. Knight to T. Coates—Knight's letter is the one quoted above—saying that Leigh Hunt's statement is correct). *Statement by Leigh Hunt to the Committee of the S.D.U.K.*, November 1929.)

A bundle of receipts labelled 1834 contains two signed by Leigh Hunt, and a letter sending in '...38,397 words, making 3 sheets, five sixths and a page:...P.S. I am so exhausted at this present moment, that I have not corrected the copy this time, nor enumerated the prints....' (Receipts 1834, L. Hunt to C. Knight, Thursday, April 29 [1830].) The first receipt is for £187 received from Knight during 1829–30, and includes the two sums mentioned in the Memorandum. It is in Knight's hand, is signed by Leigh Hunt, and has a summary on the back, in Knight's hand, as follows:

1829			
Nov	7	Cash	20
	9	do	12
	14	do	39
1830			
Jan	21	do	39
Feb	12th	(through Mr Hill)	10
	24th	do do	34
March	4	do —	33
			187

(S.D.U.K. *Receipts*, 1834.)

The Committee of the Society considered Leigh Hunt's Memorandum on November 12, 1829, and directed its Secretary

to inform Mr Hunt that Mr Knight had acted in conformity with the regulations of the Society, with respect to pecuniary advances, and further that the Committee uniformly object to quoting authorities except from original sources.

(*Minutes of the Entertaining Knowledge Committee*, November 12, 1829.)

From time to time the Committee examined further portions of the manuscript, which were subject to criticism and revision, such as was accorded to every work published under the Society's superintendence. Some of the opinions expressed on the work were favourable, others were indifferent. Among those who revised it was Matthew Davenport Hill who wrote on one occasion:

I don't like this part of L H's MS. Too much about sticks & stones too little about men women & children & that little stale flat & & [*sic*] stolen. I called to concert with you a plan for talking him over....

(S.D.U.K. *Letters*, 1829, M. D. Hill to C. Knight (enfolded with Leigh Hunt's Statement in Knight's letter mentioned above).)

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Others who criticised the MS. included J. F. Davis, T. F. Falconer and W. Bingham Baring. The two latter thought that the work, when revised, would be well adapted to the Entertaining Knowledge Series. (Minutes, April 29, 1830.)

There was a certain amount of discussion regarding the probable length of the completed work. The author held that he had been engaged without any restrictions as to space, and stated that he had collected sufficient material for three volumes, and had refrained from making any other arrangements. An agreement was eventually made for two volumes, Hunt undertaking not to write any other work on the same subject. (Minutes, March 11 and 23, 1830.)

On September 30, 1830, the Committee was informed that £338. 3*s*. 0*d*. had been paid on account of the *Anecdotes of the Metropolis*, of which 542 pages had been supplied, 168 pages of type remaining due. The Secretary was directed to request sufficient manuscript from Mr Hunt to fill these and to intimate to him that the Committee then wished him to discontinue his labours.

In a General Statement of Knight's in 1831 on the Library of Entertaining Knowledge, he estimated for the completion of the work, that the author would have to receive a further £150, and the artist £200, that the total expense when complete would be £735. 9*s*. 6*d*., and that the receipts from an impression of 12,500 would amount to £750.

These figures may have influenced the Society in its final decision on the work. The account of London, undertaken and paid for to the extent of £417. 17*s*. 6*d*. (£54. 14*s*. 6*d*. for illustrations and £25 for special revision) by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, was never published by that body. It was sold to Knight in April 1834 as a rejected treatise for £250. A few months later it appeared in the Supplements to *Leigh Hunt's London Journal*. The Committee which sanctioned the sale numbered among those present Lord Brougham, Sir Charles Bell, Edward Maltby (Bishop of Chichester), Messrs T. F. Ellis, Isaac L. Goldsmid, Edwin and Rowland Hill, David Jardine, William Tooke, Serjeant Manning, and had as its chairman the very man who had so confidently approved Leigh Hunt's proposal five years previously. (General Minutes II, April 18, 1834.)

Leigh Hunt appears to have borne no ill-will towards the Society; the reviews of its publications in his *Journal* are all friendly in tone, and there is no evidence to hand to show that his negotiations over *Anecdotes of the Metropolis* were known outside the Society's Committee, and its publisher, Knight. And yet, soon after the first appearance of the *Journal*,

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and long before the Supplements entitled *Streets of the Metropolis* were published, even before Knight had actually paid the Society for Leigh Hunt's work, there appeared a notice of *Leigh Hunt's London Journal*, in *Johnstone's Edinburgh Magazine*: '...Though London is the birth place of this work, its spirit is British, or cosmopolitan, nor will it require a Diffusion Society to speed its dissemination in Scotland; its seeds are winged.' (*Johnstone's Edinburgh Magazine*, No. IX, May 1834, p. 589.)

MONICA C. GROBEL.

LONDON.

ALCHEMICAL TREATISES IN OLD FRENCH.

There does not appear to be a very abundant French alchemical literature in the Middle Ages. It will, I think, therefore be useful to publish the detailed description of a manuscript preserved in the University Library of Trinity College, Dublin, of which I gave a summary notice in 1914[1] and have more recently made a complete study.

The manuscript D. 2. 27 (n. 550 Bernard; 401 Abbott) is a volume on paper in 8vo. (mm. 200 × 140). Not counting two blank fly-leaves at the beginning and two others at the end, it consists of 53 leaves divided into two parts by a blank leaf (f. 31). Each part bears a separate numeration in an old handwriting which I omit[2], counting the leaves from 1 to 53. All the volume is written in a clear and excellent hand of the beginning of the sixteenth century (*escript par Jam Penon*...1511: f. 44 *b*). The astronomical figures of the years 1525–36 (ff. 1 and 53) are later additions, perhaps of the same scribe. Long lines of 26 to the page. Leaves 2–30 have a ruling of two vertical and two horizontal lines. Marginal notes and names of former possessors are totally lacking.

f. 1 *a*: the old signatures, B. 1. 5; FFF. 61; A. 17, followed by two astronomical figures relating to the years 1535 and 1536: *Figure du ciel qui fut en lan* 1535 *le* 9^{e} *iour du mois dauoust*[3]. In the upper margin the cipher 22, which shows that this leaf has been misplaced by the modern binder and should be the last of the volume, following therefore f. 53.

f. 1 *b*: blank.

[1] *Inventaire des anciens manuscrits français des bibliothèques de Dublin*, I, in the *Revue des bibliothèques*, XXIV, 1914, p. 192.

[2] Many Dublin manuscripts that I have seen do not have the leaves numbered, which makes the methodical description of them very difficult.

[3] I would state here that, in the passages reproduced, I adhere rigorously to the orthography of the manuscript with all its inconsistencies, for example, *maistrise, maistrisse, montaigne, montaingne, trouuer, treuue, pere, perre, le philosophes, le philozophes, les philozophe, les philozophes, des philosophes, en samble, emsamble, propre, prope, amis, amy*, etc.

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ff. 2 *a*–30 *b*: a few initials in red, and many decorated with yellow. An alchemical treatise without the name of the author, translated from the Latin and called in the 'explicit,' *Lux Scientie*. The work, written in the form of a dialogue between master and pupil, consists of a long introduction (ff. 2 *a*–12 *a*), seven chapters (*Dispositions*, ff. 12 *a*–28 *b*), and an epilogue (ff. 28 *b*–30 *b*). Chapter VII alone has a special title (f. 26 *a*):

Chy commenche le 7e liure quy est appelle le liure de Saturne ou quel est parfais et acomply toute la maistrisse.

The chapters are subdivided into sections by many red signs.

f. 2 *a*: (without title): In nomine domini amen. Jay volu translate che liure a la request de Guillam Bouchier, bourgois de Paris[1], mon loyal amy.

Ad che que a la parfaite scienche puissons venire, premierment couvient scauoir que 3 pierre et 3 sel sont desquelz toute la maistrise de cest scienche despent. Cest assauoir pierre mineral, pierre vegetable quy est ditz plantal[2], et pierre animal. Et sont 3 yaue, cest assauoir lyaue de mercure, de sol et de lune...(f. 2 *b*) Treschiers filz saiche que cest scienche nest aultre choze que parfaite inspiration de dieu. Car toute la maistrise est de une seul chose et chechy nous te mouterons (*sic*) par les dis des philozophes...(f. 5 *b*) O treschier perre et bon maistre je te prie que plus appertement et clerement lexplanation me declare et ne me volie pas celer en quelle lieu elle est trouuee et se elle est ville ou precieuse que tu men die la verite. O filz de sapienche ne (f. 6 *a*) tay je pas dit que de une seul choze sans nul adition et sans nul diminuation du sien propre toute la maistrisse est parfaite....Sache que nostre pierre est trouuee en deux montaigne. Et se tu desire tres parfaitement a le trouuer monte sur une montaingne de che monde treshault car la est nostre pierre muchie, et sache que en nul aultre lieu nest trouue.... (f. 14 *a*) Et pour che dist Platon[3]: en toute lune est souffre blancq, sy comme en tous sol est souffre rouge, mais tel souffre on ne treuue point sur terre, sy comme dist Avincenne, (f. 14 *b*) fors que en ses corps.... (f. 16 *a*) Hermes le pere de tous les philozophe en nostre scienche[4].... (f. 19 *b*) Et saiche que lors (une poure ou pierre tresrouge) est appelles kiburch en arabe cest souffre en latin. ... (f. 21 *b*) Et lors elle (une pierre blance) est appellee heutarich en arabe cest a dire en latin chiaulz. Et pour che dist Daufin[5] le philosophes: (f. 22 *a*) calcinons ycheluy jusque il sera fait blans.... (f. 27 *a*) Sy comme dist Morienus[6] le philozophes: oncques ne fut riens anime ou trait hors de natiuite ne croissant fors que apres putrefaction ou mutation de veue.... (f. 30 *b*) Et prouoqueray, cest a dire esmouueray mon flux et engendrons une nouuelle filz quy point ne resamblera a ses parens. Et cest tout che que nous auons dit, et cetera.

Explicit Lux Scientie.

Chy fine le liure intitule le lumier de science et est le fleur des fleur et le tresor des tresor des secret de filozophie naturelle.

The Latin text of this *Lux Scientie* is not known to me. It derives in great part from Geber:

(f. 3 *b*) le maistre des maistre Ghebert; (f. 4 *a*) le maistre des maistre Geber au darain

[1] I have not been able to identify this personage. The manuscript has *guillā*.

[2] The study of the treatises here described would supply various words not registered in the lexicon of Godefroy.

[3] Cf. Hoefer, *Hist. de la chimie*, 2e éd., I, 1866, p. 354. In the Biblioteca Riccardiana of Florence there is a *Liber Platonis super aptationem lapidis pretiosi* (cod. L. iii. 13).

[4] Quoted also at ff. 23 *a*, 30 *a*. At f. 3 *a* *Aristotes* is named.

[5] John Daustin, Dastin, or Dastyn, English alchemist, *c.* 1320; cf. Fabricius, *Bibl. lat. med. et inf. aet.*, ed. 1858, II, p. 431; *Dictionary of National Biography*, Re-issue, V, 1908, p. 539; Hoefer, *Hist. de la chimie*, 2e éd., I, 1866, p. 434.

[6] Cf. Hoefer, *op. cit.*, p. 349; Steinschneider, *Wiener Sitzungsber.*, 1905, pp. 69–72.

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chapitre de perfection[1]; also ff. 5 *a*, 6 *b*, 7 *a*, 9 *a*, 9 *b*, 10 *b*, 11 *a*, 13 *b*, 15 *b*, 20 *a*, 21 *a*, 22 *b*, 23 *a*, 25 *a*, 27 *a*, 27 *b*.

The citation of John Daustin shows that the author cannot be earlier than the fourteenth century, to which it possibly belongs. The French version would not be much later.

f. 31: blank.

ff. 32 *a*–44 *b*: numerous large initials and titles of the chapters in red. The second work of the codex consists of a long introduction followed by sixteen chapters, the whole written in an obscure and mystical style.

f. 32 *a*: Chy commenche le espistole maistre Jehan Gastebos en la quelle est contenu tout la maistrisse de alkemie.

O treshault et trespuissant Philippe[2] par la grasse (!) de dieu Roy des Franchois sur lart de alkemie moy par le volente de dieu alans et venans de region en region et de pays en pays pour la scienche de alkemye aquerre et auoir. Et ay mult de liures estudies, et souffert mult de pouretes, dangousse, et plusers et diuers despens ay fait en ouvrant seloncq les livres domnes et ballies de cest art.... Pour quoy moy ouvrant maintenant selonc une voye, maintenant selon une aultre, entremellant espesses avecq espesses nay riens trouue en ensienant leur livres et leur receptes par lespasse de 10 ans et de plus...et imputoye aux philozophe vilonnie creans que il ne uissent ni.et escript ne donne verite en leur livres.... (f. 32 *b*) Et est advenu que apres mult de tamps ung samblable a moy du quel es parties de Ytalie avoye ja eu congnissanche par chy deuant ly quels avoit quis en grant foy et en grant affection cest scienche, ainsy comme je lavoye quise, vint et adrecha a moy et conferames en samble sur les obscure parolles des philozophe et revolvamme les sutilites de nos engiens et aperchimme veritablement que les philozophes avoyent estet veritable et nestoyent pas mensongnier.... Et apres che (f. 33 *a*) que nous avons heu plusers colocution emsamble mon amis de par devant dis est retournes en son prope lyeu. Et apres che je me suis exposes a loeuvre et par layde de la diuine volente je ay veu et trouue...la pure verite.... (f. 35 *a*) Cest certaine choze que dhomme nest engendre fors que homme. Ne de cheval nest engenree fors que cheval. Ne de aultre bestes nest engendre fors de son samblable et ainsy esty de tout aultre choze et pareillement des metaulx.... (f. 38 *b*) O tu bon roy ascoutte et enteng. Maintenant je voeil que tu saiche tout de premiers que la matere de tous les metaulx et leur sperme est argent vif decuis et espessis ens ou ventre de la terre par chaleur sulphureuze.... (f. 44 *b*) Et des choze deuant dit de le pierre des philosophes loeies en soit le treshault createur. Amen. Deo gratias.

Chy fine lepistole de maistre Jehans Gastebos escript par Jam Penon a le request de Jam Derche[3] trescher et bon amy a le scienche devandit. 1511.

The following are quoted: (f. 33 *a*), the pseudo-Aristotle in the letter on an alchemical subject sent to Alexander the Great[4]; (f. 39 *b*) *Rosinus*[5],

[1] On the Latin works that pass under the name of Geber, cf. Hoefer, *op. cit.*, p. 327; Berthelot (*Archéologie et histoire des sciences*, 1906, p. 308); Sudhoff in the *Beiträge aus der Gesch. der Chemie* of Diergart, 1909, p. 254; Mieli in the *Archivio di storia della scienza*, III, 1923, p. 329; Darmstaedter, *ibid.*, 1928; Ruska, *ibid.*, 1930, p. 163.

[2] The qualification, 'trespuissant,' would suit Philip the Fair (1285–1314), rather than Philip V (1316–22), or Philip VI (1328–50).

[3] Personages, like Gastebos and Bouchier, unknown.

[4] Cf. Hoefer, *op. cit.*, p. 347.

[5] Hoefer, *op. cit.*, p. 367; cod. Riccardianus 1165.

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and *Parmandes* (sic) *en le Tourbe*[1]; (f. 40 *a*) *Moriens ly saige*[2], and *Plicatris* (sic) *en le Tourbe*; (f. 40 *b*) *Plicatrix* (sic) *en le Tourbe*; (f. 41 *a*) *Moriens*, and *Estans*[3] *en le Tourble* (sic); (f. 43 *b*) *Moriens en le Tourbe*; (f. 44 *a*) *le Tourbe*.

Of Master John Gastebos, who lived probably under Philip the Fair (1285–1314), we know nothing. His name has remained hitherto totally unknown to the bibliographers of the Middle Ages[4] and to the historians of Chemistry[5].

f. 45: blank.

ff. 46 *a*–51 *a*: extracts from various authors. The first (ff. 46 *a*–47 *a*) is without title: 'Toy quy saigement et naturellement desire a elixir faire congnois les rachines minerables....' Geber and *Avincenne*[6] are quoted; the former twice. The second (ff. 47 *a*–48 *b*) is entitled in red: *Ortholain*[7], and begins: 'Lart de alkemie est domne vraye sans mensongne, par le quell art tresvraye sol est engendres et millieur en tout proprietes que nest cheluy de la miniere....' The third extract (ff. 48 *b*–49 *b*), entitled in red *Geber*, begins: 'Il ya une pierre, une medechine, en quoy nostre maistrise est a lequelle nous ne adjoustons nul choze quelques estrange, ne diminuons....' The fourth (ff. 49 *b*–50 *b*), with the title in red: *Sarbasins de Toullet*[8], begins: 'Quy ne disoutz les corps il labeure en vain. La solution des corps nest aultre choze que ycheulx conuertir en lyaue de quoy il furent de primer (f. 50 *a*) engendres, la quelle est mercure.... Car le sol est corps parfais, la lune est corps imparfais, le sperme deulx est mercure vif....' Then come (ff. 50 *b*–51 *a*) Latin verses:

> Ars una possit rem quam quis bene nescit....
> Solus mercurius sumator in minerabilis (*sic*);

and, on f. 51 *a*, again four verses:

> Primus formetur ut sensus et dominetur....
> Destructo sensu nescit procedere quartus.

[1] On the *Turba philosophorum*, cf. Hoefer, p. 311; cod. Riccardianus 1164; Littré in *Hist. litt. de la France*, XXI, 1847, p. 304; Berthelot in *Journal des savants*, 1891, p. 124; *The Turba Philosophorum*, translated by A. E. Waite, London, 1896; Steinschneider, *loc. cit.*, 1906, p. 62.

[2] Cf. Hoefer, p. 349; *Enciclopedia Italiana*, II, 1929, p. 241.

[3] Perhaps for *Constans* (cf. Waite's translation, p. 166). *Plicatris* would probably be Waite's *Philotis* (p. 200). *Parmandes* is *Parmenides* (pp. 13, 32).

[4] A family Gastebois exists in Périgord (Chevalier, *Topo-Bibliographie*, s.v. Gastebois, citing G. de Gastebois, *Généalogie de la maison de Gastebois*, Versailles, 1890, 8vo., 29 pp.).

[5] Gmelin, Hoefer, Berthelot, to whose works I would add the most useful *Bibliotheca Chemica* of John Ferguson (2 vols., Glasgow, 1906).

[6] For a recent edition of the treatise *De congelatione* of Avicenna, cf. Mieli in *Archivio di storia della scienza*, IX, 1928, p. 111.

[7] Cf. Hoefer, *op. cit.*, p. 441; Hauréau in *Notices et extraits*, XXVII, ii, p. 35; Cod. Riccardianus 1165.

[8] Perhaps *Sarrasins de T.*, a Saracen of Toledo?

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ff. 51 *b*–52 *a*: 'Pour avoir lesperit de saturne prendes caulce vive et du saturne tant que tu voeulz en lamines....'

f. 52 *a*: 'Pour congeler mercure prenes cauch fresche des chailles doeufz....'

f. 52 *b*: blank.

ff. 53 *a*–53 *b*: 'Figure du ciel qui fut en lan 1533 le II^{e} iour du mois doctobre.' The figures follow for 1528 and 1525 (cf. above, f. 1 *a*).

I would observe in conclusion that mediæval alchemical texts written in the romance languages are not numerous, and very few of them have up to now been published or studied[1].

MARIO ESPOSITO.

FLORENCE.

MARCABRUN AND CERCAMON.

In the longer of the two biographies of Marcabrun[2] we read *inter alia* that 'he stayed so long with a troubadour, whose name was Cercamon, that he began to write poetry' (*estet tant ab un trobador, que avia nom Cercamon, qu'el comensset a trobar*). In other words, the author of the old *Life* represents Cercamon as the teacher of Marcabrun. His statement, which probably owes its origin to the fact that Cercamon is addressed as *maïstre* in a *tenso* with a certain Guilhalmi, was accepted at its face value by the older Provençalists, at a time when the veracity of the *vidas* had not yet been impugned. What is more surprising is that those scholars who have in recent years given special attention to Marcabrun and to Cercamon should share the same view as their predecessors. Jeanroy for example, in his excellent edition of the poems of Cercamon[3], accepts the statement of the *vida* without any demur; as does also Boissonnade[4],

[1] Very few indications on the subject are found in the works already cited of Hoefer and Ferguson. For the French texts, cf. Gröber, *Grundriss*, II, 1902, Abt. I, p. 1178; *Nouvelle biographie générale*, XVII, 1856, col. 822; Paulin Paris in *Hist. litt. de la France*, XXVIII, 1881, p. 431; *Archivio di storia della scienza*, IX, 1928, p. 46; XI, 1929, p. 206. Alchemical tracts in Provençal have been described by Berthelot in the *Journal des savants*, 1891, p. 628, and others in Catalan by Luanco, *La alquimia en España*, I, Barcelona, 1889 (cf. Morel-Fatio in Gröber's *Grundriss*, II, 1897, Abt. II, p. 112). Very scanty are the Italian texts; cf. Zambrini, *Le opere volgari*, 4th ed., 1884, p. 871. We shall deal elsewhere with an Italian alchemical treatise contained in cod. S. III. xii of the Biblioteca Riccardiana. The manuscripts 1243 and 1246 of the same library contain alchemical receipts, cf. Di Giovanni, *Filologia e lett. siciliana; nuovi studi*, 1879, pp. 130–159, and *Archivum franciscanum historicum*, 1910–1911.

[2] Camille Chabaneau, *Les Biographies des Troubadours*, Toulouse, 1885, p. 9.

[3] *Les Poésies de Cercamon*, Paris, 1922, in the *Classiques français du moyen âge*.

[4] *Les Personnages et les événements de l'histoire d'Allemagne, de France et d'Espagne dans l'œuvre de Marcabru* (1129–50); *Essai sur la biographie du poète et la chronologie de ses poésies*, in *Romania*, XLVIII, 1922, pp. 207–42.

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who goes so far as to assume that a large part of Cercamon's life coincides with the reign of William IX of Aquitaine, the earliest troubadour, whose rule extended from 1086 to 1126. Appel[1] is more cautious; but Vossler[2], on the other hand, far from raising any objections, sees in Cercamon a model from whom many of Marcabrun's motifs are derived.

My aim in the present note is to show that the statement of the *Life* is untenable. I propose to approach the problem from two different points of view, the chronological and the literary, starting with the first.

Of Cercamon's seven pieces two can be dated with precision. The first (*Lo plaing comenz iradamen*), a complaint on the death of William, eighth count of Poitiers and tenth duke of Aquitaine, father of Aliénor of Aquitaine, was evidently written shortly after the death of that sovereign, which took place on April 9, 1137, while he was on his way to Compostella. The second (*Car vei fenir*), the *tenso* with Guilhalmi, to which allusion has already been made, is also to be ascribed to the year 1137, since it contains an unmistakable allusion to the imminent marriage of Aliénor of Aquitaine with the son of the king of France, the future Louis VII[3]. None of Cercamon's other songs can be shown to belong to an earlier period. According to Paul Meyer (*Romania*, VI, pp. 125 ff.), with whom Appel agrees (*op. cit.*, p. 407), Marcabrun's oldest datable song is *Auiatz de chan* (IX in Dejeanne's edition[4]), which certainly refers to events which happened in 1135. Boissonnade in his remarkable paper argues that several pieces of Marcabrun were written before that date; and he puts down as Marcabrun's oldest datable song *Assatz m'es bel* (VIII), in which he traces an allusion to the conflict which broke out in the spring of 1130 between William VIII of Poitiers and the Count of Anjou. However that may be and without going into details, at least five of Marcabrun's songs, it may be affirmed, are anterior to the spring of 1137, the year in which was written Cercamon's earliest datable composition; and, as Marcabrun is the author of some forty pieces, we may suppose, not unrashly, that several of these belong to an earlier period. From these data we are justified in drawing the inference that Marcabrun flourished several years before Cercamon. This conclusion is corroborated by the character of their work, which makes it impossible to believe that

[1] *Zu Marcabru*, in *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XLIII, 1923, pp. 403–69. Though the two cover a good deal of the same ground, Appel makes no reference to Boissonnade's important paper, which appeared before his contribution.

[2] *Der Trobador Marcabru und die Anfänge des gekünstelten Stiles*, München, 1913. Cp. particularly pp. 6 (note), 10, 14–15.

[3] This fact was first established by P. Rajna (*Romania*, VI, 1877, pp. 115–9).

[4] *Poésies complètes du troubadour Marcabru*, Toulouse, 1909.

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Marcabrun was the pupil of Cercamon. They belonged to two distinct schools and reflect two very different aspects of the early troubadour lyric. Cercamon's conception of love, unlike that of Marcabrun, is essentially sensual, and even cynical[1]. He follows the new fashion set by William VII of Poitiers and by Ebles II[2] of Ventadorn, surnamed 'Cantator' by the chronicler Geoffroi de Vigeois. To Ebles he dedicates his *planh* on the death of William VIII of Poitiers. This explains why Cercamon is hostile to Marcabrun and the other troubadours of his kidney who preach against free love and spoil the fun (v, 4):

Ist trobador, entre ver e mentir,
Afollon drutz e molhers et espos,
E van dizen qu'Amors vay en biays,
Per que·l marit endevenon gilos,
E dompnas son intradas en pantays,
Cui mout vol hom escoutar et auzir.

This strophe is probably a direct retort to the well-known passage in which Marcabrun attacks the poets of the school of Sir Ebles, who cannot distinguish between pure love and adulterous love (xxxvii, 7–18). In one of his songs, it is true, Cercamon would appear at first sight to be siding with Marcabrun and his adherents. Apostrophising the *fals amador* he exclaims (iv, 5):

El fuoc major seretz creman
En la pena qe non trasvai,
Enganador fals e truan,
Al juzizi del derrer plai, etc.

But, if he consigns the unfaithful husbands and wives and their lovers to the bottomless pit, he does so with his tongue in his cheek. He is really having a sly dig at Marcabrun, who is never weary of harping on the ills which sensual love—*Amar* (with a play of words on the adjective) as

[1] Cp. especially the following passages:

Dieu prejarai qu'ancar l'ades
O que la vej'anar jazer. (I, 23–4.)
Messatges, vai, si Deus ti guar,
E sapchas ab mi donz furmir,
Qu'eu non puesc lonjamen estar
De sai vius ni de lai guerir,
Si josta mi despoliada
Non la puesc baizar e tenir
Dins cambra encortinada. (II, 43–9.)
Petit la vey, mas per ella suy gays
Et jauzions, e Dieus m'en do jauzir. (V, 41–2.)

Also the strophe quoted on p. 94.

[2] Ebles II, none of whose songs are extant, is also mentioned (disapprovingly) by Marcabrun, and by several other troubadours: Bernart Martin, a contemporary of Cercamon, Guiraut de Cabreira, and Bernard de Ventadorn, whose father was one of Ebles' servants.

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opposed to *fin' Amor* or true love—brings in its train. That such was Cercamon's intention is indicated by the contents of the concluding strophe in which, sublimely unconscious of any blasphemy, he implores the Lord that his paramour may keep her promise and satisfy his very unplatonic desires despite her jealous husband:

Saint Salvaire, fai m'albergan
Lai el renh on mi donz estai,
Ab la genzor, si q'en baizan
Sien nostre coven verai
E qe·m do zo que m'a promes;
Pueis al jorn s'en ira conques,
Si be l'es mal al gelos brau.

This piece in particular has induced Vossler to believe that the constituent features of several of Marcabrun's songs are traceable to Cercamon; whereas the opposite is the case. Cercamon's song is in part a skit upon one of Marcabrun's pet themes, a process not unfamiliar to Marcabrun himself and of which he has given a telling example in his delightful *pastorella* (*L'autrier jost'una sebissa*). Again, Cercamon's reference to the preaching of the second crusade in the eighth strophe of *Puois nostre temps comens' a brunezir* cannot, as Vossler thinks, 'hide the germ' of Marcabrun's *Vers del Lavador*, which was written in the year 1137, some ten years before *Puois nostre temps*! On the contrary, Cercamon's words, more especially the expression *Ara·s pot hom lavar et esclarzir*, show that Cercamon had in mind his predecessor's famous song. In the light of this cumulative evidence, I would go so far as to say that the germ of Cercamon's *planh* on the death of William VIII, Count of Poitiers, was suggested by the last strophe of the *Vers del Lavador*, in which Marcabrun prays to the Almighty that the Count's soul may rest in peace and that his dominions may be protected:

Antiocha, pretz e valor
Sai plora Guiana e Peitaus.
Dieus, seigner, al tieu lavador
L'arma del comte met en paus:
E sai gart Peitieus e Niort
Lo segner qui ressors del vas.

Lastly, when Cercamon wrote (III, 6):

Plas es lo vers, vauc l'afinan
Ses mot vila, fals, apostitz,
E es totz enaissi bastitz
C'ap motz poliz lo vau uzan,
E tot ades va·s meilluran
S'es qi be·l chant ni be·l desplei;

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he was alluding not to Marcabrun's alleged *trobar clus*[1], as Dejeanne would have us believe (*Annales du Midi*, XVII, p. 62), but rather to the *motz vilas* which abound in Marcabrun's songs, especially those addressed to the *soudadiers* or hirelings, to the lower class of which Marcabrun appears to have belonged. Incidentally, it is not a mere chance that this same piece of Cercamon presents several verbal coincidences with verses of Marcabrun which were certainly written at an earlier period. Cercamon's *C'anc mos chanz non fon lueing auzitz* in the first strophe echoes Marcabrun's *En sia loing lo chanz auzitz* in the corresponding line of his *tenso* with Uc Catola (VI); and *Era·n lau Dieu e Saint Joan* (V, 16) recalls the opening of Marcabrun's *gap* (*D'aisso laus Dieu e Saint Andrieu*).

Marcabrun and Cercamon were contemporaries for a great part of their poetic career, which, as far as we can tell, was not prolonged much beyond 1150; but Marcabrun was the older, and when Cercamon began to write his fame was well established. Although they represent two contrary currents in the evolution of the Provençal lyric, the adaptive and somewhat colourless Cercamon could not resist the powerful attraction of Marcabrun's dominant personality and forceful art. In this he was not alone. No troubadour has exercised a greater influence than Marcabrun[2], not only on his immediate contemporaries, but also on his successors; none attracted greater attention for more than a hundred and fifty years after his death. The *Vers del Lavador* is mentioned about 1200 by Guilhem Magret as a favourite piece for recitation. Another troubadour, Bermon Rascas, alludes to it in one of his songs; and we are told by the author of *Flamenca* that it was sung by the minstrels at the marriage of his heroine. In *Joufroi*, a thirteenth-century French romance, we read that Marcabrun

[1] I agree with Appel (*op. cit.*, p. 462), against Vossler (*op. cit.*, *passim*), that Marcabrun, contrary to the general belief derived from Diez and repeated ever since in all the manuals, is not to be ranked among the representatives of the *trobar clus*. His obscurity, which is occasionally quite baffling to us, is not due to any deliberate intention to be artistic at all costs, but springs from the very nature of the language he uses, which is colloquial and popular; for Marcabrun was a jongleur who appealed to the crowd in street or square, rather than to aristocratic circles, in which he had no very favourable reception, as may be inferred from the nature of the subjects he treats and from more than one hint in his poems. Nor is it to be ascribed to his strophic forms, which are as a rule anything but complicated. The exponents of the *trobar clus* on the other hand, Raimbaut d'Aurenga and Arnaut Daniel for example, unlike Marcabrun, strove consciously to be uncommon by using elaborate strophic forms and rare rhymes entailing cunning sentence complications and obsolete words.

[2] The question of the influence of Marcabrun on the other troubadours still awaits detailed treatment (cp. Vossler, *op. cit.*, p. 64, note). A good deal of information, of which I have availed myself, can be found in the article of Appel already quoted, as well as in the introduction to his edition of the poems of Bernart de Ventadorn (Halle, 1915). See also a paper on Bernart Martin, a contemporary of Marcabrun, by E. Hoepffner (*Romania*, XLIII, pp. 102–50), who says: 'on n'a pas encore étudié, dans le détail, la trace profonde que l'œuvre du vieux poète (Marcabrun) a laissé dans la littérature provençale.'

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was a 'trovere de grant pris,' and that he was well-known to Henry of England, whose court he visited in London[1].

In whichever way we look at the matter, the conclusion is forced upon us that Cercamon could not have been the teacher of Marcabrun. In a sense he was his pupil. This conclusion is further corroborated by the fact that the rest of the *Life*, which relates along with other details that Marcabrun was a foundling brought up by a certain Lord Audric del Villar, has been proved to be a pure fabrication[2]. To wish to invert the rôles, on the strength of the statement in the *vida*, is not only precluded by chronological considerations, but contradicted by the evidence furnished by the poems of the two troubadours[3].

L. E. KASTNER.

MANCHESTER.

[1] The passage in question runs as follows:

Uns dancheus que l'aloit querant
Est venuz a Londres errant.
Marchabruns ot non li messages,
Qui molt par fu corteis e sages.
Trovere fu molt de gran pris.
Bien le conuit li rois Henris,
Qu'assez l'ot en sa cort veu....
Bien vegnanz, fait li rois Henris,
Marchabruns, soiez el païs....

There can be no doubt that the minstrel mentioned is Marcabrun; and if 'li rois Henris' is Henry I, King of England, as Chabaneau thinks (*op. cit.*, p. 9, note), this would tend to show that Marcabrun was born and began his poetic career rather earlier than is generally believed. It would afford at the same time circumstantial evidence in favour of my thesis, the more so as the hero of *Jouffroi* seems to be none other than William VII, Count of Poitiers (1086–1127), the oldest troubadour (cf. *Revue des langues romanes*, XIX, p. 88, and XXII, p. 49).

[2] Cp. G. Bertoni, *Marcabruno*, last printed in *Studi su vecchie e nuove poesie e prose d'amore e di romanzi*, Modena, 1921, pp. 43–53.

[3] By the same opportunity it may be pointed out that the *Life* of Cercamon is hardly more reliable than that of Marcabrun. 'Cercamons,' says the old biographer, 'si fo uns joglars de Gascoinha e trobet vers e pastoretas a la usanza antiga e cerquet tot lo mon lai on el poc anar e per so fez se dire Cercamons.' That Cercamon was a joglar is probably true, and supported by the fact that several of his pieces are signed, a favourite practice with the joglar-trobador, witness Marcabrun, half of whose songs bear his signature, and Arnaut Daniel, who names himself as the author in fifteen out of eighteen pieces. There is no proof on the other hand that he was a native of Gascony, his language not offering any Gascon peculiarities (cp. Jeanroy, *op. cit.*, p. viii). If he wrote any *pastoretas*, none have come down to us. It is not unlikely that the old biographer, writing some hundred years after Cercamon's time, is here confusing him with Marcabrun, to whom we owe the oldest extant specimen of that genre. The statement that Cercamon was much travelled also appears to be unwarranted; even admitting that the 'Anfos' he mentions (VI, 36) is Alphonso VII of Castile and not Alphonse-Jourdain of Toulouse, it cannot be inferred from anything he says that he was ever in any foreign country. As for the name Cercamon, a professional sobriquet, it has in all probability quite a different origin from that supposed by the author of the *vida*.

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The Authorship of 'La Estrella de Sevilla.'

If literary problems could be settled as easily as the veteran and untiring Spanish scholar Don Emilio Cotarelo settles the authorship of *La Estrella de Sevilla*, the path of the critic would be comfortable indeed. Señor Cotarelo sets out to 'restore truth and justice,' that is, to restore to Lope de Vega his 'most famous play[1].' He treats the late M. Raymond Foulché-Delbosc, who ten years ago ventured to cast doubts on this ascription[2], rather as a naughty school-boy than as one of the most eminent scholars of his time. It is a pity that Señor Cotarelo's article did not appear in M. Foulché-Delbosc's lifetime. His reply might possibly have been crushing. Señor Cotarelo suspects that the great French critic must have been animated by a personal spite against Lope de Vega. When we turn from these strange surmises to Señor Cotarelo's proofs and arguments, we do not find anything very convincing. An interrogation mark should have been placed after the title of his article. The question is still: Is *La Estrella de Sevilla* by Lope de Vega? Señor Cotarelo shows that the date of *La Estrella de Sevilla* is 1623, and it is thus later than Tirso de Molina's play *Cómo han de ser los amigos* instead of earlier, as M. Foulché-Delbosc thought; but this does not help us. Señor Cotarelo's main or only argument is that in both the seventeenth-century editions of the play it is ascribed in the title and on the top of alternate pages to Lope de Vega. Beside this fact he considers the ascription to Cardenio at the end of one of these editions immaterial, and he taxes M. Foulché-Delbosc with wilful blindness for attaching more weight to the single mention of Cardenio than to the repetition of the name of Lope de Vega twenty times in this same copy, as Señor Cotarelo exclaims in triumph. But perhaps few critics will agree with him in this. The name of Lope de Vega was so powerful that it would evidently be a strong attraction, and there was temptation to use it when a play was by an unknown or comparatively obscure author. It is surely far more difficult to explain the interpolation of the name Cardenio:

> Esta tragedia os consagra
> Cardenio, dando a la Estrella
> de Sevilla eterna fama,

than to explain the repetition of Lope de Vega's name twenty, or even two hundred times, on the top of the pages. There is the additional peculiarity that the interloper, by a singular piece of good fortune, suc-

[1] *La 'Estrella de Sevilla' es de Lope de Vega.* Tirada aparte de la *Revista de la Biblioteca Archivo y Museo del Ayuntamiento de Madrid*, 1930.

[2] *La Estrella de Sevilla*, édition critique. Extrait de la *Revue Hispanique*, Tome XLVIII, New York, Paris, 1920.

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ceeded in making a better metrical line of it than 'Lope, dando a La Estrella.' Señor Cotarelo considers that the latter line may stand, but he suggests that Lope de Vega may have written 'Lope, dándole a La Estrella,' a critical tinkering which seems to betoken some consciousness of the weakness of his case. The play as a whole does not read like the work of Lope de Vega, whose versification is smoother and more skilful. There are three possibilities: (1) that the play in its entirety was written by Lope de Vega; (2) that it was rapidly put together by him from scenes by Tirso de Molina and Cardenio; (3) that it was written by Cardenio, whether Cardenio stands for Pedro de Cárdenas or some other dramatist. Of these the first seems the least likely. As to the ascription of the play to Cardenio, Señor Cotarelo speaks a little airily of 'the fantastic personage Cardenio, who never existed,' and, in a note at the end of his article, he states that 'Cardenio neither as a name nor as a pseudonym of a real person has ever existed.' The remark is unfortunate and makes it the more regrettable that Señor Cotarelo did not print the title of his article with interrogation marks. Galvez de Montalvo in *El Pastor de Filida* refers to a Cardenio as a poet[1]; so does Lope de Vega in *La Arcadia*[2]; so does Salas Barbadillo in *El Caballero Puntual*[3]. This does not of course prove that Cardenio was the pseudonym, much less the real name of a poet, dramatic or otherwise. But these references assume greater importance when we find that in two poems the poet of Córdoba, Don Pedro de Cárdenas, was addressed as Cardenio[4]. Salas Barbadillo in 1614 refers to Cardenio as a 'valiente ingenio.' In 1622 we have a reference to the 'gallardo ingenio' of Don Pedro de Cárdenas[5], whom his friends addressed as Cardenio, and who is known to have collaborated in at least one *comedia*[6]. In 1623 appeared the play *La Estrella de Sevilla*, which both M. Foulché-Delbosc[7] and Dr Henry Thomas[8] considered to be the work of an Andalusian. This is surely a series of coincidences that invites attention and makes it permissible to protest against a too dogmatic ascription of the play to Lope de Vega. Lope de Vega is great enough to lose this and half a dozen other plays without being sensibly diminished. The 'imperio de la verdad y de la justicia' would suffer far more severely if a less well known author were wrongly deprived of his only title to fame.

AUBREY F. G. BELL.

S. JOÃO DO ESTORIL, PORTUGAL.

[1] See *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, XXIV, January 1929, p. 68.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 71. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 72.
[4] Gallardo, *Ensayo de una Biblioteca Española*, III, col. 1086; *Revue Hispanique*, t. LIX.
[5] Gallardo, *Ensayo*, III, 1085. [6] *Ibid.*, col. 1087.
[7] *La Estrella de Sevilla*, 1920, p. 37.
[8] *La Estrella de Sevilla*, ed. by H. Thomas, Oxford, 1923, p. viii.

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REVIEWS

The School Drama in England. By T. H. Vail Motter. London: Longmans. 1929. xiii + 325 pp. 15*s*.

Why should schoolboys bother to produce plays? To answer this question Mr Vail Motter, an American scholar, has investigated the history of school drama in England from the tenth century onwards. His conclusions are based on an exhaustive study of records of ten selected public schools, together with certain scraps which have come his way. Beginning with the Winchester tropes, Mr Motter carries us through the Dunstable *Ludus Catherinae* and the later cathedral plays with their angel choristers to the palmy days of the great pedagogues, Udall and Malim and Mulcaster. The establishment of the Theatre in 1576 sounded the knell of the boy actors. For a time, indeed, the companies of St Paul's, Westminster, Eton and Merchant Taylors' basked in the favour of Queen Elizabeth, but by 1590 the period of independence was at an end and the period of competition and decline had begun. The turn of the century saw a brave attempt to meet the adult professional actors on their own ground by discarding Lyly and adopting adult plays. But the theatrical taste of the public had changed; King James frowned on the 'lascivious and profane exercises' of the boy companies; and with the dispersal of the 'Children of Powles' about 1610, all effective challenge to the common actors ceased.

So far Mr Motter has been on familiar ground—ground battled over by a host of scholars, but never attacked before from quite the same angle. He considers the conflicting evidence as to the date and birthplace of *Ralph Roister Doister*, reluctantly abandoning the claims of Eton. But at least it was a school play! He skilfully steers the general reader through the difficult problem of relationship between the choir school of St Paul's and Colet's school. He faces the vexed question of John Heywood's connexion with the Chapel Royal and St Paul's, and, in an endeavour to reconcile conflicting theories, offers his own accommodating hypothesis.

For his study from 1642 onwards Mr Motter had the joy of surveying a more uncharted region. In the case of his ten institutions he has ransacked school records, school magazines, school annals, has corresponded with and interviewed school secretaries, masters and librarians. This third period, as reflected in his text and appendices, yields but sorry results. It is, on the whole, a period of imitation and dependence, of surreptitious dormitory performances, of 'unintelligent murdering of Shakespeare and Sheridan,' of warmed-over imitations of Broadway and Shaftesbury Avenue. Yet the recent enlightened interest in certain quarters leads Mr Motter to predict a fourth period, when the educational value of plays will again be generally recognised and the school drama will justify itself by merging with the Little Theatre movement.

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One interesting fact clearly emerges. It is not among schools with a long dramatic history that we find our fourth period pioneers. St Paul's with her half-hearted Apposition Plays has fallen from her ancient glory. Shrewsbury's venerable play-acting tradition has wilted under the rays of Higher Certificates. The annual Westminster Play, the excellent but sporadic performances at Winchester, Eton and elsewhere, scarcely represent a full-blooded dramatic life. Hope for the future lies rather in the regular cycle of Greek plays at Bradfield, the experiments in contemporary drama at Rugby, the Christ's Hospital productions, involving as they do no mere recitation of parts but carefully supervised research on costumes, scenery designing, and study of theatrical technique.

Save for a notable tribute to recent Glenalmond activities, Mr Motter seems content to leave the Scottish school drama in the early seventeenth century with never even a *Cato* or *Bellum Grammaticale* to its credit. He does, however, indicate various newer English schools which would repay further study. If, and when he rounds off his task, we may be sure of a readable book; meanwhile the strength of the new movement can be only partially gauged.

ANNA J. MILL.

DUNDEE.

The Elizabethan Jig and related Song Drama. By CHARLES READ BASKERVILL. Chicago, University of Chicago Press: Cambridge, University Press. 1929. x + 642 pp. 22*s.* 6*d.*

This important book is the fruit of long-continued study in an interesting and perplexing field. Professor Baskervill declared his interest in the subject as long ago as 1913, when a summary of a paper on *Extant Elizabethan Jigs* was printed in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association* of America. Since then he has widened the scope of his research, and the paper has developed into the present exhaustive volume.

The principal difficulty which faces the student of the jig is the preliminary limitation and definition of his field. A further and related difficulty is the paucity of specimens. The first problem has been in a sense evaded by Professor Baskervill, who has included within the scope of his treatment much that is but remotely connected with the jig in the sense of Sir Edmund Chambers' definition, 'the dance by way of afterpiece... developed into a farcical dialogue, with a musical and Terpsichorean accompaniment' (*Elizabethan Stage*, II, p. 551). While this definition describes clearly the form of the jig which most closely interests the student of the Elizabethan drama, it is certainly inadequate to the full sense of the word as it was used and understood in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, even in respect of entertainments which were definitely dramatic in nature, inasmuch, for instance, as it fails to take into account the jig as an independent form. In any case, it would be unjust to conceive that Professor Baskervill has merely poured forth into this book all the mass of facts derived from a study which is exemplary in its exhaustion of most of the available sources of information and

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reference. It may well be objected that he has dealt much too fully with a great deal of matter that concerns the ballad pure and simple, without any dramatic significance. It is difficult, for example, to see what bearing the first of the texts reprinted (pp. 375–6) has on the jig as dramatic entertainment. But this was perhaps inevitable in any attempt to deal with the subject in a historical way. Professor Baskervill has quite understandably thought it necessary to trace and exemplify whatever was described by contemporaries as a 'jig,' in however many, and however vague senses the word was used.

He has, however, stood firmly by one main line of definition throughout the maze, namely the jig as a form of dramatic entertainment by song and action derived from popular sources and from folk-play, which came into prominence when it was adopted by the professional stage. There can be no reasonable doubt that the jig in this sense was an ancient form of entertainment in country games. And this is the necessary starting-point for the study of the specific dance-jig of the professional stage. It is a matter for debate whether Sir Edmund Chambers is right in assuming the dance to be the original feature, to which farcical dialogue was later added, whether indeed, as I believe, the dance was not the professional addition to the original ballad or dialogue.

An important source of information was denied to Professor Baskervill in his studies, namely the Star Chamber records, in which many suits for libel bear directly upon the subject. He would have done well to follow up the hints given to him by a printed report of a case in 1632 (p. 67), and another referred to in the Bridgewater manuscripts (p. 71). There are full documents bearing on the second of these cases in the records of Star Chamber, including the texts of the ballads sung and acted in these plays in 1607 at Wells. There are many others, which might have furnished Professor Baskervill with texts for his book, including the full text of a rhymed jig of the wooing type, with a comic constable. And there is the definite case of a libel in Yorkshire which certain travelling players, with whose doings I am at present concerned, were paid to sing at the end of their play in 1601, as a specimen of satirical jig. An Interrogatory in the Star Chamber Proceedings runs thus:

> hath not the libell or Rime bene sunge by stage players as a Jigge vpon the stage at the end of their playe...did you call for the Jigge att the end of any play?

Miss Elfrida Skelton has independently discovered the actual text of the jig, in earlier Proceedings, and has kindly communicated it to me. It takes the form of a complete miniature opera, each scene being sung to a different tune. There is no mention of dancing at all, I may observe, and it was written by a servant of a Yorkshire gentleman as a 'Christmas merriment.'

It is of interest to know that such 'rhyming mother wits,' whose 'jigging veins' Marlowe so much despised, quoted from *Tamburlaine* in the Wells May Game to which I have referred.

I am not always able to accept Professor Baskervill's interpretations of his documents. His reference to the 'Garlic' jig and Haddit's jig referred

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to in *Hog hath Lost his Pearl* on p. 113 is surely corrected by his quotation from the play itself on p. 293, though he there repeats his interpretation that 'there was no lack of whores in "Garlic."' It seems rather to refer to the attraction that the respective jigs had for courtesans as members of the audience. The quotation from *Ram Alley* seems irrelevant. On p. 291,

> The wench that cries the Kitchin stuffe,

is taken to be a vendor of food. But the text quoted on p. 426,

> And I will follow thee and cry,
> Maides have you any Kitchin-stuffe,

makes it clear that she bought refuse for pig-food, as Mr W. J. Lawrence, who has himself written with authority upon the jig, has pointed out to me.

Professor Baskervill's thorough-going scholarship has laid us in his debt for a book which is not likely to be superseded, though it may be supplemented. And its value is greatly enhanced by over three hundred pages of texts of jigs in various languages, which one is glad to have collected for ready reference.

CHARLES J. SISSON.

LONDON.

The Works of Cyril Tourneur. Edited by ALLARDYCE NICOLL. London: The Fanfrolico Press (Simpkin Marshall). 1930. ix + 344 pp. 63*s*.

The only modern attempt at a complete edition of the works of Tourneur, before the present book appeared, was that of Churton Collins. The manifold faults of that edition, with which Professor Nicoll has dealt gently, made a new edition imperatively necessary. We may not all share the enthusiastic admiration of Tourneur's new editor for his author. The shadow of Charles Lamb lies heavy upon all appreciation of Elizabethan dramatists. Professor Nicoll girds at critics who fall into 'purple passages roughly inspired by his verse' (p. 38), but p. 40 of his Introduction shows something of the same inspiration. Few, we imagine, would set *The Revenger's Tragedy*, as he does (p. 27), among 'the three greatest and most powerful plays of the age outside those of Shakespeare.' But we want all our Elizabethan dramatists, great and small, in editions with dependable texts and the requisite critical apparatus, for the use of student and scholar.

We are therefore grateful to Professor Nicoll. We should be more grateful had the book been produced in such a fashion as to make Tourneur henceforth accessible to the kind of reader for whom its scholarly qualities fit it. It is, however, a dressy book, expensively produced, with elaborate decorations, in a limited edition, and at a high price. It is an edition in which bookmaking has impinged upon scholarship and literature. The present reviewer finds the page too large and the book awkward to use. The paper is certainly fine, but this particular type of paper tends to go woolly in use. The purpose of the decorations seems to be to suggest a kinship between Tourneur and certain aspects of more

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recent decadences. But few lovers of the Elizabethans will find decorations inspired by Beardsley anything but distracting. No lady of the time, incidentally, would have worn her hair after the fashion shown on p. 175.

Professor Nicoll follows the accepted canon of Tourneur's works in asserting his authorship of *The Revenger's Tragedy* with more conviction than is perhaps justified. He holds the balance on the question of the *Second Mayden's Tragedy*, but does not include it, rightly as I think. He has, however, added to the canon, and printed here, Tourneur's prose *Character of Robert Earle of Salesburye*. I am glad to have the prose pamphlet *Laugh and Lie Downe* reprinted here, though I share the editor's noncommittal attitude on the question of its authorship. Throughout the book there is clear evidence that Professor Nicoll has been at pains to undertake, with his known competence, the necessary collations, the results of which are for the first time used to establish an authoritative text of Tourneur. The most valid original text is reprinted in every case, with variant readings and a minimum of emendation.

An interesting question arises concerning the states of the various copies of the 1611 *Atheist's Tragedy*. The following lines occur on sig. B 4 verso, as they appear in one copy, B.M. C 12 f 8:

> *Lang.* I salute you both with the spirit of copulation, I am already informed of your matrimoniall purposes, and will be a testimonie to the integritie of your promises.

In two other copies in the British Museum, 1077 k 5 and C 34 e 10, the last line reads: 'testimonie to the integritie.'

It would appear clear from this that the first copy represents a later and corrected state. But contrary indications are given by the condition of the ends of the first two lines, in which the words 'I am' and 'be a' are badly blurred in 1077 k 5, and almost invisible in C 34 e 10, though perfectly clear in C 12 f 8. One is inclined to see there progressive degeneration from a first state represented by C 12 f 8. On the other hand, to add to the evidence of the third line, we find that the erroneous 'youth'' of 1077 k 5 and C 34 e 10 is corrected to 'youth,' in C 12 f 8. It would seem probable that the blurring of the ends of the first two lines in two of the copies was due to occlusion of type, possibly by maladjustment of the paper or parchment covering the frisket and protecting the margins. If this were so, then it would seem that the typeface was gradually working through, and that C 34 e 10 was therefore an earlier state than 1077 k 5. What happened, we may conclude, was that the press-corrector's attention was called to the manifest error in the third line, and that this led him coincidentally, upon unlocking the forme, to set right the ends of the first two lines, which stand out exceptionally clear in C 12 f 8. The correction was not expertly done, as is evident from the wrong fount *y* of *your*. We may, I think, reasonably take this as a further instance of what is called a 'bite' of the frisket (McKerrow, *Introduction to Bibliography*, pp. 47–8). I doubt, incidentally, whether the 'fresh title-page' of the 1608 *Revenger's Tragedy* amounted to more than the change of the 7 of 1607 to 8. The page clearly was not re-set.

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It is hardly necessary to say that both text and notes mark a great advance upon the edition of Churton Collins, and Professor Nicoll has brought us much nearer to a good working edition of Tourneur. It is, of course, very difficult to attain the compromise sought here between a type-facsimile of the most authoritative original edition and an edition fitted for general use. The scholar in the present editor has clung perhaps too closely on the whole to his texts. If emendation were justified anywhere here, and Professor Nicoll has emended some corruptions, surely 'vpon their blood' (*The Revenger's Tragedy*, I, iii, 207) should be read in place of the repeated 'good.' The general air of the book certainly would suggest that it is not intended in the first place for scholarly use, and perhaps Professor Nicoll might justly have attempted a thorough-going revision of the text of the plays in harmony with this apparent intention.

The many obscure passages of this author have been manfully tackled by his editor, and much valuable assistance has been given to the reader. I do not think, however, that the interjection 'Lirie!' (*The Atheist's Tragedy*, IV, i, 45) indicates more than a preliminary trill of song from Cataplasma. 'Fie-for-shame' (*Laugh and Lie Downe*, 276) seems to me only too clear. The difficult lines, 11–15, of the address 'To the Reader' of *The Transformed Metamorphosis* may perhaps be better explained if we read line 15 to mean 'when death or hell doth work its (the world's) life's decay.' Tourneur, a few lines before, has used 'it' for 'its.' It is not Professor Nicoll's fault if a number of passages remain obscure. He has sought to restrict the volume of annotation, lest it become unwieldy. But it is likely that further notes will be required by the probable users of the book.

It is not clear upon what principles Professor Nicoll has determined the punctuation of his copy. If it was necessary to alter 'I in picture' to 'I, in picture' (*The Revenger's Tragedy*, IV, ii, 89) or 'and I ioy,' to 'and I ioy' (*ibid.* I, iv, 81), for clarity of meaning, then much more was it necessary to alter 'whoso'er doth raise;' to 'whoso'er doth raise' (*The Atheist's Tragedy*, II, iii, 80). If the comma is required in 'I in picture,' then it is equally required seven lines further in 'I if she were out ath picture.' It is certainly wanted after 'shall' and before 'Madame' (*ibid.*, II, i, 16). One alteration of the original punctuation has led to a distortion of Tourneur's meaning in *The Revenger's Tragedy*, IV, ii, 47–51:

> *Luss.* We thanke thee.
> How strangely such a course-homely salute
> Showes in the Pallace, where we greete in fire:
> Nimble and desperate tongues; should we name
> God in a salutation, twould neere be stood on't,—heauen!

The meaning here seems clear. Lussurioso finds Vindice's 'god you god den' a clownish greeting among courtiers whose greetings of each other are spirited and new-fashioned. 'Nimble and desperate tongues' is in apposition with 'we' in lines 49–50. Professor Nicoll omits the semicolon after 'fire,' making this phrase objective to 'greete,' thus altering the sense for the worse. Lussurioso is surely addressing himself to his

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courtiers, turning from Vindice to them until he turns back to him with

> Tell me, what has made thee so melancholy.

I do not see that it is defensible to read 'great-villaine' in line 2 of the same scene, even if we admit 'course-homely.' The period which is stated (Textual Notes, p. 312) to be wanting in most copies of the Quarto is in fact clear in one of the Museum copies and is disguised by a mend in the other.

In his Introduction Professor Nicoll gathers all the available information concerning Tourneur, and discusses fully all the problems arising out of the known facts. He puts forward, as a mere hypothesis, and with great caution, the suggestion that the Cyril Tourneur and the William Tourneur who appear as it were in alternation are in reality the same person. It is a most ingenious argument, relying in part upon Cyril's known connexion with the Low Countries, but so far at any rate it can hardly command assent. I may suggest myself that a further clue to Tourneur's family lies in the unusual name of Cyril, together with the appearance of a Theodore Turner whom I have met in a Chancery Deposition (C 24/439/93). Theodore was born in 1593, the son of a 'Doctor Turner' who died in 1614 and of his wife Pascha. This proved to be Peter Turner, a physician, who lived in the parish of St Helen's, Bishopsgate, and left a will (P.C.C. 87 Lawe) from which it appears that he had a son Samuel and at least three other sons, and one daughter. The parish records of St Helen's show that he had a daughter Lidia who was old enough to marry Edward Rogers in 1612. Pascha Turner, I find elsewhere, was born in 1560. Samuel, like his father, was a physician. Another daughter married Thomas Emerson, servant to the Earl of Somerset at the time. It is interesting to note that the Essex family whose records are given by Professor Nicoll gave birth to a Lidia and to a Demetrius. Perhaps Cyril was the elder brother of Lidia and Theodore. Further exploration may one day have the good luck which was denied to Professor Nicoll's exhaustive search.

I have observed only three misprints: *usher'd* for *vsher'd* (p. 192); *Eperience* for *Experience* (p. 278); *C.* 21 *for C.* 12 (p. 306). It might have been well to indicate that *Cales* for *Cadez* (p. 31) is the error of the document quoted, and not of its editor.

CHARLES J. SISSON.

LONDON.

A Game at Chesse. By THOMAS MIDDLETON. Edited by R. C. BALD. Cambridge: University Press. 1929. xiv + 173 pp. 12*s.* 6*d.*

When literary scholars take to examining Elizabethan, Jacobean, and Caroline dramas from the bottom up instead of from the top down—from manuscripts, that is, rather than from inaccurate quartos or from the modernised and still more faulty editions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—a great many important facts are bound to appear: facts

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of authorship, of scribal methods, of censorship, of stage history, of theatrical presentation, of text. When, in addition, they set themselves the perplexing task of ascertaining the precise political and social background of these plays, they are probably in a fairer way to reveal the motives of the authors than by any amount of literary criticism. No dramatist needs this dual treatment more than Thomas Middleton, and no piece of Middleton's affords such an opportunity as *A Game at Chesse*. Mr R. C. Bald's separate edition of a MS. text of this play in a handsome illustrated volume from the Cambridge University Press is a worthy contribution to English studies, which have long gone begging for this kind of scholarship.

Last of Thomas Middleton's extant plays, *A Game at Chesse* has always stood in a special category, commanding attention as a historical document and as a nine days' wonder on the stage rather than as a piece of dramatic art. Nor has it ever wanted publicity. 'It is no exaggeration,' writes Mr Bald, 'to say that more is known about *A Game at Chesse* than about any other pre-Restoration play. In spite of the uncertainty that must attend any attempt to interpret all the details of the allegory, the general trend of its political satire is clear. It is the last expression of that great outburst of national feeling to which the Elizabethan age owed so much of its inspiration, although it is true that the spirit of independence and high adventure has narrowed down into political and religious hatred of Spain.' To this international setting Mr Bald devotes the first eighteen pages of his Introduction, summing up the machinations of Gondomar and de Dominis, the renegade Archbishop of Spalatro, and the violent protests which went up from England against their efforts to marry Prince Charles in Spain and entice the Church to Rome. With little detail, but in a clear and readable fashion, he relates the chief events down to 1624 which Middleton exploited for the purposes of his satire. He also revises the assignment of *dramatis personae*. He accepts the attributions by Ward and Morris of the White Knight to Charles and the White Duke to Buckingham; agrees with Fleay in taking the two Queens to represent, not the wives of James and Philip, but the Churches of England and Rome; makes a strong defence of his departure from both Bullen and Morris in identifying the White King's Pawn as Lionel Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex; and regards the allegory of the underplot as 'merely an *exposé* in general terms of the methods of the Jesuits,' too vague to admit of Bullen's assignment of the Black Bishop's Pawn to John Floyd and Morris's detailed interpretation with reference to the Thirty Years' War. Mr Bald, moreover, greatly extends the list of Middleton's sources among contemporary pamphlets, adding *A Declaration of the Variance betweene the Pope and the Segniory of Venice* (1606), *Newes from Rome: Spalato's Doome* (1624), *The Friers Chronicle* (1622), *The State Mysteries of the Jesuites* (1622), and several others not known to Bullen. He notes, too, the interesting parallelism in the use of the magic glass in William Rowley's comedy *A Shoo-maker a Gentleman*, and the still more interesting correspondence between the '"dissimulation" of the White Knight in the last scene [and] the test imposed by Malcolm on Macduff in IV,

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iii of *Macbeth*.' His attachment to *A Game at Chesse* not being on the literary side, the editor's brief statement of Middleton's power as poet and dramatist leaves a good deal to be desired. There is yet room for a careful study of the diction, versification, plotting, and character-drawing of the successor to *Women Beware Women* and *The Changeling*; all the more, in fact, because Middleton's sole authorship has never been questioned.

Mr Bald's summary of the stage history, though containing little that is new, is the best we have. Future researches in the Public Record Office and other archives are likely to yield more facts about that famous run of 'nine days to gether at the Globe on the banks side' and the court action which followed. Meanwhile it is useful to have the known documents relating to the play, as well as the handful of literary allusions, brought together.

On the textual analysis and criticism the editor has spent his best efforts and indeed far surpassed the meagre notes of Dyce and Bullen. Besides three Quartos, there are four MSS. in question (a fifth turning up at Sotheby's too late for examination): that of Trinity College, Cambridge, transcribed as the author's own copy; the Bridgewater-Huntington MS., in two hands, of which one is believed to be Middleton's; the Lansdowne and the Malone MSS. in the hand of Ralph Crane the scrivener.

The texts fall into two groups: those which were transcribed by Crane (MSS. Lansdowne 690 and Malone 25) or printed from a transcription by him (Qu. III), and those which were transcribed by Middleton or copied faithfully from his papers (the Trinity and Bridgewater-Huntington MSS.) or printed from a text such as either of these (Qq. I and II). As no single text is complete and as none of the MSS. were intended for use in the play-house, where, in the assumable absence of the prompt-copy, does Mr Bald find a sufficient basis for the extant texts? Discarding the theory of 'assembled' texts propounded by Mr Crompton Rhodes and Professor Dover Wilson, he cites occasions on which loose ('foul') papers in the author's handwriting were used to fill the gaps of faulty texts, and contends that this procedure took place here, the Bridgewater-Huntington MS. being even pieced together by Middleton himself.

The editor could not of course, in addition to his Notes illustrating the sources and allusions of the play (pp. 137–66), supply a list of all the verbal discrepancies between the Trinity MS., which he prints, and the other MSS., not to mention 'the many and gross errors of the quartos.' In the fifteen pages of Textual Notes he attempts to record the most conspicuous only. It may be wondered, however, why, when he undertakes to cite certain variants of an expression, he fails to cite the rest (e.g., v, i, 3, 'Placed: *B*; Planted for his consecration: I, II'—but not the curious 'Planted aboue for his course Oration?' of III). Why, also, the strict economy ruling out a note upon such differences as in lines 6 and 7 of the Epilogue:

> For anie else by Enuies Marke denoted
> To those night-Glow-wormes in the Bagg deuoted,

where Qq. II and III read 'devoted...denoted'?

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But one may not cavil at Mr Bald's critical apparatus, nor at the arrangement of his material; his is a good, scholarly edition of an important drama. To most students *A Game at Chesse* is no doubt a dead play; many would, as Dr Johnson said of Congreve's novel, rather praise than read it. Yet we cannot but be grateful to Mr Bald for the labour and skill expended in providing the most authentic text and in setting the play against its proper historical background. It is to be hoped that other editions of Middleton, with greater attention to literature and drama, will be forthcoming, and that they will not fall below the level of scholarship shown here.

MARSTON BALCH.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., U.S.A.

Zum Weltsprachenproblem in England im 17. *Jahrhundert. G. Dalgarno's 'Ars Signorum'* (1661) *und J. Wilkins' 'Essay Towards a Real Character and a Philosophical Language'* (1668). Von OTTO FUNKE. (*Anglistische Forschungen*, LXIX.) Heidelberg: C. Winter. 1929. v + 163 pp.

Novial Lexike. International Dictionary. Dictionnaire International. Internationales Wörterbuch. By OTTO JESPERSEN. London: G. Allen and Unwin. 1930. 249 pp. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Professor Funke has already made a name for himself as an able expositor of the views of the Austrian thinker Marty on the problems of general linguistics. It was inevitable that he should—as representing English studies at the University of Bern—have turned his attention to our speech-philosophers of the seventeenth century. In the work under review he has singled out Dalgarno's *Ars Signorum* and Wilkins' famous *Essay* for special examination, placing them in their historical setting and thus incidentally throwing side-lights on several less known writers. The first part (pp. 1–94) shows how the seeds sown by Bacon grew to fruition in the works of Dalgarno and Wilkins, of whom we are given as detailed biographies as are possible. Their works are fully analysed and discussed and considerable space devoted to their phonetic investigations and the value of the pronunciations they indicate for our knowledge of English sound-development. The second part (pp. 95–155) comprises long extracts from the text of Dalgarno's *Ars Signorum* (1661) and his *Discourse of the Nature and Number of Double Consonants* (1680), Wilkins' *Essay* (1668) and Sir Thomas Urquhart's *Logopandecteision* (1653). The whole work is rounded off by a names and subjects index and list of words. We congratulate the author on having done a useful piece of work in a thoroughly competent manner.

Bacon had stimulated his fellow-countrymen to reflect upon four groups of problems, viz. (1) the possibility of evolving a universal system of written signs (pasigraphy) and a universal speech (pasilaly), lines of investigation bound to lead to studies in philosophical grammar, (2) the principles underlying the formation and combination of speech-sounds, (3) close observation of the individual features of a given language with a view to characterising the mentality of its speakers (linguistic char-

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acterology) and (4) the possibility of applying criticism to existing languages and deliberately improving them as instruments of thought. All these problems were boldly faced and a perusal of the texts and Professor Funke's lucid commentary fills us with respect for the early pioneers. Prior to Urquhart's extraordinary but ingenious projects in the *Ekskybalauron* (1652) and *Logopandecteision* (1653) Bishop Bedell had in 1633 suggested the composition of a 'universal character,' but was prevented by the Rebellion from carrying out his scheme. Between Urquhart and Dalgarno comes another author, subsequently mentioned by Wilkins, a certain Cave Beck, rector of St Helen's, Ipswich. From the letter of recommendation from the Royal Chancery, accompanying Dalgarno's *Ars Signorum*, we gather that various scholars like R. Love, J. Wilkins, J. Wallis, S. Ward and W. Dillingham were interested in his project. It may well be that Seth Ward suggested to Dalgarno the basic principle of a categorial scheme; in any case such ideas appear to have been canvassed at the Royal Society about this time. Dalgarno's merit is to have consolidated these floating opinions into a definite project. He intended his language to be spoken as well as written and to be auxiliary to and not supersessive of others. It was an *à priori* philosophical language not depending upon any national language whatever, but building up its vocabulary out of 'radices,' which exhibited clearly in the very letters of their spelling the genus, species and subspecies they came under in Dalgarno's classification. As Professor Funke points out, the snags are the impossibility of squaring philosophical adequacy and consistency with the ready-to-hand requirements of practical communication, as well as the immaturity of the classificatory scheme propounded. Still, if Professor Funke is right, Dalgarno was the stepping-stone to Wilkins' encyclopædic Essay even though Wilkins does not admit his indebtedness (p. 39). Wilkins' classification of his roots is much more elaborate, but he does not avoid overlaps and crossings. A good specimen of his method of adding successive determinations is shown by the following example: *De* = element (genus), *Deb* = fire (genus + difference), *Deba* = flame (genus + difference + species). The only system of this type actively propagated to-day is one called Ro, invented by an American minister Foster. This, however, is amateurish compared with the serious attempts now being made to reach satisfactory schemes of categorial classification, cf. especially *Der logische Aufbau der Welt* (Berlin, 1928) by R. Carnap, who carries on the work of the logisticians Peano (of Turin) and the *Principia Mathematica* of Professor Whitehead and Mr Bertrand Russell. The International Auxiliary Language Association (in the U.S. Incorporated) is also engaged on the task of delineating the notional structures behind variant linguistic expressions. Like the modern thinkers Wilkins, too, used a special symbolic notation, e.g., ideograms for 'God,' for 'world,' etc. The idea of having both a pasigraphy and a spoken language side by side is common to both Wilkins and Peano. For practical purposes Peano advocates a flexionless form of Latin, called by him 'Interlingua,' which has its counterpart in the seventeenth century in a project by the French Jesuit P. Labbé (cf.

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Funke, p. 53). One of the best examples of a modern pasigraphy designed for ordinary written communications is the *Versuch einer graphischen Sprache auf logischer Grundlage* by Carl Haag (Stuttgart, 1902). Further examples of both pasigraphies and pasilalies are to be found in the very full bibliography of International Languages recently published in Esperanto (*Bibliografio de Internacia Lingvo*, compiled by P. E. Stojan, Geneva, 1929). Many schemes are discussed in L. Couturat and L. Leau's *Histoire de la Langue Universelle* (Paris, 1903). Apart from their 'interlinguistic' interest the works of Wilkins and Dalgarno contain valuable observations on grammar, e.g., Dalgarno's recognition of the assertory (or contradictory) function of the copula and his attempt to reduce all parts of speech to the 'nomen' or Wilkins' reduction to two classes, viz. 'integrals' (substantive and adjective) and 'particles' (copula, pronoun, preposition, conjunction, interjection and deriving affixes). Their phonetic work is also of great importance. It is interesting to see Wilkins using the Welsh form of *y* for the vowel of *but* as against the *ŏ* of Wallis (who, however, was aware of the Welsh sound) and transcribing 'judge' as *dzhydzh*. Both he and Dalgarno have a carefully thought out classification of vowels and consonants, which Professor Funke fully discusses.

Most modern projects for an International Language are fundamentally akin in being *a posteriori*, i.e., drawing their root-material from national languages. Some, like Esperanto and its various offshoots (Ido, Nov-Esperanto, etc.), while prepared to give hospitality to ready-derived international words in special cases, proceed in the main by autonomous derivation from the international roots by the regular application of standardised affixes, e.g., Esp. *bak-* 'bake,' *bak-ist-o* 'baker,' *bak-ej-o* 'bake-house,' etc. Others, like Occidental, while admitting affix-derivation make it their main business to conserve the international look of the words so that they will be immediately comprehensible to the educated Western European. Professor Jespersen's *Novial*, the first handbook of which (*An International Language*) appeared in 1928, endeavours to combine features of both schools of thought. His language has a distinctly Western look, though—with its retention of *k*—less so than Occidental, and will have none of those Slavic roots which give a rather picturesque individual 'cachet' to Esperanto. He does not scruple to modify considerably international spellings in the interest of regularity and ease of pronunciation, e.g., *serti* 'certain,' *sientie, selo* 'zeal,' etc., and uses different final vowels to get his meaning distinctions, e.g., *selo* 'zeal,' *sela* 'to be zealous,' *sele* 'cell.' Many of the roots chosen are common to Esperanto, Ido, Occidental and Novial, but he has some innovations which he defends in *An International Language*, pp. 174–81. Thus he uses *fogle* for 'bird,' *hause* for 'house' (where the others have chosen *dom-*), *hamre* for 'hammer' (*martel*), *bli* (a Nordicism used to form the passive of action), etc. The project and its lexicon are the result of many years' study of the problem and participation in the International Language movement. Even though the reviewer believes that the further propagation and fuller development of the 'going concern' Esperanto, incomparably the most widely used and adequate for all the needs of practical

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international communication as its forty years' history has shown, affords the best hope of solving the problem in our time, he salutes Professor Jespersen as a 'samideano' on the interlinguistic field and congratulates him on his project, which is easily workable and full of valuable suggestions for the international vocabulary of the future.

W. E. COLLINSON.

LIVERPOOL.

Evelina or the History of a Young Lady's Entrance into the World. By FRANCES BURNEY. With Notes, Indexes and Illustrations from Contemporary Sources. Edited by Sir FRANK D. MACKINNON. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1930. pp. 24 + 590. 21*s.*

The general plan of the Oxford *Evelina* follows that of the Oxford Jane Austen, to which it is in every way a worthy successor; the differences depend on, and bring out, the differences between the two writers—there is more annotation, and less attention to textual criticism.

It is indeed interesting to note how very much more scope there is for annotation in *Evelina* than in Jane Austen's novels. The earlier date is partly responsible, but much more is due to the fact that Fanny Burney delighted in fashionable resorts rather than in country villages. Of the eleven Appendixes, six deal with the more important public places visited by Evelina in London and Bristol—Ranelagh, Vauxhall, Marylebone, the Pantheon, Cox's Museum, the Hotwells; accounts of the lesser resorts are included in the Notes, which further give us what else is wanted by way of comment on or elucidation of the text. The editor is also to be congratulated on his choice of illustrations, which include, besides views of public places and reproductions of the engravings made by Mortimer for the fourth edition, such delightful pictures as Stubbs' 'Gentleman driving a phaeton' and the portrait of Lady Clifton by Philip Reinagle.

Other Appendixes treat of such subjects as the Manners of the Age (here again the comparison with Jane Austen is interesting), the origin of the name Evelina, and the convention of Filial Piety—a convention which annoys other readers besides Sir Frank Mackinnon. But it was a widespread convention: parallels to Evelina's attitude might have been quoted from Mackenzie's *Man of the World*, from *Belinda*, or from many a lesser novel. In 1775 Maria Cooper published a 'revised version' of a novel written some thirteen years earlier because she 'had not at that time considered sufficiently what were the essentials which form the exemplary character of the Daughter'—she had allowed her heroine, in her parents' absence, to make a promise subject to their consent, in a case where she felt sure of their approbation. And it is the same exaggerated filial piety and sensibility which leads the heroine of *The Shrine of Bertha* (1794) to feel an instinctive and irresistible attraction to the lonely grave which proves to be that of the mother from whom she had been separated in infancy.

The text is based on that of the second edition; obvious misprints are corrected, though the erroneous date July 11 (in the continuation of the

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letter of June 10, p. 227) is allowed to stand, as are other slips due to Fanny Burney's own carelessness. The collations of Mr Frederick Page reveal a few omissions and some improvements in phrasing in the second and third editions; but in many cases the changes are of so little significance that it has not been thought necessary to record them all.

Fanny Burney's carelessness is further brought out in a study of the chronology of the story, which reveals that she makes Evelina visit public places on days when they would not have been open; further, although she used a calendar, she did not use the same one throughout—Sir Frank Mackinnon finds evidence that the calendars for 1774, 1775 and 1776 were used successively. But his conclusion that Evelina's wedding day was Thursday, October 17 (1776) seems questionable. For the wedding was postponed from Tuesday to Thursday to give time for Evelina to get Mr Villars' consent: his letter is actually delivered—later than expected—on the evening of the 13th. If Thursday is the 17th, the 13th must be Sunday, and the postponement would have been unnecessary. Further, the visit to Bath—also on October 13—was presumably not on a Sunday (though that is not conclusive), and it is difficult to believe that Evelina refrained from writing to Mr Villars from Sunday night to Thursday morning. The dates for 1777 fit better, but still allow Evelina to receive Mr Villars' letter before the Tuesday; those for 1778 would fit best, but are ruled out by the fact that the book was in print before January 7 of that year. One realizes afresh how much less trouble Fanny Burney took over such details than Jane Austen.

A few misprints require to be corrected in a second edition: p. 86 *you* for *your*; p. 311 *soon then* for *so then*; p. 530 *win* for *urn*; p. 537 (note to p. 426) *willingly* for *unwillingly*; p. 554 comma should be deleted in line 17—*gay, exhibition*. The method of pagination, giving roman numerals to the original prefatory matter (though the actual numbers for that and for the text and notes are continuous), and leaving the editor's Introduction without any, makes reference to that part of the book difficult. But these are very minor blemishes in an edition which it is a delight to read and to possess.

H. Winifred Husbands.

London.

Byron et le Romantisme français: Essai sur la Fortune et l'Influence de l'Œuvre de Byron en France de 1812 *à* 1850. Par Edmond Estève. Paris: Boivin. 1929. xvi + 560 pp. 60 Fr.

It is appropriate that 1929, the centenary of *Les Orientales*, should have been marked by a second edition of the late Professor Estève's valuable analysis of Byron's influence on the Romantic movement in France. In reality this new edition is merely a reprint of the first, containing no modifications save the 'Additions et Corrections' on p. 550, which concern matters of detail only. This is the more to be regretted as the twenty-two years which have elapsed between the two editions have been fertile in research both on Byron and on the origins of the Romantic movement.

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It is a remarkable testimony to Professor Estève's literary acumen, that his conclusions are not sensibly impaired by the findings of recent research.

The book falls into three parts—the first an analysis of 'le Byronisme' and a study of its sources, the second a history of Byronic prestige in France, and the third an assessment of the English poet's influence on the greatest authors of the period. It serves incidentally as a history of the Romantic movement, seen, it is true, from a certain angle, but none the less valuable in helping us to bring order into that chaos of enthusiasms and prejudices. Professor Estève lingers lovingly over some of the minor poets of the period, resuscitating their long-forgotten works to restore them to their humble but indispensable function in the building up and handing on of Romantic tradition.

The unparalleled and immediate success of Byron in France was due to the fact that his poetry was in some sense a fulfilment. He embodied, though in an intensely personal and original form, elements which had been maturing for a century in France, though they had suffered a temporary eclipse through the Catholic and Royalist bias given by Chateaubriand to the young Romantic movement. Professor Estève has traced these elements back half a century and shown their various origin in Voltaire and Rousseau in France, Goethe and Schiller in Germany, Young in England; he has shown us the foreshadowing of the Byronic hero; it is strange that he should not have gone back further still, to that Cleveland who in 1731 knew himself as the predestined victim of fate: 'Mon nom était écrit dans la page la plus noire et la plus funeste du livre des destinées, il y était accompagné d'une multitude d'arrêts terribles que j'étais condamné à subir successivement,' that Cleveland who so hated life that he contemplated suicide, who was involved in hideous doubts and strange forbidden loves, the lineal ancestor of René and Manfred and Cain. Nor is Cleveland the only Byronic type in Prévost's novels; Patrice in *Le Doyen de Killerine* is the victim of a mysterious melancholy, and the 'Man of Quality' finds that rank and fortune cannot save from unhappiness those who have 'le cœur formé d'une certaine façon.' Another preromantic hero of whom Professor Estève has taken no account is Richardson's Lovelace, sinister and satanic, heralding the 'romantisme anarchiste' characterised by Baron Seillière. These earlier traces of eighteenth-century Byronism only serve, however, to strengthen Professor Estève's argument. Of all these shadowy figures of ill-starred or sinister heroes Byron made a synthesis not only in his poems but in his life. His beauty, his charm, his blasphemies, his vices, and the apotheosis of his death made him a popular idol in France, all the more popular, perhaps, because he was considered the victim of English prudery and 'cant.'

The third part of Professor Estève's book estimates Byron's influence on the more important poets. It was brief and superficial in the case of Hugo, whose incurable optimism and strong social instincts made him react against it; it can be traced chiefly in *Les Orientales* and in the earlier plays, and it ceases after *Les Feuilles d'Automne*. Lamartine was

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attracted and repelled by Byron, but admired and envied him more than he loved and understood him. Byron seems to have helped him to discover himself and his mission as a poet; Byron was a fallen angel—*he* should be a minister of light and hope. Musset was at first completely under Byron's spell—not so much the Byron of *Manfred* and *Cain* as the mocking, licentious cynic of *Don Juan*. He was even nicknamed 'Miss Byron' and 'Lord Byronnet.' When personal experience deepened and enriched his poetry, the influence of Byron disappeared, and in his finest work there is hardly a trace of it. Of all the Romantic poets Vigny was most deeply influenced by Byron's thought, making the nobler side of it his own. The supreme symbol of stoic resignation, the dying wolf, is borrowed from *Childe Harold*.

Professor Estève shows that the novel and the drama, too, were not untouched by Byronic influence, and he reminds us of the part played by Byron in the formation of Renan, Flaubert, and Leconte de Lisle. An admirable 'Conclusion' sums up the 'grandeur et décadence de cette destinée littéraire.' Its final verdict is that Byron's influence waned because he lacked the universal touch: 'Byron aux hommes de son temps n'a révélé qu'un homme: l'avenir est à ceux qui, aux hommes de tous les temps, révèlent l'humanité.'

M. E. I. Robertson.

Manchester.

Essays on the Vita Nuova. By J. E. Shaw. Princeton: University Press. (*Elliott Monographs in the Romance Languages and Literatures*, xxv.) Paris: Les Presse Universitaires. 1929. ix + 236 pp. $ 2.

The texture of the *Vita Nuova* is so delicate and frail that it seems to be harmed by the hands of scholars however reverent and admiring these be. Mr Shaw is reverent and admiring, but his touch is certainly not light. He has chosen to discuss some of the knottiest problems in the booklet and has attempted to solve them in a scholarly way. It is perhaps due to this methodical scholarship that his book strikes one as incongruously heavy, and so leisurely as to be long-winded. He seems studiously to eschew any manner of appreciation, though there is ample evidence that he is aware of the beauties of this booklet, as if he were afraid to be gushing. I would put forward this criticism, if it be a criticism, from the outset for this seems to me a notable piece of work deserving of attention and praise. The author is laboriously well informed and has mastered his subject completely; he has considered the opinions of other scholars and pondered upon all they have written. His judgment is generally sane and penetrating.

He first considers the date of composition of the *Vita Nuova*, on the determination of which other of his solutions depend. He rightly discounts the significance of *Conv.*, I, i, 16–17 as possibly meaning only that the *Vita Nuova* was written during Dante's adolescence. But *Conv.*, II, xii (xiii), 5–9 he considers important, for he suggests that Dante, in endeavouring to explain how he came to write the canzone *Voi che in-*

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tendendo, mentions three stages—his reading of Boëthius and Cicero, his attendance at the schools, and his poetical activity. I should feel inclined to doubt whether a distinction in time is clearly discernible between the first two periods that Dante may have recorded as two, possibly contemporary, aspects of his studies; but it is reasonable to assume that the *Vita Nuova* was put together before Dante experienced that new attraction for philosophy which 'cacciava e distruggeva ogni altro pensero' so that he felt himself 'levare dal pensero del primo amore a la virtú di questa.' The mention of this canzone in *Par.* VIII, when Dante meets Carlo Martello (d. August 1293), causes Mr Shaw to take it as almost certain that this canzone was written before that date. This, however, leads him to consider the difficult question of the relation between the *Vita Nuova* and the *Convivio*, and, having set aside the most unlikely *rifacimento* of the former, he bases his solution of the question in hand on the date of this canzone. As to the movements of Venus he has an interesting suggestion to make, by means of which Jacopo Alighieri's 'septe mesi/Et nove dì' are shown to be the result of subtracting the period of the deferent Venus from the period of the epicycle with regard to the sun (584 − 365 = 219, which is precisely equal to seven months and nine days), so that the astronomical data corroborate the date August 1293. And here comes his main point. Dante's words, 'quando primamente quella gentile donna...parve primamente accompagnata d'Amore,' in August 1293, seem to contradict what Dante said in the *Vita Nuova*, so that many scholars hold that it is hopeless to reconcile the data of that work with those of the *Convivio*, thus implicitly admitting, as Mr Shaw has it, 'that Dante intends to mystify even his most intelligent and most sympathetic readers.' On the contrary Mr Shaw calls attention to Dante's precise words. He says in the passage under discussion that the Donna Gentile appeared for the first time 'accompagnata d'Amore,' while in the *Vita Nuova* she is never stated to be other than 'pietosa'; such a distinction being further justified by another passage of *Convivio* (II, x (xi), 6): 'e non puote essere che con quella pietosa donna non sia nobilissimo amore'; and by several other passages of this treatise and of the *Vita Nuova*. Mr Shaw therefore contends that, in the more youthful work, the Donna Gentile is represented as attracting Dante because of her 'pietà' and a certain 'malvagio desiderio' of his, but that in the *Convivio*, after the passing of a certain period of time which is emphatically and solemnly determined with reference to the movements of Venus, she is shown to be 'accompagnata d'Amore,' and the announcement is rendered the more significant because it is made in a sentence that seems purposely cast on *Vita Nuova*, II (i), 1. A comparison between these two passages emphasises the significance of the words 'accompagnata d'Amore,' and of the distinction between 'la gloriosa donna de la mia mente' and the Donna Gentile who 'prese luogo alcuno ne la mia mente'; Dante struggled against this new attraction, and it was, Mr Shaw suggests, during a period of revulsion against this feeling, that Dante put together the *Vita Nuova*. Despite this, in the course of time, after the death of Beatrice, his feeling for the Donna Gentile gained force and depth, and, 'when the victory of

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the new love was imminent and certain,' he wrote the canzone *Voi che intendendo*. Thirty months before he had started reading Boëthius and Cicero (February 1291) and in the interval, after June 1291, he wrote the prose of the *Vita Nuova*. How long after June 1291? In order to allow the necessary lapse of time for the change in his feelings, as is explained in *Convivio*, II, ii and xii, in passages that are not explanatory, but statements of fact, and in view of the mention of the pilgrims (Easter 1292?), Mr Shaw thinks that the little work was certainly composed between June 1291 and August 1293, and that it was probably begun not long after June 1291 and ended in May 1292 or shortly afterwards. Such a date he considers to find corroboration in Boccaccio's words, if 'quasi nel suo ventesimosesto anno' is understood to mean, as he urges, during his twenty-seventh year.

In the second essay Mr Shaw maintains that *vita nova* means life renewed by love, and he argues at considerable length in favour of such an interpretation, which agrees with Barbi's and Rajna's explanation of *Purg.* XXX. His reasons are sound and well put, but even those who agree with him will feel that there may be alternative interpretations.

The third essay is concerned with the cryptic remark *ego tanquam centrum circuli*, and I feel inclined to welcome the process by which he reaches his solution of the riddle even more than the solution itself. It is suggested that there are three Dantes in the *Vita Nuova*: the poet who only knows what he feels; the hero of the story in the prose narrative; and the author. The author knows that 'the life of Beatrice...was foreordained for his own salvation,' and tries to show the degrees by which the hero, and later, the poet, have come to this discovery. The poet passes from Cavalcanti's to Guinizelli's view of love; so that, in his first two apparitions in the *Vita Nuova*, love is represented as the masterful passion of external origin that Cavalcanti knew; in the third apparition he is love as understood by Guinizelli, 'an individual emotion existing in a noble heart'; such a love seems still strange to the hero, until the fourth apparition when he has fully grasped its nature. In the third apparition Love weeps and the hero does not understand why; to his question Love replies by the cryptic sentence that is here discussed and the meaning of which is suggested to be: 'Love is Dante's new love for Beatrice; the circle is the circle of Dante's affections.' His love for Beatrice is the centre of his affections; they are not love, because they are points on the circumference, *simulacra*. Dante is not the centre of the circle, he is the circle that contains such a centre. And there is no reproach implied in these words; Love weeps because he is at one with Dante and is therefore affected by Dante's misfortunes which he shares. Dante, the hero, cannot understand this allusion until 'he has studied the nature of love in the light of his own experience.' It is an attractive attempt 'di spiegar Dante con Dante' and 'la *Vita Nuova* con la *Vita Nuova*.' Mr Shaw makes use of *Conv.*, IV, xvi, 7–8, where a passage of Aristotle is commented; but he contends that it is absurd to ascribe to Dante a knowledge of any of the other philosophical books which have been cited in this connexion at a time when the poet's readings were very restricted.

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With Cicero, *Laelius*, 194–5, he was probably acquainted. This explanation, which is similar to Renier's (*GSL. It*, II, p. 391) though Renier considered Beatrice allegorical, is no doubt deserving of attention; it has the great merit of not attributing to Dante a learning that he can scarcely have possessed at this time, but it depends on so much that has to be assumed and accepted, that one cannot feel certain that the mark has been finally hit.

Less convincing, if ingenious, seems to me the explanation of 'che dirà ne lo 'nferno.' Mr Shaw thinks that the canzone *Lo doloroso core* must be contemporary with *Donne ch' avete*, and he points out some interesting parallels. Dante was by then convinced that his whole happiness rested with Beatrice, and imagined that God Himself told him 'there is one who is expecting to lose her, [but even if he did] he will tell even in hell....' *Alcun* being Dante, and Dante calling the spirits of hell *malnati*, because he, having seen Beatrice, was not a *malnato*. The omission of the concessive clause is grammatically possible and not unknown to Dante, but it seems to me unthinkable that Dante should ascribe to God a hypothesis that Dante himself, not to say God, knew to be unreal.

The note on 'morrati, morrati' seems to me attractive, but inconclusive. Dante's nightmare was caused by the sudden thought of Beatrice's possible death; why then should the women shout to him 'You will die'? and are they angry? *Crucciare* in Dante has generally the meaning of tormenting. These 'tormented faces' (dishevelled faces in the prose) as seen by the poet and hero of the *Vita Nuova* belong to the women who were jealous of Beatrice, and namely the 'donne dello schermo' and possibly others, and they shout with perverse satisfaction 'you will lose her' (*morrati* for *ti morrà*). Dante, when composing the *Vita Nuova*, included this canzone because of its beauty, but felt the need of explaining away a scene that was no longer consistent with his altered mood, and, taking advantage of the alternative meaning of 'morrati,' turned the *visi crucciati* into *scapigliati*, and caused the women to announce 'tu pur morrai.' Here again the interpretation is subtle, but it implies a quibbling on the part of Dante that one may be unwilling to admit, and it postulates bitter jealousy on the part of some ladies, a feeling that is nowhere else suggested in Dante's lyrics and seems to me alien to the whole thirteenth-century conception of love. The succession of feelings in the canzone *Donne ch' avete* becomes, perhaps, more natural in this interpretation and more consistent with modern habits of thought; but are we permitted to postulate identical reaction of feeling in ourselves and in the men and women of the thirteenth century who lived in so different an intellectual and social environment? Is there not some danger in trying to explain too much and in forcing upon Dante's lines an interpretation that is contrary to his direct explanation?

Later Mr Shaw asks himself, what is the 'presente proposito' to which Dante refers in *Vita Nuova*, XXVIII? There is a gap in the story; so many small incidents are recorded and the culminating event—the death of Beatrice—is passed over in silence. The artistic and emotional effect of this pause is obvious, and yet some explanation may legitimately be

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sought for it. There is first a premonition of death in *Donna pietosa*, then a period of contemplative bliss; Dante was still under its spell when writing *Si lungiamente m' ha tenuto Amore* (ch. xxvii) and then, of a sudden, the news reached him that Beatrice was dead. The news was unexpected, it stunned him, and in the book of his memory there was no record but of grief; he had 'no memory of the circumstances of the death of Beatrice, and, owing to the suddenness and shocking character of the event, he had no memory of his own feelings on becoming aware of it.' This explains why he did not write a poem on that appalling event, and why he was convinced that no suitable poem and commentary could be written. Moreover, and this is the third reason, Beatrice was a miracle, a miracle that had been allowed to take place for the sake of Dante, and it would have been like praising himself for Dante to say so. On the other hand he had always touched in his commentary upon the extraordinary connexion of Beatrice with the number nine, and he felt he could not do better, in the circumstances, than to remark upon this same extraordinary connexion as it was revealed by the particulars of Beatrice's death. Here I should think that Mr Shaw is right, particularly when he writes that Dante may not have enlarged upon this event because he had not written a poem about it that he wished to include in the *Vita Nuova*, but that we must bear in mind that 'we are chiefly concerned with what Dante intends us to understand.' If a somewhat greater importance had been allowed to purely artistic motives, I should consider this chapter excellent: Dante has given us premonition, bliss, expressed in enrapturing songs, then an interrupted canzone; his hand seems to drop off the lyre, or a chord to be suddenly broken, then a pause; the silence of his poetry he later filled by quiet chapters of a subdued narration. The effect is overwhelming. Despite this, the commentary and what Dante says in this commentary must be understood, and Mr Shaw would appear to have suggested reasons for this silence that are more consistent with Dante's mood and conditions than any of those which have been hitherto put forward.

The last chapter on the character of the *Vita Nuova* is particularly welcome at this time when the fanciful theories about its allegorical significance have been revived by Valli with sufficient persuasiveness to imperil the prevailing sanity of interpretation. There may be readers, either prone to choose the least natural solution or misguided by the habit of pondering over riddles and puzzles, whose mind is caught by the fascination of all that is strange and mysterious in Valli's theories. Against such a danger no better remedy could be provided than the reading of this essay. It contains, perhaps, no thought and no fact that is absolutely new, but it is a well balanced and well reasoned survey of the evidence about Beatrice's reality and identity and its bearing upon the *Vita Nuova*. In his leisurely way Mr Shaw takes nothing for granted; he shows sedately the reliability of the traditional data, and, quite unruffled by contradiction, he proves its fallacy. In the course of his essay he does not refrain from insisting upon points that seem obvious, for the obvious is too often overlooked by those whose aim is subtlety and

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originality. The *Vita Nuova* was written about 1292, the *Convivio* some twelve to fifteen years later, the bulk of the *Commedia* later still. Let anyone who is able to look back upon a number of years, reflect how strange it would be if the works and doings of his own or her own youth were to be interpreted in the light of later statements, apprehensions and actions. And yet this is precisely what is being done by the upholders of the allegorical interpretation of the *Vita Nuova*. Because Beatrice has an allegorical meaning in the *Commedia*, and the Donna Gentile symbolises philosophy in the *Convivio*, an allegorical meaning is foisted upon the living Beatrice of the *Vita Nuova*. Of course this process depends on the kinship that evidently exists between the *Vita Nuova* and the *Commedia*. Vossler has even asserted that 'Wer die *Vita Nuova* komponiert, der musste schon mehr oder weniger klar die *Divina Commedia* in Sinne haben' (2nd ed. Bd. II, Th. I, p. 833). Mr Shaw emphatically opposes such a misconception, and perhaps he goes too far when he denies a possible connexion between the last vision of the youthful work and some unidentifiable part of the *Commedia* or, let us say, of the first glimmering of the poem; but in general his argument is unimpeachable. 'We need not suppose'—he writes on p. 182—'that all incidents of the *Vita Nuova* occurred exactly as they are related, but it is probable that, at the time when the book was composed, they appeared to the author to have occurred, for the most part, in that way, fraught with the meaning which his aftersight attributes to them.' Precisely. Here and there in this chapter we meet with expressions that seem to be borrowed from the phraseology of psycho-analysis, and I confess to a profound suspicion towards the transitory fashions of science, yesterday Lombrosian, Freudian to-day and who knows what to-morrow, when dealing with the miracle of eternal poetry. But this analysis is excellent, despite occasional lapses into fashionable science. And there are other remarks to which attention must be called. Why should we isolate Dante's lyrical poetry from the kindred poetry of Italy and France? If this poetry cannot be shown to be allegorical, it is improbable that Dante's poems should be interpreted as allegorical. When he mentions allegory in the *Vita Nuova*, his examples are telling: Love is Love, Juno is the goddess, 'Aelous is Aelous and Rome is Rome. It follows...that Beatrice is nothing but Beatrice.' A Beatrice whom he gradually discovered in the footsteps of Guinizelli to have been his guardian angel on earth and to have herself discovered such a mission since she became a saint in heaven. 'He knows that she is still guarding and guiding him....She is still a woman, she has never become a symbol of anything.' Each essay is followed by very full notes. I have remarked but three misprints, *Davidson* for Davidsohn p. 53; *Liebesfrühlung* for Liebesfrühling p. 59; *includitar* for includitur p. 191.

C. FOLIGNO.

OXFORD.

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La France et la Provence dans l'œuvre de Dante. Par HENRI HAUVETTE. (*Bibl. de la Revue des cours et conférences.*) Paris: Boivin. vi + 175. 12 fr.

Professor Hauvette has collected in this book the substance of a series of University lectures in which he shows his accustomed mastery of the subject and lucidity of exposition. In a work of this kind it would be unlikely to meet with much that is new; but M. Hauvette is so sure of his ground, and so consistently well informed, that there is always something to glean from his pages. There were two questions which M. Hauvette could not avoid asking himself; to neither has it been possible for him to give an explicit reply, though it is not hard to perceive what is really at the back of his mind. It is obvious, for instance, that he does not believe that Dante ever went to Paris. He shows the scantiness of the evidence on which such a tradition rests, and in this connexion it seems to me unnecessary to imagine, as M. Hauvette suggests, that some clerk who had studied in Paris described to Dante the scene of an examination (*Par.* XXIV, 46–48), for the terminology Dante employs is such as he could have heard in any other school in which the Thomistic tradition prevailed. But the scepticism that is traceable in the treatment of this question originates from considerations which have never before been so cogently presented. M. Hauvette points out that, in speaking of French historical events, Dante commits mistakes of fact and expresses views that he must have corrected had he spent some time in France in direct contact with Frenchmen. And though M. Hauvette often repeats that Dante need not, and never intended to, tell all that he knew, the strange lacunae in the poet's references to French history must, nevertheless, have helped to corroborate this scepticism. On the other hand, M. Hauvette, who carefully avoids any definite expression of opinion, seems in his heart to favour Dante's authorship of the *Fiore*. There is much interesting matter in this book, if nothing is perhaps quite so illuminating as the survey of French political events to which Dante makes reference. M. Hauvette accepts the now prevailing opinion about the date of composition of the different parts of the *Commedia*, and it would appear that this opinion could be further corroborated from a side that has never been properly exploited; the author would make a very useful contribution to the study of a vexed question, that is always in danger of being revived, if he treated it ex-professo from the angle of French history. Another interesting point that seems worthy of further elaboration is the excellent parallel between the episodes of Manfred and Charles Martel; so far as I am able to recollect, this parallel is new, though M. Hauvette presents it, as is usual with him, in a charmingly unassuming way. I will add some minor observations. It is stated that all references are to the *Testo critico*, but the *Testo critico*, 1921, has *vicenda* instead of *ammenda* in *Purg.* XX, 67, so that it is not quite accurate to say 'ce refrain, *per ammenda*, qui revient trois fois à la rime' (p. 86) without mentioning that he is following in this case the *Oxford Dante* or Casella's text. On p. 127 it is very tentatively suggested that during his youth Dante may have met Sordello, the date of whose death is not known, but it is not mentioned that, among the people from whom Dante may have heard about

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Sordello, there might even have been Cunizza, who stayed in the house of Cavalcante Cavalcanti, and Guido Cavalcanti who had certainly known her. Novati thought (*Freschi e minii del Dugento*, Milan, 1908, p. 167) that Dante heard of Sordello from people returning from Provence, and this seems possible, just as I still wonder whether it would not be wise to explore certain of the other suggestions that Novati put forward in that excellent lecture.

C. FOLIGNO.

Grabbe: Begegnungen mit Zeitgenossen. Herausgegeben von ALFRED BERGMANN. Weimar: Hermann Böhlau. 1930. 200 pp. 15 M.

Christian Dietrich Grabbe is one of the great tragedies of German literature. Of unquestionable genius, he did not possess the necessary strength of character to triumph over the adverse circumstances of his life. Grinding poverty, lack of social status, a subordinate and to him distasteful position in a small, provincial town, an uncongenial marriage with a woman who considered herself his social superior, a none too robust health undermined by drink: such were the conditions under which he produced his dramas. When, at the early age of thirty-five, he died, his work had hardly given more than great promise. Yet it is open to doubt whether that promise would ever have been fulfilled. His dramas, rich though they are in exuberant and powerful dramatic scenes, are chaotic, loosely planned and full of meaningless, rhetorical bombast. His life, as we may expect, was just as chaotic. Sometimes morose and taciturn, at others bubbling over with enthusiasm, at one moment shy and reticent, then again over-bearing and impertinent, he was a sore trial to friends and acquaintances. That many of them did all in their power to help him is clearly discernible from the extracts that Dr Bergmann has here gathered together. There are sixty reports in the volume, beginning with the poet's school-days at the Detmold Gymnasium and ending with a heart-rending account of his death in the arms of his mother. They do not make joyous reading. In the early twenties we find Grabbe in Berlin and there are four accounts concerning Heine, probably largely apocryphal. From Berlin Grabbe moved on to Leipzig intending to become an actor but his voice was so unsuitable, his accent so pronouncedly *lippisch*, and the theatricality of his delivery so ludicrous that his friends could hardly keep a straight face and did their best to dissuade him. However, he procured an introduction to Tieck to whom he had sent his comedy *Scherz, Satire, Ironie und tiefere Bedeutung*, and went to Dresden. It was obviously impossible to employ Grabbe at the Dresden theatre but Tieck gave him a letter to August Klingemann, the director of the Braunschweig theatre and famous as the first producer of *Faust*. Admiration for Tieck could not blind Klingemann to the fact that Grabbe had no histrionic talent. The would-be actor returned to his home-town and settled down as auditor to the Lippe-Detmold army. The reports of the next few years testify to the indignation he aroused in the breasts of the worthy citizens. His pranks are sometimes humorous though more often coarse and dis-

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creditable. Disillusioned, embittered, and by now almost incapable of taking any nourishment except alcohol, he retired from the service and went to Frankfort. From there, at the invitation of Karl Immermann, he drifted to Düsseldorf, and the circle of artists which Immermann had collected around him did everything possible to lead Grabbe back to a reasonable mode of existence. It was too late; except for rare moments of sanity, drink had made his thoughts and conversation completely incoherent, and he spent his days bragging and sleeping in taverns. After the death of the composer Norbert Burgmüller, his boon companion and another *verkommenes Genie*, Grabbe retired to Detmold where he died a few weeks after his arrival.

Most of the material printed by Dr Bergmann has been gleaned from rare books and periodicals; a few extracts are here printed for the first time. As far as possible, the arrangement is chronological; reports of doubtful authenticity are placed together at the end of the volume under the heading *Anekdotisches und Novellistisches*. The editor contributes a *Nachwort* and biographical notes which show a deep acquaintance with all questions relating to Grabbe, and we are looking forward with great interest to the Life of Grabbe which Dr Bergmann will publish in the near future.

F. NORMAN.

LONDON.

Das literarische Antlitz der Gegenwart. Von HEINZ KINDERMANN. Halle: Max Niemeyer. 1930. 104 pp. 3.80 M.

Deutsche Dichtung der Gegenwart. Von PAUL FECHTER. Leipzig: Philipp Reclam. 1929. 72 pp. 80 Pf.

The shortness of these two books has compelled conciseness, with only a moderate display of names, and this enhances their value as attempts to survey the varying aspects of the period of German literature which may be called contemporary: i.e., from the Expressionism of twelve or more years ago to the *Neue Sachlichkeit* of yesterday and the *Magischer Realismus* of to-day. Both authors emphasise the fact that the literary historian, whether writing of the past or of the present, must always be conscious that there are three or four co-existent generations, each with its own outlook on life and attitude to what constitutes literature. Dr Fechter deals at greater length with the pre-expressionist generation than does Dr Kindermann, but only in so far as its work is still of living value, and he summarises in a useful chapter the influence of recent trends in philosophy. Each book is concerned mainly with the movement of ideas, and the object of its interpretation of modern tendencies in literature is to set forth the attitude of representative writers both to the perennial questions which beset the soul of mankind and the temporary problems which are conditioned by social circumstances in the Germany of the present day.

The expressionist movement has never been understood by critics in England, who appear to base their hostility on the few dramas which

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have been produced in London with the aid of an imperfect expressionist technique. It is thought that the playwright's work is butchered to make a producer's holiday, but this is only true in so far as the latter can, by his methods, turn a bad play into a stage success by treating it as raw material and, to borrow a musical idiom, providing it with orchestration. That the part played by the producer is not unduly prominent is proved by what men like Jessner, Fehling and Piscator have done for the German stage.

Expressionism has contributed much to literature which does not appear on the surface. It signified a new way of looking at and expressing things, and sprang from an intenser feeling and a profounder insight. Short-lived as the expressionist movement was, it ensured that a superficial realism can never again be taken for literature. The reaction to a more objective way of writing did not sweep away the benefits rendered by Expressionism, any more than the classical Goethe and Schiller or the Romantics could deny their debt to the preceding *Sturm und Drang*. The philosophers, the psychologists and the scientists are all showing us a very different world from the one which the nineteenth century knew. Modern research in psychology and physics, in particular, has shown that the outward and visible phenomena represent only the surface of life and creation, and it is but natural that the present and the coming literary generations should seek to interpret these in different terms from those employed by their predecessors. This is not to belittle the significance of tradition, but merely to emphasise the fact that German literature is passing through a transitional stage of peculiar interest, and that criticism and research, for their own well-being, must recognise that the centre of gravity has shifted.

WILLIAM ROSE.

LONDON.

SHORT NOTICES

The extraordinary popularity of the Godiva *motif* in Germany has provided an excuse for a valuable Heidelberg dissertation on *Die Godivasage und ihre Behandlung in der Literatur*, by Karl Häfele (*Anglistische Forschungen*, LXVI. Heidelberg: C. Winter. 1929. xii + 314 pp. 16 M.). The main section deals with the adoption of the story into the several national literatures of Western Europe. While in English neither prose, poetry nor drama since Tennyson's day has made any significant contribution to the theme, in German there have appeared during the last quarter century a ballad by Schüler, Hans Franck's *Nyssae* and Schnitzler's *Fräulein Else*, and a crop of plays culminating in Franck's *Godiva*. The development of the arbitrary condition of the 'Nacktritt' imposed by an exasperated Leofric in the simple mediæval tale of Roger of Wendover into the elaborate psychological motivation of contemporary German playwrights is not the least curious of the transformations wrought in the course of the centuries. The notable plays of Maeterlinck

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(*Monna Vanna*), Giovanni Sfetez, and Linares Rivas, in Belgium, Italy and Spain, serve to focus attention on the frivolous attempts at dramatisation in England.

The most interesting section of the dissertation perhaps, that dealing with the origin and growth of the saga, is also the least satisfactory. Dismissing the earlier explanations, the author plunges into the welter of modern folklore theories. On the one hand is Liebrecht with his plausible 'Rechtsgebrauch' theory, based on isolated parallels from German folk-song and Indian saga. On the other hand is Hartland (and, with modifications, Heyck), who favours a pagan processional ritual in honour of Hertha. On both theories Dr Häfele bestows a vague blessing, but makes no serious attempt to estimate their value or to work out their possible interrelations. Here, as elsewhere, he is a collector and cataloguer rather than an interpreter. He has done yeoman service in assembling his material in a clear and readable form, but one feels that the last word on a difficult subject has still to be said.

The book concludes with a short supplement dealing with the saga in painting and sculpture in England and on the Continent, illustrated by seven plates. A. J. M.

The reprinting of Frances Brooke's *History of Lady Julia Mandeville*, edited by E. Phillips Poole (London: The Scholartis Press. 1930. 219 pp. 8*s*. 6*d*.) is justified both by the place it holds in the history of the novel of sensibility and by the fact that 'it raised the writer to the front rank of the novelists of the age, in the estimation of all the critics' (p. 15). It has, in spite of its forced ending, more artistic unity than either of her other novels, though the background of Canadian life and scenery in *Emily Montague*, and the attempt at a realistic account of London life in *The Excursion*, give them an interest for modern readers which *Lady Julia Mandeville* lacks. The editor shows, by extracts from her letters, that Frances Brooke shared to some extent the sensibility she attributes to her heroines; but it is difficult to believe that either Lady Julia or Harry Mandeville had any counterpart in reality, or that the book throws much light on life in the eighteenth century—except as regards the sort of book that might become a best-seller. The modern reader is also likely to be put off by the inconsistencies required for the working out of the plot: a tragic ending was thought to have a better moral effect, and Mrs Brooke achieves it and makes the most of it. The present reprint maintains the high standard of the Scholartis Press. The text is that of the edition of 1773, the last which the author could have seen through the press. Mr Poole's excellent Introduction adds considerably to our knowledge of Mrs Brooke; it gives a very sympathetic account of her various works, and a just estimate of her position in the history of literature. A few misprints have escaped attention: p. 14, *borne* for *bore*; p. 15, l. 4, *1760* for *1763*; p. 31, *Sydney* for *Sidney*; p. 32, *cousin* for *niece*; p. 111, *me* for *my*; p. 145, *wander* for *wonder*; p. 162, *us* for *use*; p. 168, *to-mororw*; p. 203, *kissed* for *kissing*. H. W. H.

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The essays entitled *Études Critiques sur Manon Lescaut* (*Modern Philology Monographs*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1929. xi + 113 pp. $ 2.00) are the fruits of a term's research conducted by a group of American students under the direction of Professor Paul Hazard of the Collège de France. They embody all the important results of recent research on Prévost and indicate the lines on which further investigation may be pursued with advantage, and they are completed by an admirable critical bibliography. They offer a model of communal research guided by a master mind. Professor Hazard's own charm of style pervades the writing, and, however scholarly, the book is never for an instant dull. It is interesting to see how, when Prévost's novel is critically examined, the personality of Manon herself loses the pre-eminence which has been attached to it by superficial and sentimental admiration. It will be remembered that Prévost called his book *Histoire du Chevalier Des Grieux et de Manon Lescaut*, and the major interest lies in the psychology of Des Grieux. These essays bring out skilfully the common elements which link the author, 'tout à fait aimable et tant soit peu fripon,' with his heroes—Cleveland, the Man of Quality, Des Grieux. They show how narrow a margin divides the author's other novels, clumsy and rambling, but made up of the same elements and imbued with the same ideas and sentiments, from the masterpiece, which is a miracle of balance and restraint. The work is analysed with shrewdness and penetration, and various elements are assessed—the legacy of humanism, a certain subdued realism, the foreshadowing of the romantic hero. An earlier essay by M. Hazard incorporated in the volume traces a Jansenist element in the novel, and the remaining chapters discuss the style and Prévost's relations with England and English literature. M. Hazard's book is indispensable to students of Prévost, both as a guide to existing materials and as an inspiration to further research. M. E. I. R.

The Cult of Beauty in Charles Baudelaire by Dr S. A. Rhodes (New York: Institute of French Studies. 1929. 2 vols. xxi + 617 pp. $ 3.00) is a careful and thorough contribution to the study of Baudelaire's ideas and theories. Taken mainly from his criticism of books, painting and music, and amplified by quotations from the poems, these are set forth with clarity and order, but perhaps with too much elaboration. Many promising developments tend to become diffuse. There are unnecessary repetitions and cross-references. The poet's statements and the author's expositions would be sufficient in themselves without the extraneous citations that are conscientiously brought in to support them only too frequently. Why load an adequate treatment of Baudelaire's translations of Poe with three observations on translation from G. H. Lewes' *Life of Goethe* (pp. 245, 248), when one is going to quote at length from M. André Gide's views on the subject? As a book of reference, a compendium of information on Baudelaire, the critic, this work is unique in English and appears to have no counterpart in French. It is well written and would have been attractive, if it were more concentrated. An excellent bibliography helps to recommend it. P. M. J.

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Professor Aaron Schaffer's *Parnassus in France* (Austin: Univ. of Texas Press. 1929. x + 291 pp.) is a straightforward, informed piece of work, covering ground to which no single volume has been specifically devoted in English, and few in French. It gives an introduction only to its subject, the nucleus of the work being a description of the three *recueils* of the *Parnasse contemporain*, followed by 'life-size portraits of the principal Parnassians and their disciples.' Criticism and appreciation are not aimed at, but as history the book is adequate and useful, without revealing new facts or novelty of treatment. Clearly presented, it is sometimes marred by phrases like the following comment on an eccentricity of Laforgue's: 'A sonnet over which Heredia, if he ever read it, must certainly have come close to strangling.' P. M. J.

Much careful work has been tactfully condensed in Miss M. Bowden's *Tennyson in France* (Manchester: University Press. 1930. 166 pp. 8*s*. 6*d*.). Its object is 'to trace the history of Tennyson in France, from the purely literary point of view,' down to the poet's death in 1892. By investigating his influence on the Symbolists, the author makes an interesting contribution to the understanding of that complex poetic school. Known in France almost from the first, Tennyson's early works were introduced by *L'Europe littéraire* in 1833, but were imperfectly appreciated until, in the 'sixties, a trio of great critics established his reputation, Montégut and Scherer striving to free the English poet from the effects of being 'pigeonholed' by their too systematic contemporary, H. Taine, who had recently published the famous comparison with Alfred de Musset.

Between 1850 and 1875 adaptations and translations of the lyrics reveal a slow progression from rather crude verse paraphrases to Mallarmé's fine prose rendering of *Mariana* (1874). The fortune of longer poems like the *Idylls*, *Enoch Arden* and *Maud*, which received more or less careful treatment, was on the whole happier. It culminates in Léon Moret's admirable rendering (1898) of the hitherto misunderstood *In Memoriam*. Tennyson is by now exerting some influence on French poets and receiving almost perfect understanding from critics of a later generation. Verlaine seems to have known 'his favourite poet' extremely well, and Mallarmé was attracted to him first after Poe. Celtic legend and the fashion for chivalry played their parts among Symbolist *motifs*, thanks primarily to Wagner. But the suave type of lyric, in which symbolic use is made of Arthurian legend, appearing first with Jean Lorrain, later with Régnier and Merrill, must have owed something to Tennyson's example. One poet, Louis Le Cardonnel, followed it so cordially, that he has been called 'the French Tennyson.' Even when the appeal wanes before that of the Pre-Raphaelites, there is a sense in which his influence persists through theirs. The poet's death was the occasion for a number of biographical studies and notices, based on that of Hallam, Lord Tennyson. Of these the best was by C. Looten (1893). Miss Bowden's field of inquiry and observation is definitely limited. But this brief account does scant justice to the detail of a well conducted piece of 'influence' investigation, a model of conciseness and presentation for works of its kind.

P. M. J.

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We have received a welcome addition to the *Collezione di Classici Italiani con note* in the shape of the *Cento Novelle Antiche* or *Novellino* (Turin: Unione Tipografico-editrice. 1930. xlvii + 244 pp. L. 10) edited with introduction and notes by Letterio di Francia. It consists of a reprint of the Gualteruzzi edition published at Bologna in 1525, which is closely connected with the earliest and best manuscript, the cod. Vaticano 3214, and the additional stories inserted by Borghini in the Giuntine edition issued at Florence in 1572. Professor di Francia supplies an excellent critical introduction, and full and valuable notes, not only linguistic, but tracing the sources and analogues of each *novella*. To the notes on the story of Merlin and the lady who had driven her husband to usury in order to purchase her dress, 'Veramente è bella, se i nemici di Dio non avessero parte in sua cotta' (Gualteruzzi, XXVI), a reference might have been added to the Franco-Italian *Prophecies de Merlin*, where the same tale is told and which is possibly the direct source. This *Libro di novelle e di bel parlar gentile* (to give it its third title), of which the original nucleus seems unquestionably Florentine and of the end of the thirteenth century, has never before been edited with such a complete commentary.

E. G. G.

Dr E. Brugger's incursions into the byeways of Arthurian legend always bring back interesting results. In *The Illuminated Tree in two Arthurian Romances* (New York: Publications of the Institute of French Studies. 1929. 93 pp. $ 1), he deals with the episodes in Wauchier's *Grail* (one of which appears somewhat differently in the Modena prose *Perceval*) and in *Durmart le Gallois*, in which the hero sees a tree illuminated with a multitude of lighted candles and a child in its branches (the two motives are separate in the former romance, but united in the latter). Dr Brugger, with a wealth of illustrations and analogues, investigates these episodes in relation to the legend of the Earthly Paradise and folklore, controverting the theory of Miss Jessie L. Weston that they are connected with a pagan apple cult and derive from a mystery play, the source being identical with that of the *Pèlerinage de l'Ame* of Guillaume de Deguileville. We are inclined to agree with Dr Brugger in finding no such connection, as has been suggested, between the *Pèlerinage* and Bellini's famous picture, sometimes called the 'Madonna by the Lake,' in the Uffizi.

E. G. G.

Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Malik ibn Ṭufail deserves well of history for two deeds. The greater was his recognition of Averroes' genius, for whom he made philosophy possible. The other was his attractive outline of the progress from Physics to Metaphysics in his tale of *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓân*, based on a hint in the vast corpus of Alexander romances. Cast on an uninhabited island while yet an infant, 'Alive son of Lively' contrived to find nourishment, observed the nature of animals and inferred his own and that of the universe, perceived the necessity for a First Cause and deduced His attributes, discovered from a stranger that these were the attributes revealed in the Koran, and lastly perceived that the philo-

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sopher's austere devotion could not be shared by the mass of believers, who must have their religion in the form of rules of practice. For a moment there is a similarity between this romance and *Robinson Crusoe*, which accounts for Dr Pastor's title *The Idea of Robinson Crusoe* (Vol. I. Watford. 1930. xii + 391 pp. 18*s*). Defoe may have read Samuel Ockley's translation of 1708; but he could derive from the romance nothing not already available in the Selkirk-saga, unless it be the use of a tropical island for Juan Fernández. Man Friday's Benamuckee is hardly to be compared to Ḥayy's sublime concept of the First Cause. Crusoe soon saw to it that revealed religion superseded the natural; but the most striking point in the Arabic romance is that Ibn Ṭufail places revealed religion on a lower plane than speculative philosophy; the philosophers have a key to religious truth which is to be kept from the vulgar practitioners. This esoterism is due to a combination of Sufic teaching and the ambiguous position of savants at the court of the Al-Muwâḥḥid Caliphs of Spain and Morocco. Secretly favoured by the less austere rulers, the philosophers were detested by the clergy and liable to be stoned in the streets. On these and other points Dr Pastor passes on a good deal of information obtained by Spanish Arabists, and not otherwise accessible to English readers; but it is clear that the matter demands the attention of a fully qualified student. In the four chapters of Part III, 'the transmission of the Romance,' Dr Pastor breaks new ground with his attractive account of Pocock, Keith, Ashwell and Ockley. W. J. E.

Lupus of Ferrières, as Scribe and Text Critic, by C. H. Beeson, published by the Mediæval Academy of America (Cambridge, Mass. 1930. 50 pp. followed by a facsimile. $ 12.) is a well-produced volume. It contains an excellent facsimile of the Harleianus (2736) MS. of Cicero's *De Oratore* (tenth century), one of the best of the defective MSS. Professor Beeson has identified it as an autograph copy by Lupus of Ferrières, and has provided a well-written and useful introduction. H. E. B.

[We regret that we are obliged to hold over the list of New Publications to the following number.]

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'THE BLESSED DAMOZEL'

IT is seldom that a poet's early work is not surpassed in maturity. Generally, as Bacon says, youth is like the first cogitations, not so wise as the second. The 'violent desires and perturbations' of poets, particularly, exceed those of other men and come to fullest fruition only after years of discipline. Self-discipline, however, was not among the many gifts the gods lavished upon Rossetti, and *The Blessed Damozel* written at the age of eighteen excels in poetic quality anything that he wrote afterwards in the exuberance of manhood. It has that delicacy of imagination which is proper to youth, but also a sureness of touch in execution which is altogether unusual. It is an achievement rather than a promise, but so too is the *Vita Nuova*, and, with that accession of strength and profundity which comes to greater poets, it would have been followed by work to which the *Damozel* would be what the *Vita Nuova* is to the *Divina Commedia*. Actually it was followed by the ballads, fine but not clearly in the first rank, with which we are not now concerned, and by the sonnets of *The House of Life*, to which it may be regarded as a revealing prologue. It is linked to them by a common Italian inspiration; though what in the *Damozel* is a quiet and untroubled reflection from the mirror of an adolescent imagination, glimmers a broken and confused—even at times confusing—light among those 'devious coverts of dismay.' The connexion is not generally understood, and yet for an adequate understanding of the sonnets it is essential. For this reason it seems worth while to draw together and to supplement what is known about the origins of the early poem[1], and in the light of this to indicate its bearing on *The House of Life*.

Critics at one time appear to have thought that it had no antecedents, that all its detailed strangeness had been drawn out of the void by the dreamy imagination of the poet. Knight said that nothing in it was 'directly assignable to the influence of the early reading of Shakespeare, Byron, Scott, the subsequent influence of Keats, or that of the closely studied Dante.... Nothing in the descriptions recalls any previous work[2].' Benson, very much at sea, and thinking, conveniently, though in one

[1] The fullest account known to me is by Kurt Horn in *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte von D. G. Rossettis Dichtungen*, Bernau, 1909, where a number of the passages from Dante quoted in this article are already brought forward.

[2] *Life of D. G. Rossetti*, London, 1887, pp. 57–8.

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way justly, that there was 'no need to trace the genesis of the poem,' suggested that *The Ancient Mariner* was the germ of the treatment[1]. Others have thought that early paintings of the Italian or Flemish school accounted for some of the naïvely picturesque qualities of the poem. With regard to this frequent assumption, it may be said that, while there is no ground for a definite assertion, it is very questionable whether at this date Rossetti had much knowledge of early Italian painting, or any knowledge at all of the Flemish school. The poem was written before that famous occasion at Millais's house where the future Pre-Raphaelite Brothers looked over 'Lasinio's execrable engravings' of the Pisan frescoes[2]. From accounts of that event and its consequences, one can only conclude that Rossetti's knowledge of early Italian painting must then have been negligible.

It is well known that Rossetti himself told Hall Caine that *The Blessed Damozel* originated out of his love for Poe's *Raven* while still a boy: 'I saw that Poe had done the utmost it was possible to do with the grief of the lover on earth, and so I determined to reverse the conditions, and give utterance to the yearning of the loved one in heaven[3].' Traces of Poe's poem have been pointed out by Horn in the 'Blessed Damozel' of the title, which reproduces in more archaic and poetical terms the 'sainted maiden' of *The Raven*; and in the emphasis laid in the earliest version on the grief of the lover on earth ('Alas for life wrung out alone'). For it may be remembered that the 'distant Aidenn,' where Poe's Lenore dwells with the angels, seems so distant to her lover that it might as well have been non-existent. The inexorable Raven with his 'Nevermore!' holds out no hope at all of reunion, and the entire poem is concerned only with the miseries of the lover among his 'quaint and curious volumes of forgotten lore.' Without Rossetti's own indication nobody could have guessed that there was any relationship between two poems so entirely different as these. With it, it is possible to believe the relationship existed, but it leaves the origin of most of the peculiar features of our poem unexplained.

Beginning then, we may suppose, with the intention of dealing with an imaginary 'loved one in heaven,' Rossetti's imagination at once fell back upon those conceptions of heaven he had derived from his mother's teaching in childhood, from the Bible, and from descriptions in those authors with whom he was conversant. As it happened, a great variety

[1] A. C. Benson, *D. G. Rossetti*, London, 1904, p. 115.
[2] See *Memoir*, p. 125: 'Rossetti was not quite prepared beforehand to believe in these very olden paintings.'
[3] *Recollections of D. G. Rossetti*, London, 1882, p. 284.

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of such descriptions were at that time uppermost in his mind. His first-hand knowledge of Dante dates from 1844; most of the translations from the early Italian poets were done between 1845 and 1849, and the first to be completed had been the *Vita Nuova*[1]. *The Blessed Damozel* was written early in 1847[2]—in the very middle of his preoccupation with these Italian lyrics.

The obvious indebtedness of the poem to 'Dante and his circle,' which has been recognised in general terms for some time now, was noticed by one reader before it was ever printed. In 1848 the manuscript was sent to Leigh Hunt, who in his reply refers to Rossetti's 'Dantesque heavens (without any hell to spoil them)[3].' Rossetti subsequently sent Hunt's letter to his Aunt Charlotte with the comment: 'Where Hunt, in his kind letter, speaks of my "Dantesque heavens," he refers to one or two of the poems, the scene of which is laid in the celestial regions, and which are written in a kind of Gothic manner which I suppose he is pleased to think belongs to the school of Dante[4].'

Mégroz questions the sincerity of this remark, perhaps to some degree justly[5], since the young poet could hardly have been quite unconscious of the many Dantesque passages in his work; and yet it is true that neither the style nor the heavens are really Dantesque at all.

The general situation of the poem obviously reflects the separation of Dante and Beatrice. Its theme is the theme of the *Vita Nuova*—'Ita n' è Beatrice in l' alto cielo[6].' Rossetti's lover might have said with Dante:

> Era venuta ne la mente mia
> la gentil donna che per suo valore
> fu posta da l' altissimo signore
> nel ciel de l' umiltate ov' è Maria[7].
> (Cp. 'We two,' she said, 'will seek the groves
> Where the Lady Mary is.')

It is surely more than mere coincidence that the lover has been waiting ten years on earth, before seeing this vision, exactly the length of time which elapses before Dante sees Beatrice in Purgatory. And with the separation is associated, no less than in Dante, the idealisation of love and of the lady, and the corresponding self-abasement of the lover. The sense of his own unworthiness expressed in the question:

> Shall God lift
> To endless unity
> The soul whose likeness with thy soul
> Was but its love for thee?

[1] *Memoir*, p. 105.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 107.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 122 f.
[4] *Family Letters*, p. 38.
[5] R. L. Mégroz, *D. G. Rossetti*, London, 1928, p. 169.
[6] *Vita Nuova*, Canzone iv.
[7] *Ibid.*, Sonnet xviii.

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and echoed later in *The House of Life*:

> I, graceless, joyless, lacking absolutely
> All gifts that with thy queenship best behove[1],

is wholly in keeping with the spirit of humility that pervades the poetry of the *dolce stil nuovo*.

The same sentiment combined, in a stanza of the *Germ* version, with a touch of nineteenth-century agnosticism, strikes a slightly discordant note on account of which possibly the passage was dropped:

> Alas, and though the end were reach'd?...
> Was *thy* part understood
> Or borne in trust? And for her sake
> Shall this too be found good?—
> May the close lips that knew not prayer
> Praise ever, though they would?

with which you may compare Dante's confidence that he may attain blessedness even in looking upon his lady:

> A guisa d' angel che, di sua natura
> Stando su in altura,
> Divien beato sol guardando Iddio:
> Così, essendo umana creatura,
> Guardando la figura
> Di questa donna, che tiene il cor mio,
> Potria beato divenir qui io
> Tant' è la sua virtù, che spande e porge[2].

'My Lady in Heaven' is a theme which lends itself to abundant and relevant illustration from the Italians. Dante's Beatrice after her New Birth 'watches her lover on earth' (*Vita Nuova*, Canzone iv). Cino da Pistoia assures him that

> Perchè Dio l' aggia locata fra i suoi,
> Ella tutt' ora dimora con voi
> ...e prega Dio, lor signor verace,
> Che vi conforti, sì come vi piace[3],

just as the Damozel says:

> There will I ask of Christ the Lord
> Thus much for him and me:—
> Only to live as once on earth
> At peace!

'To live as once on earth'—Dante's Beatrice could of course never have asked for that. Rossetti's lovers retain their human warmth even 'in l' alto cielo.' The background of his first painting of the subject (1875) is filled with lovers, meeting and embracing,—'mid deathless love's acclaims,' as he says in an addition of the 1881 version. But if Dante

[1] *House of Life*, xxxii.
[2] From a ballata, ascribed to Dante by Rossetti, but probably the work of Cino da Pistoia.
[3] *A Dante, in morte di Beatrice.*

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himself offers no parallel to this very comfortable hope, other poets of his time do not fail us. In the canzone already quoted, Cino, addressing Dante, talks of:

> L' alma vostra che ancora ispera
> Vederla in cielo star nelle sue braccia;
> Dunque di speme confortar vi piaccia.

Or again Jacopo da Lentino says he would not willingly be in the holy place of Paradise without having his lady to gaze upon[1], just as the Damozel is not content to be there without her lover.

Petrarch, a poet Rossetti never greatly cared for, but some of whose work he knew at this time[2], has some well-known sonnets on the subject of Madonna Laura in Heaven. One of them (which Swinburne appears to have translated in emulation of Rossetti's own exploits[3]) tells of her wandering with the angels, looking often to see if he is coming[4]. Cp.

> 'I wish that he were come to me
> For he will come,' she said.

In another sonnet he asks Laura to pray God that he may come quickly to her[5]; cp. 'Have I not prayed in Heaven?' And again, it seems to him more than a thousand years that he has been longing to join his *fida e cara duce* in heaven[6]; cp. 'To one, it is ten years of years.' In still another, he imagines himself to be in heaven and there Laura leads him to the Lord[7]. Cp.

> Herself [Mary] shall bring us, hand in hand,
> To Him, round whom all souls
> Kneel.

It would be absurd to suppose that Rossetti had these passages definitely in his mind in writing his poem; but there can be no doubt at all that the idea of the lost damozel waiting in heaven for her lover, and longing for him with a good deal of earthly tenderness, had remained in his mind from the reading of the early Italian poets. Certainly it is quite unnecessary to suppose with Hill Shine[8] that the poet was thinking of the Goddess who promised to exalt Endymion 'to the shrine of heaven ambrosial' in Keats's poem (II, 810–21)[9].

[1] *Madonna e il Paradiso.*
[2] See A. M. Turner, *Rossetti's Reading*, in *Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass. of America*, June, 1927.
[3] See T. E. Welby, *The Victorian Romantics*, London, 1929, p. 117; the translation is given with no indication of its original. The date is 1858–9, when Rossetti's Italian translations were being shown to his friends.
[4] *Canzoniere*, cccxlvi.
[5] *Ibid.*, cccxlvii.
[6] *Ibid.*, ccclvii.
[7] *Ibid.*, ccclxii.
[8] *The Influence of Keats upon Rossetti*, in *Englische Studien*, LXI (1927), pp. 194 f.
[9] It has often been noted that the warmed bar of Heaven may be a reminiscence of Madeline's 'warmed jewels' in *The Eve of St Agnes.*

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Coming now to the setting of the picture, the very defined pictorial heaven of Rossetti, with its 'golden bar,' has very little resemblance to the paradise of Dante, which is much more abstract in nature. Everything in Dante's immaterial spheres is pure spirit; nor is anything in a state of repose, but all is light, music and motion, until we reach that 'Sovran edifice of the world...formed only in the First Mind,' the Tenth Heaven: 'Quiet and peaceful is the place of that supreme Deity who alone perfectly sees himself[1].' It is the final and perfect heaven, of motionless and soundless peace.

Nevertheless in the following stanza of *The Blessed Damozel* as it first appeared in *The Germ*, a reflection of that ultimate peace can be discerned:

> But in those tracts, with her, it was
> The peace of utter light
> And silence. For no breeze may stir
> Along the steady flight
> Of seraphim; no echo there
> Beyond all depth or height.

No one who has read the last cantos of *The Divine Comedy* can doubt the inspiration of this passage. Possibly the poet may have felt that the conception was not in keeping with the more tangible detail with which he had filled the poem, and so suppressed it. It occurs again, with a characteristic Rossettian twist, in *The Portrait*—one may surmise that the stanza is part of the original draft of that poem, written soon after *The Blessed Damozel*:

> Even so, where Heaven holds breath and hears
> The beating heart of Love's own breast,—
> Where round the secret of all spheres
> All angels lay their wings to rest,—
> How shall my soul stand rapt and awed,
> When, by the new birth borne abroad
> Throughout the music of the suns,
> It enters in her soul at once
> And knows the silence there for God.

The last two lines show how impossible it was for Rossetti to accompany Dante in the highest adventures of his mystical ardour. Even in a Tenth Heaven the Divine Love can only be sought in the soul of his lady. Indeed the two lines are but a finely sounding phrase, with little meaning. It is no criticism of Rossetti to say that he was not a Dante; but it is a fair criticism to say that his love of Dante sometimes led him to the use of expressions which lie a little on this side of clarity and significance. It is not of course a criticism which affects *The Blessed Damozel*, where the poet is content with arranging a harmonious composition in which the

[1] *Convito*, ii, 4.

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mystical elements are reduced to an archaic and pictorial simplicity. Too remote in treatment to involve any definite assertion of belief, it yet was a perfect expression of the sensuous spirituality of his mind at that time. How consistent and appropriate is the last glimpse we have of his damozel. The lover sees her smile, and then

> She cast her arms along
> The golden barriers
> And laid her face between her hands
> And wept—I heard her tears.

Here the poet is still mindful of Beatrice, but the wisp of reminiscence is drawn into the current of his own poem. When Dante last beholds his lady, she is seated serene and inaccessible among the Blessed in the sempiternal Rose. She sees him:

> Ella sì lontana
> Come parea, sorrise e riguardommi (xxxi. 91–2).

She too looked down and smiled, but it was only for a moment—*poi si tornò all' eterna fontana.*

As in the matter of heaven itself, so there is more definition in the cosmic system suggested by Rossetti than there is in the *Paradiso*. His spinning earth, his moon fluttering like a feather far down the gulf, his vast sea of worlds that swarm, all suggest a bird's eye view from some definite point above the solar system. For the most part the spheres of Dante's Paradise appear to be beyond space or time. Yet there is one passage which Rossetti might have had at the back of his mind when he makes the Damozel look down

> as low as where this earth
> Spins like a fretful midge.

Dante in the eighth heaven pauses and looks back

> Col viso ritornai per tutte e quante
> le sette spere, e vidi questo globo
> tal, ch' io sorrisi del suo vil sembiante[1].

If we turn to consider the figures of the background, we shall find the same touches of likeness in a very great difference. The lovers who meet and embrace, the maidens with their citherns and citoles seem to have acquired physical being since their arrival; for apparently they first mount up to God 'like thin flames.' Here Benson who found the germ of the poem in *The Ancient Mariner* might have felt a fugitive reminiscence of that poem; the Mariner was also aware of souls passing him, but they passed like the whizz of a crossbow; the spirits who worked the ship finally 'stood each a lovely light.' But some of the effects of light in

[1] xxii, 133–5; and see also xxvii, 85–8.

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Rossetti's poem may also be traced to the *Paradiso*. After the Second Heaven Dante cannot see the spirits he converses with, they are all clothed in light. The spirits in the Seventh Heaven pass up and down the ladder of contemplation as lights, and as a light the soul of Cacciaguida detaches itself from the great cross in the Heaven of Mars, and swoops down to address his descendant.

Perhaps it is not fantastic also to connect the Damozel's 'deep wells of light' with that river of light after drinking from which Dante is made fit for his final ecstatic vision of the Divine Essence:

> Così mi circonfulse luce viva,
> E lasciommi fasciato di tal velo
> Del suo fulgor, che nulla m' appariva.
> ...E vidi lume in forma di riviera
> Fulvido di fulgore, intra due rive
> Dipinte di mirabil primavera.
> Di tal fiumana uscian faville vive (xxx, 49–51, 61–4).

Although of course behind them both is the Apocalyptic 'pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the lamb.'

Otherwise the light which fills Rossetti's heaven has a living quality which contrasts with the surrounding repose. 'The light thrilled towards her'—as in a sonnet of Cavalcanti's, where his lady 'fa tremar di claritate l' a're,'—and it was 'filled with angels in strong level flight[1],' who recall the angels seen by Dante rising 'in a long flight heavenwards' carrying with them the soul of Beatrice, or the passage in the canzone which beseeches Death for the life of Beatrice:

> Mi par già veder lo cielo aprire
> E gli angeli di Dio quaggiù venire.

—angels filling all the space about me, as Rossetti translates it. This is the vision of the man on earth, as it is in *The Blessed Damozel*[2].

Without taking any one of such parallels too seriously, it is impossible to suppose they were without effect in the moulding of Rossetti's poem. At the same time they are woven into a very complex skein of fancy and recollection. For some of its elements one needs to look no farther than the Bible and the Holy Jerusalem of *Revelation*, where you find the seven stars and the white robes, golden bowls full of incense which are the

[1] 'Level lapse' in *The Germ*.

[2] In view of the fact that Rossetti had long known something of *Faust* (see *Memoir*, pp. 59, 103), it may not be amiss to suggest that the last sections of that poem may have combined in effect with these Italian passages—the flights of angels and blessed spirits, the reunion of Faust and Gretchen, the exaltation of the 'Ewig-Weibliche,' Gretchen's pity for his strangeness there, and her intention of leading him around—just as Beatrice conducts Dante through the Paradiso with now and then a sympathetic smile at his ignorance.

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prayers of the saints, and 'the living mystic tree'—the 'tree of life which bore twelve manner of fruits, and yielded her fruit every month; and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations.' Reminiscences of the Bible and of *The Divine Comedy* melt easily enough into each other. A very different and more modern note seems to come from Shelley's *Queen Mab*, written like *The Blessed Damozel* at the age of eighteen[1].

The parallel must be more than accidental. Queen Mab takes Ianthe in her magic car up and away into space, until

> Earth's distant orb appeared
> The smallest light that twinkles in the heaven;
> Whilst round the chariot's way
> Innumerable systems rolled,
> And countless spheres diffused
> An ever-varying glory (i, 249–55).

They reach the Queen's 'aetherial palace' from whose 'overhanging battlement' can be seen 'the flood of ages combatting below' (ii, 254). Cp. 'the flood of ether':

> Below lay stretched the universe!...
> Countless and unending orbs
> In mazy motion intermingled (ii, 70–4).

Cp.

> Her gaze still strove
> In that steep gulf to pierce
> The swarm (*Germ* version).

One remembers that Milton's Raphael

> Through the vast etherial sky
> Sails between worlds and worlds (*Par. Lost*, v, 268).

Among them they see

> a little light
> That twinkled in the misty distance (ii, 83–4).

This is the earth, wild and miserable, thorny and full of care (vi, 11–12). For a further touch in Rossetti's description:

> Beneath, the tides of day and night
> With flame and darkness ridge
> The void.

Kurt Horn refers to the *Prologue in Heaven* of *Faust*:

> Und schnell und unbegreiflich schnelle
> Dreht sich umher der Erde Pracht;
> Es wechselt Paradieseshelle
> Mit tiefer schauervoller Nacht.

It is curious, and worth notice, that two points of contact between Rossetti's work and Goethe's—the present possible one and the Lilith theme in *Eden Bower* and *Body's Beauty*—both take us to the passages

[1] For Rossetti's love of Shelley from 1844 onwards see *Memoir*, p. 100. In the above connexion of the two poems I follow Kurt Horn, *op. cit.*

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of *Faust* which were translated by Shelley; if it were not for that fact, it would be merely foolish to point out that in translating the 'dreht sich umher' of the above passage Shelley uses the word *spins*. A further, though very doubtful, Shelleyan passage may finally be noted:

> She spoke as when
> The stars sang in their spheres.
>
> Her voice was like the voice the stars
> Had when they sang together.

It sounds at first Biblical, 'The morning stars sang together'—but also 'all the sons of God shouted for joy.' The poet may have been thinking of the music of the spheres rather than of a noise so strenuous as that. So that Kurt Horn may possibly be justified in asking us to consider:

> And from her lips...
> ...a liquid murmur drops,
> ...sweet as stops
> Of planetary music heard in trance (*Epipsychidion*, 83 ff.).

But with this our search for reminiscence may be regarded as having gone beyond reasonable bounds.

At least one critic has traced the metrical form of the poem to one of Rossetti's early Italian translations. Mégroz thinks he 'found the metre and the rhythm' in Ciullo d'Alcamo's dialogue between a lover and his lady ('Rosa fresca aulentissima')[1]. The suggestion is an empty one, but may as well be disposed of. Rossetti's translation opens thus:

> Thou sweetly-smelling fresh red rose
> That near thy summer art,
> Of whom each damsel and each dame
> Would fain be counterpart;
> Oh! from this fire to draw me forth
> Be it in thy good heart;
> For night or day there is no rest with me
> Thinking of none, my lady, but of thee.

We are to suppose that, omitting the last two lines and contriving the rhythmical flow more subtly, Rossetti achieved from this the stanza of *The Blessed Damozel*—as if it were a difficult stanza to discover. In any case, whatever resemblance there is lies between two pieces of Rossetti's own work; and not between *The Blessed Damozel* and the original Italian. Who can hear anything of Rossetti's stanza in this?

> Rosa fresca aulentissima,
> C' appari in ver la state,
> Le donne ti disiano,
> Pulzelle e maritate:
> Traemi d'este focora,
> Se t' este a bolontate;
> Perchè non aio abentu notte e dia
> Pensando pur di voi, Madonna mia.

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 167.

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Rossetti's stanza, however slowly and subtly managed, is only the ballad stanza with an increment of two lines, 868686, instead of 8686. One could much more reasonably go to Coleridge than to Ciullo d'Alcamo for a model:

> It ceased; yet still the sails made on
> A pleasant noise till noon,
> A noise like of a hidden brook
> In the leafy month of June,
> That to the sleeping woods all night
> Singeth a quiet tune.

Although even here the rhythmical differences are immediately apparent.

Enough has now been said to display in some detail the close relation of *The Blessed Damozel* to the work of Dante and his fellows. Nowhere in Rossetti's work is the vein of reminiscence so pervasive; and yet nowhere in his work does he attain an effect so happy and harmonious. For at this time nothing in real experience had come to disturb that dreamy and exalted woman worship with which Dante had filled and satisfied his mind[1], and on which the characters of his mother and sisters were a commentary. 'It seemed to me,' says Holman Hunt, 'that it was in his early days only that the soul within him had been truly seen in his face. In these days his inner life was untainted to an exemplary degree and he worthily rejoiced in the poetic atmosphere of sacred and spiritual dreams[2].' The seeds of a discord not yet operative are perhaps discernible in the physical warmth of his damozel, although to a reader not regarding the poem in the light of later work, it is a quality which escapes notice behind the tenderness and ideality of the theme. The young woman who represents her in the paintings of 1875 and 1879 is a 'stunner' and does not satisfactorily illustrate the poem at all. In any case, our Damozel is unlike Dante's Beatrice, whom an Italian critic has described as resembling 'una di quelle figure purissime di Madonne, pennelleggiate da Giotto o dal beato Angelico, che par che sentano la nostalgia del cielo.' Rossetti's maiden on the contrary seems to be overcome by a *nostalgia della terra*.

Nevertheless the impress of Dante on the poet's mind was too strong to be obliterated even by experience in an agnostic nineteenth-century world. 'Long bound,' as he says himself,

> within the threefold charm
> Of Dante's love sublimed to heavenly mood,

he never entirely broke the enchantment. It has often been regarded as uncanny that Rossetti here and there in his poetry and painting should

[1] *Memoir*, p. 171: he 'had no juvenile amours.'
[2] *Pre-Raphaelitism and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood*, London, 1905, I, pp. 153 f.

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have anticipated the fate that was afterwards to befall him; the separation for instance of *The Blessed Damozel* foreshadowing his own separation of 1862, so that in earlier days people are said to have supposed the poem to commemorate that loss. Actually there is nothing at all strange about these anticipations. He thought, wrote, and painted ideas derived from the Italians; and when the time came to express the experiences proper to himself, those writers still coloured his expression and still provided him with themes and symbols. To quote Hunt again, 'Dantesque shapes of imagery became Rossetti's alphabet of art[1].' To some extent his very feelings were led to resemble theirs, though not without some violence to the natural bent of his mind. The sonnets show him trying to bring into line the mature passions of manhood with the idealism of youth; never succeeding in doing so because that idealism had fallen into moulds fashioned by a faith he could not hold, and because his passions held him firmly to the earth. The product of these two divergent impulses was that sense of the mystery and universal significance of man's love for woman which pervades his love poetry. It is genuine enough, but it is much less definite and communicable than either Dante's spiritual adoration or his own physical delight:

> Sometimes thou seem'st not as thyself alone,
> But as the meaning of all things that are;
> A breathless wonder, shadowing forth afar
> Some heavenly solstice hushed and halcyon (Sonnet xxvii).

—once again vaguely reaching towards the Tenth Heaven. He has a curious drawing, reproduced by Marillier, called *Dantis Amor*, in which the face of Christ looks down upon that of Beatrice across a figure of Love dressed as a pilgrim and carrying a collection of appurtenances derived from the love mythology of the *Vita Nuova*—while from left to right diagonally runs the inscription: 'L'amor che move il sol e l'altre stelle,' thus combining in one design the mythological love of the *Vita Nuova* and the Divine Love of the *Commedia*, which no doubt embraced and received fuller meaning for Dante from the former, but which, none the less, is a distinct and different thing. At all events, what Dante meant by both of them is clear enough. Without their presence in his mind from the age of sixteen onwards Rossetti would never have written of Love as he did in the sonnets; and yet his Love has nothing of the clearness of either of them—it is neither an allegory, nor an article of faith, but only an uncertain apprehension, expressible in terms so

[1] *Op. cit.*, I, p. 148.

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shadowy as: 'The evident heart of all things sown and mown' (Sonnet xxvii), or:

> The last relay
> And ultimate outpost of eternity (Sonnet xxxiv).

And when in the famous passage he declares:

> Thy soul I know not from thy body, nor
> Thee from myself, neither our love from God (Sonnet v),

he may well seem to mean nothing at all.

It seems then that the Italians ceased to serve him usefully after the early period of *Ave* and *The Blessed Damozel*; that in the sonnets they sometimes prevented him from saying clearly what he most strongly had in him to say; that in fact his sonnets are best when he is frankly the poet of earthly love and has forgotten their other-worldliness—as in *Mid-Rapture*, *Parted Love*, *Without Her*, and others. However this may be, *The Blessed Damozel*, written before maturity had begun to confuse the aspirations of adolescence, has a calm perfection of its own. Its very unreality is its strength. Recollection and imagination, free to weave their pattern in the void, have harmonised all inconsistencies, and made the poem lovelier in its subtle simplicity than anything Rossetti was afterwards to achieve.

R. D. WALLER.

MANCHESTER.

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GAVAUDAN'S CRUSADE SONG

(Bartsch, *Grundriss*, 174, 10)

My object in the present paper is: first, to determine as far as possible the date of Gavaudan's crusade song (*Senhor, per los nostres peccatz*), preserved in the two MSS. C and R, and at the same time to ascertain the approximate period within which his poetic activity falls; and, secondly, and more specifically, to explain a certain allusion contained in the opening lines of the fourth strophe of the piece in question. The scholars, from Diez onwards, who have dealt with the first point are divided into two distinct camps. Diez[1] refers Gavaudan's song to the year 1195, when Abû Jûsuf, Amir of Morocco and chief of the Almohades, was preparing the expedition into Spain which led to the crushing defeat of Alphonso VIII of Castile under the walls of Alarcos, on July 19 of that year. A. Jeanroy[2], the historian A. Cartellieri[3] and F. Wittenberg[4], not to mention others, are also in favour of the year 1195; except that Jeanroy, unlike Diez, is of opinion that Gavaudan's lines were probably composed 'au lendemain de la défaite d'Alphonse VIII de Castille à Alarcos.' Before proceeding, it should be pointed out that the contents of the *tornada* exclude any possibility that the piece in question was written *after* the battle of Alarcos, as Jeanroy thinks. 'Gavaudan shall be a prophet,' exclaims the troubadour, 'for his words shall become a fact. Death to those dogs! God shall be honoured and worshipped where Mahomet is now served':

Profeta sera.n Gavaudas
Qu'el dig er faitz, e mortz als cas!
E Dieus er honratz e servitz
On Bafometz era grazitz.

Gavaudan's confident prognostication would have been meaningless *after* Alphonso's defeat at Alarcos, a defeat which, on account of its magnitude, spread shame and consternation throughout the whole Christian world and was looked upon by the Moors as their greatest triumph on Spanish soil[5]. Fauriel[6] and Milá y Fontanals[7], on the other

[1] *Leben und Werke der Troubadours*[2], Leipzig, 1882, pp. 423 ff.
[2] *Poésies du Troubadour Gavaudan*, Paris, 1905, in *Romania*, XXXIV, pp. 498 ff. Jeanroy adheres to the same date in his *Anthologie des Troubadours*, Paris, 1927, p. 114.
[3] *Philip II. August*, Leipzig, 1906, III, p. 111.
[4] *Die Hohenstaufen im Munde der Troubadours*, Münster, 1908, p. 49.
[5] F. W. Schirrmacher, *Geschichte Castiliens*, Gotha, 1881, pp. 262 ff. Speaking of the battle of Alarcos, M. Paris writes, under the year 1195: 'tota Christianitas contremuit conturbata.'
[6] *Histoire de la poésie provençale*, II, pp. 154–6.
[7] *De los Trovadores en España*, 1889 ed., p. 125.

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hand, assign the composition of the piece to a period immediately before the battle of Las Navas (July 16, 1212), when Abdullah Mohammed, surnamed An-Násir lidín illah or Defender of the Faith, Abû-Jûsuf's successor, crossed from Morocco into Spain (May 16, 1211) at the head of an immense army in order to attack Alphonso VIII of Castile, who, with the knights of Calatrava, had made a raid into Andalusia. Springer[1], and Lewent[2] after him, agree on the whole with Fauriel and Milá. Of all those mentioned, Springer and Jeanroy are the only ones who make any attempt to justify their view by a reasoned argument. After reviewing the whole ground carefully, I think it is possible, by a closer examination of the historical events, to determine the date of Gavaudan's song with greater precision than Springer does, who assigns it to what he calls the campaign of 1210–12, forgetful of the fact that hostilities between Alphonso and the Amir of Morocco did not begin till the spring of 1211.

Gavaudan's sirventes is a fervent invocation to the whole of Christendom to join together in repelling the advancing Moorish host, written, as I propose to show, at a time (January, 1212) when, yielding to the repeated entreaties of Alphonso VIII of Castile, Innocent III had issued an appeal, addressed more particularly to the peoples of France and their clergy, to all Christians, to rise up against the Moorish infidels[3]. Thousands of foreign crusaders, allured by the promises of Innocent and by the prospect of gain, flocked into Castile in response to the appeal, not only from all parts of France, but also from Portugal, Lombardy and other countries. Though Innocent still advised caution, on account of the troubled state of Europe, the rapid march of An-Násir northward rendered immediate action imperative. The amir had crossed the Sierra Morena on July 15, 1211, and three months later Salvatierra, the chief stronghold of the knights of Calatrava, had fallen into his hands after a heroic defence. From that moment Castile lay open to him and the whole of Christendom was in danger. In a letter of April 5, 1212, to the archbishops of Toledo and Compostella, Innocent III insists on the imminent peril. 'The enemies of the Cross,' he writes, 'are not only aiming at the destruction of Spain, but they are threatening the other Christian lands and longing to wipe out the Christian faith[4].' Innocent III was not exaggerating. In an insolent challenge sent to the King of Aragon, Pedro II, Alphonso's ally, but intended for all the monarchs of

[1] *Das altprovenzalische Klagelied*, Berlin, 1895, pp. 56–8.
[2] *Das altprovenzalische Kreuzlied*, Erlangen, 1905, p. 363.
[3] A. Luchaire, *Innocent III*, III, p. 45.
[4] Schirrmacher, *op. cit.*, p. 285, note.

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Christendom, to which there is an evident allusion in the opening lines of Gavaudan's song, An-Násir had proclaimed his determination, after having conquered Spain, of marching on from conquest to conquest to the very gates of Rome and of cleansing the church of St Peter with Mohammed's sword[1]:

Perque manda.l reys de Marroc
Qu'ab totz los reys de Crestias
Se combatra ab sos trefas
Andolozitz et Arabitz
Contra la fe de Crist garnitz.

The magnitude of the amir's army, estimated at 600,000 by the Moorish chroniclers and outnumbering the Christian forces by at least five to one[2], was such as to justify the confidence of the Infidels. 'Like thick rain or like a horde of sheep,' says Gavaudan, 'they are descending on the plains of Spain, devouring everything before them so that neither shoot nor root remains where they have passed' (*vv.* 10–15):

Totz los Alcavis a mandatz
Masmutz, Maurs, Gotz e Barbaris
E no.y reman gras ni mesquis,
Que totz no.ls ayon ajostatz;
Anc pus menut ayga non ploc;
Cum elhs passon, e prendo.ls plas,
La caraunhada dels milas
Get' al paysser coma berbitz,
E no.y reman brotz ni razitz.

The amir's proud boast that he would utterly destroy the Christian name, not only in Spain but in the whole of Christendom, could not fail to rouse Gavaudan, a native of southern France, whose land was directly menaced by the Mohammedan deluge: 'already they look upon the world as theirs, and to the Franks they say vauntingly: Make room for us; Provence is ours and the county of Toulouse, ours the whole country as far as Le Puy':

Tant an d'erguelh selhs qu'a triatz
Qu'els cujo.l mons lor si'aclis;
Marroquenas, Marabetis
Pauzon a mons per mieg los pratz;
Mest lor gabon: Franc, faiz nos loc;
Nostr'es Proensa e Tolzas,
Entro al Puey totz los mejas.

In the next strophe, the fourth, to be discussed presently, Gavaudan implores all the sovereigns of Christendom to come to the help of Alphonso before the die is cast. Let every man, continues Gavaudan,

[1] See Schirrmacher, pp. 280 and 689.
[2] *Ibid.*

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place his trust in the Lord who will give us the victory over the arrogant Paynim. To abandon our rightful inheritance to these 'black dogs from overseas' without a struggle were a disgrace; firm in our faith, now is the time for each of us to do his duty *enans que.l dampnatge nos toc* (*v.* 50)—another proof that Gavaudan's song was not written after the decisive battle, whether it be Alarcos or Las Navas. All the peoples of Spain who stood like a barrier between us and the Infidels have been repulsed or put to shame (*vv.* 51–4):

Portogals, Gallics, Castellas,
Navars, Aragones, Ferras
Lur avem en barra gequitz,
Qu'els an rahusatz et aunitz—

probably an allusion to the defeat of the Castilians, seventeen years before, at Alarcos; and to the shameful conduct of the four other kings of the Peninsula (those of Portugal, Leon and Galicia, Navarre, and Aragon), who, on that occasion, had stood aloof and left Alphonso VIII to his fate. But now, exclaims Gavaudan, who, to judge from *v.* 4 of the next strophe, was already in Spain in the ranks of the Castilian army, now that the Crusaders from other lands are on their way—Germans, Frenchmen, men of Cambrai, Englishmen, Bretons, Angevins, men of Béarn, Gascons and men of Provence—together with the Spaniards we shall exterminate the foe and share his gold among us:

Quan venran los baros crozatz
Alamans, Frances, Cambrezis,
Engles, Bretos et Angevis,
Biarns, Gascos ab nos mesclatz
El.s Provensals totz en un floc,
Saber podetz qu'ab los Espas
Romprem la preyss'el cap e.ls mas,
Tro.ls ajam mortz e delitz,
Pueys er mest nos totz l'aurs partitz.

Gavaudan's desire was realised to the full; on July 16, 1212, An-Násir's huge host was utterly routed near Las Navas de Tolosa by the united forces of Castile, Aragon and Navarre, An-Násir himself barely escaping from the stricken field with a handful of faithful followers. More than 100,000 of his men were slain in the battle or in course of the pursuit, while the Spanish losses were insignificant. Well might Alphonso, in his report of the battle to Innocent III, exclaim 'Incredibile est, nisi quia miraculum sit!' The victory of Las Navas, followed by the conquest of the greater part of Andalusia, marks the beginning of the decadence of Mohammedan power in the Peninsula. As we read the annals of Spain, till the final expulsion of the Moors, we seem to hear the echo of the old

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troubadour's prophetic utterance like a distant and ominous knell portending the doom of Islam on Spanish soil:

Profeta sera.n Gavaudas
Qu'el dig er faitz, e mortz als cas!
E Dieus er honratz e servitz
On Bafometz era grazitz.

The historical events which culminated in the battle of Las Navas tally closely, it will be admitted, with Gavaudan's account. The same cannot be said of those which preceded the battle of Alarcos: on that occasion, the challenge came from Alphonso VIII, or rather from his fiery lieutenant, the Archbishop of Toledo, who had invaded Andalusia in spite of the existing truce; neither do we know that an appeal for foreign assistance was made then. Moreover, the battle of Alarcos was fought less than five weeks after Abû-Jûsuf's landing at Algeciras on June 1, 1195. The means of communication were far too slow in those days for Gavaudan's sirventes (he was then in Spain, as we have seen) to have reached its destination in so brief an interval: it would have been quite futile under the circumstances.

I now come to my second point—the discussion of the opening lines of the fourth strophe, which run as follows in MS. C:

Emperaire, vos o auiatz
El reys de Fransa, e sos cozis,
El reys engles, coms peitavis,
Qu'al rey d'Espanha socoratz.

In line 2 the other MS. (R) has *sos cozis* instead of *e sos cozis*. Jeanroy rejects the reading of R as absurd, because at that time no king of France was a cousin of the Emperor of Germany, which of course is an indisputable fact, but quite irrelevant, as we shall see presently. He proposes to correct, arbitrarily I think, the *el* of the second line to *lo*, though he does not adopt the alteration in his text, in order to make of the King of England (who for him is and must be Richard) a cousin of the King of France (Philippe Auguste), as Diez had done before him, on the ground that Richard was the son and Philippe Auguste the step-son of Eleanor of Aquitaine, which seems to me quite legitimate as far as it goes. O. Schultz-Gora (*Zs. für rom. Phil.* XLI, 1921, p. 144), unmindful of the fact that *cozis* was used very elastically, objects that Richard and Philippe Auguste could not be called 'cousins,' as they were not blood relatives. He adopts the reading of C unchanged and takes the *el* of lines 2 and 3 as $= e + lo$. In that case, he adds, *e sos cozis* is another person than the King of England; and, hypnotised by the idea of blood relationship, he plumps for Henry II, Count of Champagne, a first

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cousin of Philippe Auguste, who took a not unprominent part in the Third Crusade and was elected King of Jerusalem after the murder of Conrad of Montferrat (April 28, 1192). By identifying *sos cozis* with Henry II of Champagne who died in 1197 Schultz-Gora sides, automatically, with those who, like Jeanroy, refer Gavaudan's crusade song to Abû-Jûsuf's expedition, which, I think, is untenable for the reasons already stated. It is also highly improbable that Gavaudan would have included the name of a mere count in an apostrophe to the leading monarchs of Christendom. There is a better way, it seems to me, out of the difficulty than the one proposed by Jeanroy or Schultz-Gora. If, instead of the reading of C (*e sos cozis*) the reading of R (*sos cozis*), which both Jeanroy and Schultz-Gora reject as impossible, is adopted, all difficulties disappear, and the strophe in question can no longer be invoked in favour of the earlier date, or invalidate the acceptance of the later date for the composition of Gavaudan's sirventes:

Emperaire, vos o auiatz,
E.l reys de Fransa, sos cozis,
E.l reys engles, coms peitavis,
Qu'al rey d'Espanha socoratz.

Sos cozis refers, not to Henry of Champagne, or (with the correction of *e.l* to *lo* proposed by Jeanroy) to the King of England, but by anticipation to the 'King of Spain,' who can only be Alphonso VIII of Castile (1155–1214), mentioned in another of Gavaudan's pieces (*Lo vers dech far en tal rima, v.* 77)[1]. Philippe Auguste, King of France, and son of Louis VII by his third wife, Adèle of Champagne, was step-cousin of Alphonso VIII of Castile, through Louis VII's marriage to Constance of Castile, his second wife, who was the sister of Sancho III of Castile, father of Alphonso VIII, a sufficiently close relationship to justify the appellation 'cousin' applied to him by Gavaudan. Granted that I have proved my two points, the sovereigns enumerated in strophe 4 are: Otto IV, Emperor of Germany; Philippe Auguste, King of France; John Lackland, King of England and Count of Poitou, and Alphonso VIII, King of Castile. Jeanroy, arguing against the later date, states that the appellation 'coms peitavis' cannot possibly apply to John Lackland as he never used any other title than 'Rex Anglie, dux Normannie et Aquitanie, comes Andegavie.' A glance at any collection of contemporary charters

[1] This interpretation, mentioned as possible by Jeanroy in 1905 (see his edition of Gavaudan, p. 536), is adopted by him, I see, in his *Anthologie des Troubadours* (1927). I notice also, at the last moment, that he appears to have changed his mind since 1905 on the more general issue; writing in 1916 (*Les Troubadours en Espagne*, in *Annales du Midi*, XXV, 11, p. 27) he assigns Gavaudan's crusade song to the period immediately preceding the battle of Las Navas, without, however, going into the question.

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and other documents, such as Rymer's *Foedera* for example, is sufficient to show that Jeanroy's statement, with a few unimportant variations such as 'Rex Anglorum' in lieu of 'Rex Angliae,' etc., is perfectly correct. But Jeanroy fails to see that his argument cuts both ways and can consequently be turned against himself. Richard, no more than John, ever styled himself 'Count of Poitou' or 'Count of the Poitevins' or 'Poitevin Count,' once he had succeeded to the throne of England (1189)[1]. From that moment, the title lapsed into abeyance as an official designation except for a brief interval (1195–8) during which it was borne by Otto of Saxony, to whom Richard had made over Aquitaine in 1195 (R. Howden, IV, p. 80), a son of Richard's sister Mathilda and of Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony. The title by which Richard and John asserted their rights over their southern dominions was that of 'Duke of Aquitaine' or 'Duke of the Aquitanians,' the term Aquitaine including the county of Poitou proper and all its dependencies or underfiefs between the Garonne and the Loire as well as the country south of the Garonne. Though John had been compelled to yield the greater part of the county of Poitou to Philippe Auguste in 1204, he never renounced his claims to that province, as the various attempts he made subsequently to reconquer it testify. He continued to style himself 'Duke of Aquitaine,' a comprehensive designation which implied the right to the possession of the county of Poitou and to the title of 'Count of Poitou,' applied to him by Gavaudan, who, at most, can be taxed with a terminological inexactitude, due to the exigences of rhyme. That being so, there does not seem to be much point in Cartellieri's contention that it would not have been in very good taste on Gavaudan's part to remind John on this occasion of the loss of the greater part of the county of Poitou by designating him as 'Poitevin count.' To urge further, as Jeanroy does, that the Emperor of Germany as well as John had their hands far too full at the time to think of undertaking an expedition into Spain in aid of Alphonso VIII, is equally beside the mark. To require an exact knowledge of world politics from a troubadour, more especially from one who like Gavaudan belonged to the class of the *soudadiers* or hirelings and who was then in Spain, is not only unreasonable in itself, but seems to me to betray a lack of appreciation of the object Gavaudan had in view. His one aim was to write a stirring song such as would rouse his fellow-Christians against the heathen invader; and his apostrophe to the leading

[1] Cp. L. Delisle, *Examen de treize Chartes de l'Ordre de Grandmont*, Caen, 1854, p. 181, and A. Richard, *Histoire des Comtes de Poitou*, Paris, 1903, II, p. 259. See also the 'Verzeichnis der Urkunden Richards I. Löwenherz,' in Cartellieri, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 288 ff.

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monarchs of Christendom is to be regarded as a purely rhetorical outburst calculated to add weight and thrust to his passionate appeal. Like many another political sirventes, Gavaudan's crusade song is a blend of Dichtung and Wahrheit, and should be interpreted in that light.

There remains to consider briefly the question of the period during which Gavaudan flourished. Chabaneau[1] makes his poetic activity extend, he does not say on what grounds, from 1195 to 1215. The year 1195 as the *terminus a quo* is a pure guess, no evidence being available to show, even approximately, when Gavaudan began to write. It can only be explained by the assumption on Chabaneau's part that Gavaudan's crusade song was composed in that year and that it was his first production. The other date (1215) given by Chabaneau is much nearer the truth. Certain allusions in another piece, the only other song of Gavaudan to which an approximate date can be assigned (*A la pus longa nuech de l'an*), in which he appears as a distinct partisan of the Count of Toulouse, indicate that it was written at the time of the Albigeois crusade. The personage designated as *ducx, coms, marques*, in *v.* 17, can only be Raymond VI, Count of Toulouse, as the counts of Toulouse alone of the magnates of France bore that triple title. The mention in *vv.* 15–16 of the 'foolish white people' affords a valuable clue and makes it possible to be more precise; there can be little doubt that the troubadour is here referring to the activities of the White Brotherhood, whose members wore a white cross as a distinguishing mark, a kind of militia started at Toulouse in 1211 by Bishop Folco (none other than the whilom troubadour Folquet de Marseille), with the object of putting down heresy in Raymond's capital. This association, recruited mainly from the inhabitants of the city proper, became so aggressive and inquisitorial that it called forth a counter-association, representing the moderates and so-called heretics, known as the Black Brotherhood. The town was divided into two hostile camps, and 'frequent fights on foot and even on horseback,' says the chronicler Guillaume de Puylaurens, 'used to take place in the streets between the Whites and the Blacks,' leading to much bloodshed[2]:

E vos, nescia gent blanca,
Faretz vermelh so qu'es blanc.

The third allusion in the same piece (*vv.* 38–9) to 'a king from whom part of his legitimate overlordship is withdrawn' agrees with the substance of the bull sent in January, 1213, by Innocent III to Simon de Montfort, in which he accuses the ambitious earl of working for his own

[1] *Les Biographies des Troubadours*, Toulouse, 1885, p. 144.
[2] Luchaire, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 161. Cp. *Histoire de Languedoc*, vol. VI, p. 352.

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ends under the cloak of religion; and calls upon him to restore the county of Comminges and the viscounty of Béarn to their rightful owners, the vassals of King Pedro II of Aragon, who had complained to the Pope that Simon de Montfort had despoiled his liegemen at the very moment when he was fighting the Infidels and pouring out his blood in God's cause on the field of Las Navas[1]. Thus, the contents of *A la pus longa nuech de l'an*, by warranting the conclusion that Gavaudan was still poetically active in 1213, militate in no way against the acceptance of 1212 as the year in which he wrote his famous crusade song, but on the contrary afford additional evidence in its favour.

L. E. KASTNER.

MANCHESTER.

[1] Luchaire, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 203.

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EXOTIC NATURALISM IN SPANISH POETRY

In tracing throughout Spanish poetry the changing attitudes which the Spanish poets have assumed to the ever-present universe, the researcher is finally confronted with the problem, 'Why have exotic landscapes, especially those of South America, failed to make a solid contribution to Spanish naturalism?'

The pre-fifteenth century poetry exhibits a considerable expanse of exoticism, which, although bookish, is often convincing. The Euphrates' landscape is considerably detailed in its high mountain ranges, its towering peaks, narrow roads and scattered villages, 'inhabited by rascally husbandmen[1].' Darius had twelve different nations under his command, all moving as a composite host under the fuming heat[2], and his death left a cosmopolitan flock without a shepherd[3]. The lands conquered by Alexander are treated in eight verses[4].

The first sustained and convincing description of a foreign land is embedded in a passage[5] dealing with the treasures of Babylon handed over by Maceo to the Macedonian conqueror. Stored with the treasures and joys of the age, Babylon is untroubled climatically both in summer and in winter. Its spices and ointments are catalogued, and the fragrance of its fruit trees can be felt 'a day's journey away[6].' Its holy waters teem with fish, and its banks with mills. They are the depositories of all manner of precious stones of distinctive magical qualities, which appear in the Spanish poem to satisfy scientific leanings. Its fountains are cool during the day and warm in the early morning. The land teems with animal and bird life. Babylon herself is a great port, trading in spices and cloth and welcoming ships from all parts of the world. This is exoticism by the hearing of the ear. It continues down the fifteenth century, and appears again in Mendoza's treatment of classical mythology in his *Fábula de Adonis* and *Hipómenes and Atlanta.* Hence his fine picture of Arabia:

> Arabia la felice, allí bañada
> Del manso mar, por todo reverdece.

These, like other translations, bring an enrichment of figures and imagery. The face of Adonis is like 'a dusty rose bathed clean in dew.'

[1] *Libro de Alexandre*, 796.
[2] *Idem*, 807–37.
[3] *Idem*, 2499.
[4] *Idem*, 280–1.
[5] 292 verses in all. See following references.
[6] 1302.

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Similar enrichments are made in Castillejo's *Historia de Piramo y Tisbe*. Castillejo's *El Palo de las Indias* proves at least an interest in foreign flora[1], and to the same poet we owe a description of Vienna, with the Danube washing one side and a wide plain bounding the other, of Bohemia, Silesia, Hungary, Germany, but they remain not the impression of nature's varied aspects but the record of his services to his King.

The Jordan, on the other hand, is simply 'el flumen Jordan,' and the poet is concerned only with its magical qualities. Santa María Egypciaca, after being beautified by bathing in the sacred stream, goes into the wilderness, and takes on almost the piquant appearance of the Archpriest's hill-girls. Exoticism is here subordinated to religion, and it is reinforced by all those early passages in which the Virgin is compared to exotic plants and flowers. Thus the *Rimado de Palacio*:

> A canela bien oliente
> Erres sennora comparada[2].

Their source is mainly *The Song of Songs* and later, in San Juan de la Cruz, they have all the original atmosphere, which comes through skilful transfusion[3].

Bookish exoticism owes much to Rebolledo. *La Selva Sagrada*, a translation of the *Psalms*, a translation of *Job*, entitled *La Constancia Victoriosa*, his *Trenos* from Jeremiah, transfer to Spanish dress some of the noblest passages of Hebrew naturalism.

On the realistic side, the Danube landscapes are lightly touched by Garcilasso, while the Renaissance poets in general use the frigid and torrid zones as conventional classical symbols of geographical limits. Garcilasso, like Augustus, sensed the danger and even weariness of ever-extending conquests. His '¿Qué se saca de esto?[4]' is evidence that Spanish poets were too war-weary to be influenced even by the virgin landscapes of new conquests. For Medrano, a small spring of water and a patch of land with final hopes of them realised are better than

> La anchura de Indo imperio con
> Suerte mal segura[5].

Such Cassandra illustrations drawn from the New World can be multiplied[6]. Medrano returns to it in *Soneto* XXV[7], with a *reductio ad absurdum*.

[1] *Rivadeneyra*, XXXII, p. 5, footnote.
[2] *Cantares* (52 verses). *Rimado de Palacio*
[3] Cf. *Song of Songs*, IV, 14.
[4] Cf. the whole passage, *Elegía Primera*, 79–96.
[5] *Ode* XXI. Quintana's prose later restored the balance.
[6] Medrano's
> 'También me burlaré del que navega
> Por tener oro desde España a Chile.'
[7] *A Gutierre de Ocampo.*

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All the dry land is, in comparison with the firmament, 'un breve punto.' Of this mere speck, two parts are too cold and one part too warm. One-fifth part is finally valuable and hence nations wage bloody wars for one-fifth of a mere speck. Even if one individual possesses a share, what has he to be proud of? Spain's share had been a curse rather than a blessing:

España triste gime
De la fortuna en la más alta cumbre
Que le sobra y oprime[1].

Antonio Enríquez Gómez draws the moral:

No es buen consejo, no, mudar de estado
Que el que deja su patria por la ajena
Ser quiere por su gusto desdichado[2].

Why the discovery of South America, with which a Spanish colonial literature ran *pari passu* from 1492 till 1742, from Bartolomé de las Casas (who accompanied Columbus on his first voyage) to the age of literary periodicals, did not create a poetry of exotic naturalism can be further appreciated in the multiplied references both in prose and poetry from the first quarter of the sixteenth century onwards. There were sufficient printed accounts of these discoveries, since the Council of the Indies frequently called for them[3].

Navagero probed the national feeling to the new empire in a sentence that sums up the findings of subsequent writers: 'Los españoles no son industriosos; ni plantan ni cultivan la tierra de buen grado, sino que prefieren irse a la guerra o a las Indias a buscar fortuna[4].' Meléndez' *Cartas a Jovellanos*[5] show how far this neglect had gone in their time. Fajardo's *Empresas* deplored the deserted and unweeded gardens around León and Ávila. Cadalso, who, like Fajardo, had considerable experience of European travel, in his *Cartas Marruecas* traces Spain's decline to 'Peleando en Italia, en Alemania, en Flandés, en América,' and he adds the depressing figure, that since 1500 Spain had been like a palatial house, which had gradually lapsed into ruins. Quintana, 'judicious[6]' here as always, suggests that the interest in America was merely that caused by contemporary events and the unearned gold 'that rattled in the home-coming letters[7].' The estimates among Peninsular writers, therefore, prove that South American landscapes, as potential poetic

[1] Ode XIV.
[2] *Respuesta de Albano a Dantes.*
[3] *Destrucción de las Indias* (1552); *Historia General de las Indias* (1475–1566).
[4] Navagero collected many of them for Ramusio's *Raccolta*, Meléndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, XIII, p. 76.
[5] Meléndez y Pelayo, *Antol.* XIII, p. 72, translated from *Il Viaggio* of Navagero.
[6] Thus Prescott.
[7] Ercilla puts the same sentiment in the mouth of an Araucanian.

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capital, were at a discount owing to war-weariness and a grasping commercialism.

On the colonial side, Bernard Moses[1] finds the negativing elements in the paralysing powers of the Inquisition, and the difficulties and vexatious delays in getting manuscript home to the Council of the Indies for permission to print and back again to America. He admits that Ercilla wrote under the inspiring power of the scenes of the Araucanian Campaign, but he leaves the whole body of Peninsular poetry unprobed either for data or for reasons for the neglect of South American landscapes[2]. The conservatism in subject tacitly imposed by the Inquisition is seen in Meléndez Valdés' *Epistle to D. Gaspar de Candamo*[3], bishop-elect of Guadalajara in Mexico. Meléndez is excited over the bishop's opportunities of seeing untutored nations living in unspoiled nature. He urges the churchman to scrutinise the virgin-world and he speaks of the guileless semi-barbaric people, their rustic kindness of heart and their happy divorce from over-civilisation. Unstinting nature supplies their wants, and a like-minded wife, a hut and a bow complete their essential equipment. Thus American landscapes are dovetailed to Pope's 'state of nature,' while the merely commercial interest is revealed in those contemporary passages, where exotic contacts are confined to pseudo-ecstasies over the material wealth and curiosities of the New World displayed in Spanish museums.

The Spanish muse first ventured across the Pyrenees[4] in Garcilasso and Ercilla y Zúñiga in a passage common to both, because of their diplomatic missions. It describes the Pyrenees clad in winter snows with the attendant hardships of making the journey eastwards. Ercilla, when returning from Austria, was held up at San Adrián, the boundary between the provinces of Álava and Guipúzcoa on the main coach route from Madrid to Paris. Of this journey, Navarette says of Garcilasso—'pasadas las asperezas de los Pirineos, solo con Garcilaso atravesó el Duque de Alba, por la posta de Francia a París[5].' Garcilasso set his experience in his second *Eclogue*[6].

[1] Bernard Moses, *Spanish Colonial Literature in South America*, Hispanic Society of America, London, and New York, 1922.

[2] His subject does not include this.

[3] *Epístola*, v.

[4] It was reserved for Verdaguer's *Atlántida*, written in Catalan, to immortalise the Pyrenees, thus proving that the poetic value of mountains is reserved for modern appreciation.

[5] Meléndez y Pelayo's judgment on *Il Viaggio fato in Spagna de Navagero*—'no se conocía entonces el impresionismo ni se cultivaba demasiado el detalle pintoresco'—is hardly borne out by an examination of Boscán, Gil Vicente and Garcilasso.

[6] 1432.

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The *Araucana* of Ercilla y Zúñiga remains the first Spanish poem which deals at length with America and his epic is included in this study, but not the *Estero y Almedora* of Maury, since the former is realistic and a record mainly of personal experience, while the latter is a grand essay of the imagination. Later the text-book *de rigueur* of Chilian schools, the *Araucana* was written for the greater part in the heart of Chile[1], in the antarctic zone, a broad new world[2], unexplored in Spanish verse. Like Garcilasso, Ercilla was a fighting man with a great admiration for everything chivalrous and with more than a lurking inclination towards a retired life in contemplation of nature, but he does not find that war's alarms necessarily take the temper out of poetic inspiration[3]. Like Herrera, the naturalistic features of whose martial odes he perpetuated, he several times expresses a desire to abandon a subject which has become monotonous and which he doubted his ability to finish[4]. His first theory of epic[5] is later abandoned by a *volte face* which annihilates the orderly plan of the work first proposed. It is here that Ercilla affords a parallel to Herrera. Both felt in a measure, as the reader does, the weariness of a subject long drawn out[6]. Ercilla felt, that as a poet, he might more profitably have turned to nature for inspiration:

> Que si a mi discreción dado me fuera
> Salir al campo y escoger las flores
> Quizá el cansado gusto removiera
> La usada variedad de los sabores.
> Pues como otros han hecho, yo pudiera
> Entretejer mil fábulas y amores;
> Mas ya que tan adentro estoy metido
> Habré de perseguir lo prometido[7].

This is equivalent to saying that, but for choosing to glorify Philip II in epic, he might have chosen lyrical naturalistic themes. But the parallel with Herrera extends farther. When Ercilla deals with martial themes, he intensifies interest by an abundance of images almost uniformly distributed through the thirty-seven cantos, images which are fierce and

[1] 'Y assi entre las mesmas armas, en el poco tiempo que dieron a ello escreví este libro,' *Dedication to first part* to Philip II (edition of 1569):

> 'Chile, fértil provincia y señalada.
> En la región antártica famosa
> De remotas naciones respetada.' (i, 6, 1–3.)

[2] 'El ancho y nuevo mundo,' xxvi, 36, 7.

[3] 'Pues nunca te han la pluma destemplada les fieras armas y áspero ejercicio,' Bellona's words to Ercilla, xvii, 41.

[4] xxxii, 50.

[5]
> 'No las damas, Amor, no gentilezas
> De cavalleros, canto, enamorados,
> Mas el valor, los hechos, las proezas
> De aquellos Españoles...' (i, 1.)

[6] 'La seca materia.' (xx, 3, 5–8.) [7] xxv, 5.

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warlike and as apposite as the Old Testament gatherings of Herrera, but, like the Sevillan, the Madrilenian reverts to gentle images, when the subject is love or nature.

In Chile a sublime and virgin landscape lay ready to the poet's hand, but the fierce energy[1] and realism of the action overshadows, as naturally in epic, the naturalistic features.

The opening canto, like the official prose records, describes Chile in terms of leagues, miles, and degree of latitude and longitude[2], but it is relieved by a description of the artificially built meeting place of the Araucanian Council of War, which is probably described from first-hand reporters[3], since Ercilla says definitely that he did not take part in the activities described in the earlier part of his work. The same relief to heroic action is reinforced later in two supernatural passages[4], although both are eminently conventional and one complete verse is borrowed from Garcilasso's first *Eclogue*[5].

It is not in these touches, however, that we find Ercilla's contribution to naturalism, but rather in those sublime passages in which the landscape is epically sensed rather than pictorially described[6]. Travelling even without food supplies, the Spaniards, in spite of the dissuasions of Tunconabala, set out to explore unknown lands. Abysmal valleys, towering Andean peaks, grim trackless forests, through which for days at a time a path had to be blazed for men and pack-animals, treacherous morasses across which animals had to be forced with slashing rowels—through all alike the Spaniards groped with bleeding hands and torn feet, with even more courage after their guide deserted them on the fourth day. Tropical night (which afterwards drove wedges of fire into Bécquer's soul) fell suddenly with inky darkness upon them, as they shouted to each other so as to preserve contact, and, to add to their horrors, the heavens seemed in league with nature's powers in the storm and black rolling thunder-clouds. Increasing hunger crowned their misery, but the glory to be won for Spain in empire extension laughed at impossibilities and said 'They shall be done.' They were lost for seven days in the Chilean forests, and finally they emerged on the 'wide spacious plain of Ancud' flanked by a broad stretch of sea on the north of the gulf of

[1] Meléndez Valdés speaks of 'la fuerza de Ercilla' as his main quality, when contrasting Camões, Ercilla and Milton. *Cartas a Jovellanos.* Salamanca y Noviembre 3 de 1778.

[2] i, 7, 10; for geographical description cf. i, 34, 31; 34, 45; 35, 4; 36, 2; 36, 40, 6.

[3] i, 38, 39.

[4] Ercilla's dream, xvii, 44–8; and Fiton's prophecy, xviii, 67.

[5] '...Un claro arroyo sonoro
Que atravesaba el fresco y verde prado.' (xviii, 67, 5–6.)

[6] Cf. xxxvii.

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Reloncavi, studded with delightful islands, and animated with plying gondolas and pirogues. It was little wonder that the explorers fell on their knees before the pleasant prospect. They descended to the plain 'like a flock of fowls let loose from a long captivity'; they tore the fruit in handfuls from the trees, not waiting to pluck them one by one, until the trees were stripped quite bare. Ercilla climbed into the highest tree and on its bark cut a worthy legend:

Aquí llegó donde otro no ha llegado
Don Alonso de Ercilla, que el primero
En un pequeño barco deslastrado
Con solos diez pasó el desaguedero
El año de cincuenta y ocho entrado
Sobre mil y quinientos, por hebvero
A las dos de la tarde, el postrer día
Volviendo a la dejada compañía.

This is the *ultima Thule* of Spanish exoticism. It has survival value. Beside it the conventional torrid and arctic zones of cavalier verse fade away. The passage is reinforced by several tropical storm scenes—commonplace in the various colonial historians—where the sublime forces of untamed nature are seen at play, and these again stand in strong contrast with the spasmodic gentle[1] and wild touches drawn by recall from Spanish landscapes—the latter anticipating the Romantic attitude. The Chilian Indians make their way to their 'accustomed toil' what time the dawn begins to colour the clouds and fill the valleys[2]. The glories of the sunrise, at first painted for their own sake and then intensified by the rosary of weary toilers, is vitiated two stanzas later by a false classicism—a Lucanism which takes the blood and sinews out of an otherwise fine passage[3]. Again, we have the impression of the fierce climate in which the menial population slaved in unvoiced protest, a climate whose rigours compelled the military forces to withdraw from their positions.

We may ask again, 'How did such original landscapes not appeal to the poets?' The enquiry has been shown to be mainly historical, and the opinion of Ercilla must be taken as the final evidence to that already adduced. He saw unerringly that final values of American discovery were for his contemporaries purely commercial. The glories of Sevilla and Guadalquivir were interpreted in terms of a world-mart, based on 'el

[1] 'Aranjuez donde natura
vertió todas sus flores y verdura.' (xxvii, 32, 7–8.)

[2] ii, 50.

[3] ii, 52. Cf. with this the unsurpassed description of the rising morn, ii, 56, one of the passages which proves that Ercilla was not innocent of appreciation of the gentle aspects of nature.

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trato de las Indias apartadas[1],' and as a clearing station for men, munitions and artillery[2]. In Philip VII's time, however, it required a brave man to put this national estimate, in blunt language, into the mouth of the barbarian:

> Y es color, es apariencia rara
> querer mostrar que el principal intento
> fué el extender la religión cristiana
> Siendo el puro interés su fundamento;
> su pretensión de la codicia mana
> Que todo lo demás es fingimiento
> Pues los vemos que son más que otras gentes,
> Adúlteros, ladrones, insolentes[3].

This is worth many pages of the colonial historians. The tragedy of the South American Empire involved, among other losses, an impoverished poetry, through the rejection of that exoticism which is insurgent in such Becquerian prose as the *Histórica Relación* of the Salamancan Alonso de la Valle. Peninsular anthologies include *La agricultura de la Zona Tórrida* of Andrés Bello, and *Niágara* of Heredia. The first, like Lavardens' *Oda al Paraná*, seeks to glorify the land, while the second sets the unspoiled Niagara Falls against an ultra-philosophical Spain.

It was reserved for Núñez de Arce to make an abrupt contribution on the literary side. The Renaissance poetry and the resulting classicists, he held, were so obsessed by poetical form that they remained blind to the possibilities of exotic nature[4].

R. M. Macandrew.

Aberdeen.

[1] xxvii, 36. [2] 'gente, munición y artillería.' (xxvii, 36.)
[3] xxvii, 14.
[4] *Discurso sobre la poesía*, p. 309, printed after *Gritos del Combate*, duodécima edición.

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A SECRET OF HEREDIA'S ART

In his monumental work, *José-Maria de Heredia, sa vie, son œuvre* (Paris, les Presses françaises, 1923, with a supplementary volume on the *Sources des Trophées*), Miodrag Ibrovac mentions the poet's great generosity in the matter of artistic secrets, which led him to discuss freely with younger poets and disciples all the details of his poetic method. In the face of this, it is curious that one most characteristic secret of his art seems to have remained a secret. I stumbled upon it when reading the sonnet called *Après Cannes*, and was so delighted with the new beauty which it revealed in this sonnet that I followed up this line of enquiry in the remaining sonnets of *Les Trophées*, with the curious results set out below.

This secret method consists of the use of a kind of mirror symbol, by virtue of which Heredia sees an event, a thought, a view, reflected by another event, thought or view as by the image of an object in a mirror. The most striking and obvious case is, of course, in the sonnet entitled *Floridum Mare*, where the sea is an almost perfect reflection of the flowered earth. The method in this case is so obvious that it cannot very well have remained a secret, and M. Ibrovac hints at it in his *Heredia*, without, however, quite realising the perfect mirror effect.

This mirror symbol in Heredia's work takes many forms, some quite obvious, others very subtle. The most obvious and numerous examples are those in which the poet himself draws our attention to a reflection:

> Il a peint l'Océan splendide, immense et triste,
> Où le nuage laisse un reflet d'améthyste (*Un Peintre*);
> Sur une toile étroite il a fait réfléchir
> Le ciel occidental dans le miroir des sables (*Ibidem*);
> Un vieux Scheikh regardait, d'un air stupide et grave,
> Les minarets pointus qui tremblent dans le Nil (*Le Prisonnier*).

Three of the most extraordinary and beautiful examples belong to the domain of psychology, and they all belong to his later period, when he had brought this method to its supreme point. The first is in *Après Cannes*. Hannibal has defeated the Roman armies, and Rome, in terror and in mourning, awaits his coming. Each day at sunset the crowd goes out to the aqueducts to watch for the dreaded[1] appearance of the

[1] The cruelty of the Carthaginians would naturally have been impressed on the poet by Flaubert's *Salammbô*, which Ibrovac, rather curiously, does not mention as a possible source. The words 'aqueducs,' 'ergastule' and 'Gétule,' all occur in *Salammbô*, a whole section of which (and a famous one at that) is devoted to the first word.

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one-eyed chief riding on an elephant; and so intense is its fear that the image of the as yet unseen Carthaginian is projected on to the mirror of its terror-haunted brain in the form of the red eye of the sun riding on the back of the Sabine hills:

> Et chaque soir la foule allait aux aqueducs,
> Plèbe, esclaves, enfants, femmes, vieillards caducs
> Et tout ce que vomit Subure et l'ergastule;
> Tous anxieux de voir surgir, au dos vermeil
> Des monts Sabins où luit l'œil sanglant du soleil,
> Le Chef borgne monté sur l'éléphant Gétule.

The second example is more subtle, but marvellously beautiful. Among the distant mountains Sabinula is living in exile. Each evening at dusk she goes out to look across the valleys and dream of her dear, lost Rome. And as she muses, the objects of her dreams are mirrored, in the form of real objects, in the sky before her: the Flamen leading his procession through the city of the seven hills (with consummate art, Heredia leaves us to remember the number) takes the form of a flight of eagles, moving over the seven peaks of the mountain range; her villa home is represented by the aeries, the goal of the eagles' flight, while the sky itself replaces the lost soil of Latium:

> Tu revois ta jeunesse et ta chère villa
> Et le Flamine rouge avec son blanc cortège;
> Et pour que le regret du sol Latin s'allège,
> Tu regardes le ciel, triste Sabinula.
> Vers le Gar éclatant aux sept pointes calcaires,
> Les aigles attardés qui regagnent leurs aires
> Emportent en leur vol tes rêves familiers (*L'Exilée*).

The mirror effect is perfect: notice that even the inversion characteristic of a mirror is there, *villa* being reflected by the word farthest from it, *aires*, *sol* by the neighbouring word *ciel*, and so on. The same perfection of detail is kept in *Après Cannes*, with the crossed arrangement of *dos—œil—borgne—éléphant*.

The third example runs across from the first to the third sonnet in the *Antoine et Cléopâtre* cycle. In the second tercet of *Le Cydnus*, the defeat and death of the lovers is presaged by the scattering of rose petals on the gloomy waters by the twin spirits of Death and Desire:

> Et ses yeux n'ont pas vu, présage de son sort,
> Auprès d'elle, effeuillant sur l'eau sombre des roses,
> Les deux Enfants divins, le Désir et la Mort.

The whole image is reflected in the concluding lines of the third sonnet, where the water has become enlarged under the immense shadow of Death, and Desire is personified by the 'ardent Imperator,' while the

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scattered petals have been transformed into flying galleys. Notice also the repetition of the words *ses yeux*:

> Et sur elle courbé, l'ardent Imperator
> Vit dans ses larges yeux étoilés de points d'or
> Toute une mer immense où fuyaient des galères.

The source of the actual image is, as pointed out by M. Ibrovac, Hugo's *Rose de l'Infante* (*Légende des Siècles*).

Sometimes the mirroring, although direct (i.e., physical), is suggested by Heredia, rather than stated. Thus in *Le Cydnus*, Cleopatra, standing on the deck of her trireme, leaning forward eagerly to catch sight of Antony, is mirrored in the poet's mind by the hawk with outspread wings adorning the prow:

> A la proue éclatante où l'épervier s'éploie,
> Hors de son dais royal se penchant pour mieux voir,
> Cléopâtre debout en la splendeur du soir
> Semble un grand oiseau d'or qui guette au loin sa proie.

So, too, a volcano which once threw out torrents of flame, and which is now extinct, is mirrored across the ages by the giant cactus which, rooted in its soil, throws out its golden pollen (*Fleurs de Feu*), and similarly, in *Fleur séculaire*, the great aloe, rooted in the soil of the ancient volcano, drinks in the latent flame through its roots, while its shaft with its slowly ripening bud moves up in the opposite direction and drinks in the flame of a century of suns:

> En l'ombre où sa racine trempe,
> Son tronc, buvant la flamme obscure, s'est nourri;
> Et les soleils d'un siècle ont longuement mûri
> Le bouton colossal qui fait ployer sa hampe.

Again, the sun rising on the shining sea has its reflection in the sun painted on the shining satin of a fan:

> Mais il a vu, vers l'Est éclaboussé d'or, l'astre
> Glorieux d'éclairer un matin de désastre,
> Poindre, orbe éblouissant, au-dessus de la mer;
> Et pour couvrir ses yeux dont pas un cil ne bouge,
> Il ouvre d'un seul coup son éventail de fer
> Où dans le satin blanc se lève un Soleil rouge (*Le Daïmio*).

Heredia sees the old gesture of libation projected through the mirror of the intervening years, to be made visible in the simple, instinctive movement of a herdsman:

> Il boit, et sur la dalle antique du chemin
> Verse un peu d'eau resté dans le creux de sa main.
> Il a fait, malgré lui, le geste héréditaire,
> Et ses yeux n'ont pas vu sur le cippe romain
> Le vase libatoire auprès de la patère (*La Source*).

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There is no doubt of his intention in the above example, for he has already, in the second quatrain, mentioned the vain effort of the water to reflect the life of older days that once moved round it:

> L'inutile miroir que ne ride aucun pli
> A peine est effleuré par un vol de colombe,
> Et la lune, parfois, qui du ciel noir surplombe,
> Seule, y reflète encore un visage pâli.

To the same category belongs the mirror symbol of *Soleil couchant*. Here, the 'âpre sommet,' adorned with blazing gorse, and lit up by the last rays of the sun, is mirrored by the sun itself, which is sinking over the sea (for we are in Brittany), that is, over the opposite horizon. The sea itself is the ideal reflection of the land, as in *Floridum Mare*. Heredia stresses this fact by pointing out the 'barre d'écume,' which, like the shining surface of a mirror, separates object and image. And, carrying us over into the realm of sound, he describes the Angelus, which, ringing over the shadowy land, corresponds to the 'vaste rumeur' of the darkling sea:

> Les ajoncs éclatants, parure du granit,
> Dorent l'âpre sommet que le couchant allume;
> Au loin, brillante encor par sa barre d'écume,
> La mer sans fin commence où la terre finit.
>
> A mes pieds c'est la nuit, le silence. Le nid
> Se tait, l'homme est rentré sous le chaume qui fume;
> Seul, l'Angélus du soir, ébranlé dans la brume,
> A la vaste rumeur de l'Océan s'unit....
> Et le soleil mourant, sur un ciel riche et sombre,
> Ferme les branches d'or de son rouge éventail.

Another device occasionally adopted by Heredia consists of allowing one line of a sonnet to reflect another, as in the obvious example of *Epiphanie*, where the last line reflects the first, with the usual mirror-like reversing of the words:

> Donc, Balthazar, Melchior et Gaspar, les Rois Mages...
> Les Rois Mages, Gaspar, Melchior et Balthazar.

The imagery of one line is reflected by that of its neighbour in

> Jadis, à travers bois, rocs, torrents et vallons,
> Errait le fier troupeau des Centaures sans nombre;
> Sur leurs flancs le soleil se jouait avec l'ombre;
> Ils mêlaient leurs crins noirs parmi nos cheveux blonds
> (*La Centauresse*).

Notice again, in the above, the chiasmus of ideas in *soleil—ombre—noirs—blonds*.

In the two examples just quoted, the lines reflect each other end to end, as it were, whereas, in the following, the reflection takes place

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lengthwise, as if the fourth line were written above a slightly rippling stream, in whose waters it is dimly but beautifully mirrored by the fifth:

> Accoudée au balcon d'où l'on voit le chemin
> Qui va des bords de Loire aux rives d'Italie,
> Sous un pâle rameau d'olive son front plie.
> La violette en fleur se fanera demain.
> La viole que frôle encor sa frêle main
> Charme sa solitude et sa mélancolie (*La belle Viole*).

Further, Heredia introduces this mirror effect even into the arrangement of the sonnets in *Les Trophées*. The first sonnet (*L'Oubli*), with its broken column lying in the grass, on which Nature, remembering the ancient gods, tries to restore a lost acanthus, is reflected by the last sonnet (*Sur un Marbre brisé*), in which Nature attempts similarly to restore the broken parts of the statue of a god lying in the moss.

Before going on to another class of mirror symbols, let us notice the beautiful effect in *Vitrail*, where the colours of the dresses and ornaments worn by the personages of the opening quatrain are reflected in the blaze of the stained glass in the closing line. The window's colours float above their cold statues like an eternal reflection of their dead glory. *Ars longa, vita brevis!*

> Cette verrière a vu dames et hauts barons
> Étincelants d'azur, d'or, de flamme et de nacre,
> Incliner, sous la dextre auguste qui consacre,
> L'orgueil de leurs cimiers et de leurs chaperons....
> Ils gisent là sans voix, sans geste et sans ouïe,
> Et de leurs yeux de pierre ils regardent sans voir
> La rose du vitrail toujours épanouie.

Sometimes the mirror symbol is carried over into the domain of sound, or some other non-visual domain, but even here the æsthetic basis is the same. In *La Trebbia* the symbol takes the form of a kind of contrapuntal effect, one line echoing the sounds described in another:

> Partout sonne l'appel clair des buccinateurs,

which describes the sounds in the Roman camp, is echoed on the Carthaginian side by

> On entendait au loin barrir un éléphant;

and again, in the same sonnet:

> Le camp s'éveille. En bas roule et gronde le fleuve....
> Hannibal écoutait, pensif et triomphant,
> Le piétinement sourd des légions en marche.

This counterpoint is strengthened by a sort of chiasmus distributed over the whole space of the sonnet: *gronde* (rumbling sound)—*buccinateurs*—*barrir* (shrill sounds)—*piétinement sourd* (rumbling sound).

An effect very similar to that of a reflection in a mirror is often

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obtained by descriptions of that border-line where two worlds meet, just as object and reflection meet on the mirror's surface. Sometimes the two worlds are the animal kingdom and the human domain, as in

> Mêlant l'homme à la bête, un monstrueux héros (*Némée*),

where the effect is again strengthened by the chiasmus of *homme—bête—monstre—héros*. Heredia's predilection for the Centaurs, of which he sees a reminiscence even in the modern group of a horse and rider in *Le Bain*, may well be connected with this aspect of his æsthetic.... In *Le Récif de Corail*, it is the meeting-point of the animal and plant kingdoms that attracts his attention, the mirror effect again being reinforced by the chiasmus of noun—adjective—adjective—noun:

> La bête épanouie et la vivante flore.

It is natural to expect that the mirror symbol will be extended in his work by a frequent use of chiasmus, but, when *Les Trophées* are examined from this point of view, the result is overwhelmingly convincing. Of the hundred and eighteen sonnets composing the final form of his work, this construction is found in one form or another in seventy-five, and in many cases we find it used twice or three times in the same sonnet! It is frequent also in the two longer poems which are added to the sonnets. In *Jason et Médée*, which is one of the most highly conventionalised of all his poems, it occurs three times (virtually even four times), along with the mirror effect of *lacs d'argent—azur des cieux*:

> En un calme enchanté, sous l'ample frondaison...
> De grands oiseaux passaient sous les voûtes fleuries
> Et dans les lacs d'argent [substance—colour] pleuvait l'azur des cieux [colour—substance]...
> L'Amour leur souriait [i.e., Amour souriant]; mais la fatale Épouse....

The most common form of chiasmus found in *Les Trophées* is, of course, that of noun and adjective. There are more than seventy examples of this, of which I quote only a few of the most striking:

> Et le monstre royal, ployant son large rein,
> Sous le poids adoré foule la blonde arène (*Ariane*).
> L'hydre écaillée ou le glauque hippocampe (*Émail*).
> L'homme immobile auprès de l'immuable chose (*Bretagne*).
> Et le Flamine rouge avec son blanc cortège (*L'Exilée*).
> La gigantesque horreur de l'ombre Herculéenne (*Fuite de Centaures*).

In the following example, there is chiasmus not only in the nouns and adjectives, but also in their four initial consonants:

> Ce bâton pastoral pour le premier Borja (*L'Estoc*).

Vitrail, which, as we have seen, depends for its effect largely on a mirror symbol, is a complex mass of chiasmus constructions. First there

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is the chiasmus of ideas in *dames—barons—cimiers—chaperons* (feminine noun—masculine noun—masculine headdress—feminine headdress), and then this elaborate double chiasmus:

> Lorsqu'ils allaient, au bruit du cor ou des clairons,
> Ayant le glaive au poing, le gerfaut ou le sacre,
> Vers la plaine ou le bois, Byzance ou Saint-Jean d'Acre,
> Partir pour la croisade ou le vol des hérons,

the first chiasmus being *cor* (hunting)—*clairons* (war)—*glaive* (war)—*gerfaut ou sacre* (hunting), and the second, *plaine ou bois* (hunting)—*Byzance ou Saint-Jean d'Acre* (war)—*croisade* (war)—*vol des hérons* (hunting). Nor is that all. The arrangement of the quatrains and tercets is deliberately symmetrical: the first quatrain describes the living, moving colours of these knights and ladies, the second one their actions; the first tercet then takes up the theme of their activity for ever stilled, arrested in the motionless, unseeing statues which lie upon their tombs, while the second tercet takes up the original theme of the colours, grown still also, and immortalised in the window's multi-stain. This sonnet is one of the later ones (first published in 1892), and is one of the most elaborate examples of Heredia's method.

The chiasmus takes the form of noun—verb—verb—noun in the two following cases:

> Et tu vas voir, si l'œil d'un mortel peut suffire
> A cette apothéose où fuit un char de feu,
> La Victoire voler pour rejoindre Porphyre (*Le Cocher*);

> Vos reins sauront alors tout ce que pèse un Dieu
> (*Hortorum Deus*, III).

Before we leave the subject of chiasmus, it is interesting to note that in *Mer montante*, where Heredia is describing the continuous onward movement of the sea, chiasmus is carefully avoided, the construction, in imitation of the movement, being almost exclusively noun—adjective, noun—adjective:

> Le soleil semble un phare à feux fixes et blancs.
> Du Raz jusqu'à Penmarc'h la côte entière fume....
> Les lames glauques sous leur crinière d'écume,
> Dans un tonnerre sourd s'éparpillant en brume,
> Empanachent au loin les récifs ruisselants;

and then, in the tercets, *force dépensée*, *souvenir amer*, *voix fraternelle*, while even the title has the same structure. The early version of this sonnet, as quoted by M. Ibrovac, has the same characteristics, a fact which helps to show the conscious intention of the poet.

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Another extension of the mirror symbol is Heredia's cherished device of showing, along with an object, its shadow:

> L'œil au ciel, où palpite leur ombre (*Ravissement d'Andromède*).
> Car elle a vu...
> ...Pégase
> Allonger sur la mer sa grande ombre d'azur (*Andromède au Monstre*).
> Et la lune, éclatant au pavé froid des salles,
> Prolonge étrangement des ombres colossales (*Vision de Khèm*, III).
> La gigantesque horreur de l'ombre Herculéenne (*Fuite de Centaures*).

Other conspicuous examples of this procedure are to be found in *Sphinx*, *Le Tepidarium*, *Les Bergers*, *A une Ville morte*, *La Flûte*, *Le Huchier de Nazareth*. It is to be noticed, in these cases, how often he uses the verb *allonger* or *prolonger*, which calls attention to the continuation, that is, the mirror-like duplication, of the object.

To find a source for this mirror symbol, one might easily be tempted to go into the domain of philosophy and, having in mind Louis Reynaud's *Influence allemande en France au XVIII^e^ et au XIX^e^ Siècle*, to establish a relationship with Hegel's doctrine of the Triad. One could argue that the mirror represents the synthesis, the object the thesis, and the reflection the antithesis. Or, again, there is the perhaps more justifiable temptation to look to Baudelaire's *Correspondances* for a source, letting the mirror stand for the 'ténébreuse et profonde unité' of that famous poem. And the name of Baudelaire naturally calls up his *Harmonie du Soir*, with its repeated lines, imitating the Malay *pantoum*. Further, Japanese art had a great vogue in the nineteenth century, thanks to the Goncourt brothers and other writers and critics, and Heredia's interest in it is shown by his two Japanese sonnets, *Le Samouraï* and *La Daïmio*. M. Ibrovac mentions that he had in his possession Louis Gonse's *Art japonais* (publ. 1883). And we know that in Japanese art the mirror effect is very common: mountains mirrored in the sea, trees repeated by low-lying banks of cloud, cherry blossoms mingled and confused with rosy mists, and so on.

But, although these special sources may all have contributed something to the elaboration of his method, it would be easy enough to explain it without going outside the more common bounds of literary and racial tradition. For one thing, the idea occurs very frequently in Hugo's poetry, from which Heredia borrowed the mirror effects in both *Floridum Mare* (see *Chants du Crépuscule*, No. XXVIII) and *Antoine et Cléopâtre*; and then, again, the symbol is only a special form of that love of symmetry which is so characteristic of the Latin and the French mind, and which finds its expression in the Roman administrative

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system, in the fondness of Latin writers for the chiasmus construction, in the triptych arrangement of the *Chanson de Roland* (and of the *Divina Commedia*), in the central crisis of classical tragedy, and even in the modern French governmental and educational systems, with their marked centralisation.

A. R. CHISHOLM.

MELBOURNE.

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MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

'Cincdaðenan' in the Will of Wynflæd.

In looking through Miss D. Whitelock's excellent edition of *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, Cambridge University Press 1930, I came across a corrupt reading which seems to have defied the ingenuity of the various editors of the text in question. It occurs in the *Will of Wynflæd*, MS. Harley, Charter VIII, 38, an admittedly careless eleventh-century copy of an older document belonging perhaps to the first half of the tenth century (*op. cit.*, p. 108). The sentence runs as follows:

hio an...[7 *Æþelf*] *læde þisse hwitan hyre* cincdaðenan *cyrtel* 7 *cuffian* 7 *bindan...* (*ibid.* p. 14, ll. 14 ff.).

Kemble (*Cod. Dipl.* No. 1290) and Thorpe (*Diplomatarium*, p. 533) print *cinewaðenan* which emendation Toller introduces with a query into his Supplement to Bosworth-Toller's *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* as *cynewáðen* 'purple,' connecting it doubtfully with OHG. *weitin* 'purpureus.' The editor of the *Wills* rejects, as I think rightly, Kemble's reading on the grounds that the scribe would be unlikely to mistake a *þ* for a *d* (*ibid.*, p. 113).

It is evident that *cincdaðenan* is an adjectival formation describing the material or colour of the nun's *cyrtel*, or both. Cf. *twilibrocenan cyrtel* (*ibid.*, p. 14, l. 7), *treowenan...cuppan* (*ibid.*, l. 11). The *ð* preceding the suffix suggests it as an English derivative, and one's mind naturally turns to *-claðenan* as the probable original of the second part of the compound. A faint, cramped or carelessly written *cl* might well be taken for a *d* by a scribe as little observant as the writer of Harley VIII, 38.

The qualifying *cinc-* of the text might stand for an earlier *cine-* (so Kemble) or *cire-*, as in many texts of the period *c* and *e*, *n* and *r* are easily confused even by a careful eye, which our copyist certainly did not possess. A compound *cineclað*, or a late *cineclaðen* (adj.) 'made of royal cloth,' is not to my knowledge recorded in Anglo-Saxon literature, nor would it seem appropriate as a material for a nun's tunic. But Wynflæd may have been a lay abbess (*ibid.*, p. 109), and she was certainly a woman of great possessions as can be deduced from her will.

On the other hand *cire-* the Romance form of V.Lt. *cera* would give *cireclaðenan* 'made of cere cloth,' a material not unknown in the Middle

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Ages. Du Cange *sub* 'ceratus' quotes *Regula S. Caesarii ad Virgines*, cap. 42: 'nec vela cerata appendi, nec tabulæ pictæ affigi, nec in parietibus vel cameris ulla pictura fieri debet.' Chaucer has *cered pokets*, *Cant. Tales*, G. 808; the *N.E.D.* records *cere* vb. 'to wrap in cerecloth' from *c.* 1465 but *cerecloth* sb. not earlier than 1540. As the habit of a religious woman was also her shroud it is conceivable that the *cirecladenan* tunic, hood and wimple may have been bequeathed for such a purpose.

A. C. Paues.

Cambridge.

A Note on Alexander Barclay.

The Huntington Library, San Marino, California, is rich in editions of Alexander Barclay's poems. It possesses two unique editions in the undated edition of the first three eclogues by an anonymous printer, and Pynson's edition of the fourth eclogue. These two are bound up in the same quarto volume with Wynkyn de Worde's edition of the fifth eclogue.

The title-page of the anonymous quarto edition runs: 'Here begynneth the Egloges of Alexãder Barclay prest wher of the fyrst thre conteyneth the myseryes of courters & courtes of all prynces in generall | The matter wherof was translated into Englysshe by the sayd Alexander in fourme of Dialoges | out of a boke named in latin Miserie curialiũ | compyled by Eneas Siluius Poete and oratour | whiche after was Pope of Rome | & named Pius. Cornix. Coridon.' This is over a cut, not without merit, of the two shepherds, Cornix and Coridon, with their sheep. In the background is a building with towers and turrets. This cut is repeated on F 4 v and M 3 v. On the verso is a cut, very well executed, of David and Bathsheba, and under this cut is a small decorative panel. The text begins on [A] ii, but the A signatures are omitted, the signatures beginning with B. [A]—O in 4's—P 5. The colophon reads: 'Thus endyth the thyrde and last egloge of the mysery of court and courters | composed by Alexander Barclay preste in his youthe.'

The Short Title Catalogue suggests that Wynkyn de Worde was the printer of this edition *c.* 1515. I would like to put forward the suggestion that this may be Herford's edition, *c.* 1546. There is a fragment in the British Museum of Eclogue I. ll. 781–830 which is almost identical (it is slightly mutilated) with this edition.

Whoever the printer, there is an important divergence in the Prologue

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of this edition from Powell's and from Cawood's. Line 118 in all editions reads: 'My hope is fixed | of hym ayded to be'; but in this anonymous edition there are two lines (119 and 120) excised from the later ones, which read:

> And that his mother | the heuynly empres
> Shall to good endynge my wyt and pene addres.

It would be interesting to speculate on the reason for the excision. Is this really an indication or rather instance of Barclay's changeable religious views?

Then again, ll. 126 ff. of the Prologue:

> Fyrst of this thynge | I wyll thou be certayne
> That .x. egloggys | this hole treatyse dothe holde
> To imitacion of other poetes olde.

Powell's edition also has the Roman numeral .x. here and this opens the question of that puzzling allusion of Bale's to 'Quinque eglogas ex Mantuano,' five eclogues translated out of Mantuan.

BEATRICE WHITE.

PALO ALTO, CALIFORNIA.

WILLIAM KEMP NOT FALSTAFF.

In 'The Rôles of William Kemp[1],' Professor Henry David Gray offers some emendations to my conjectural assignment of original rôles to actors in Shakespeare's plays. The chief of these suggested changes is the assignment of Falstaff in *Henry IV* and *Merry Wives of Windsor* to William Kemp. But this assignment overlooks some very important contemporary evidence as to the time the 'fat fool' disappeared from the company.

In *The Poetaster*, which Jonson himself dates 1601, 'Tucca has extracted a promise from Histrio, manager of the Shakespearean company, to make a supper, and is instructing him as to the guests who are to be invited from the company....Says Tucca "and your fat fool there, my mango, bring him too; but let him not beg rapiers nor scarfs, in his over-familiar playing face, nor roar out his barren bold jests with a tormenting laughter between drunk and dry. Do you hear, stiff-toe? give him warning, admonition, to forsake his saucy glavering grace, and his goggle eye; it does not become him, sirrah: tell him so[2]."' Jonson, therefore, is our warrant that there was an actor specifically recognised

[1] *Mod. Lang. Rev.* XXV, pp. 261–73.
[2] T. W. Baldwin, *Organization and Personnel of the Shakespearean Company*, p. 232.

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as 'your fat fool,' that this actor played such parts as Falstaff and Belch, and that he was still with the company in 1601. Shakespeare himself has King Henry V call the fat Falstaff 'a fool and jester,' thereby also recognising both that the company had 'your fat fool,' and that he played Falstaff. Of course, this actor may not actually have been fat; that point I have been careful to make more times than one. But the important point is that both Jonson and Shakespeare tell us that there was an actor who was customarily 'your fat fool,' and that Shakespeare tells us directly and Jonson by description that Falstaff was one of his rôles.

Shakespeare also confirms Jonson in the statement that 'your fat fool' was still with the company around 1601 by providing him with a part as Sir Toby Belch in *Twelfth Night*, along with the professional jester Feste for Armin. Thus the professional jester and 'your fat fool' were in the company at the same time. But since Armin succeeded Kemp himself, the two not being members at the same time, Kemp could not have been 'your fat fool.' Also, *Twelfth Night* can pretty certainly be dated as not earlier than the winter of 1600–1. Thus both Jonson and Shakespeare tell us that 'your fat fool' was with the company so late as 1601, while there is sworn evidence that Kemp left the company in 1599. Surely the circumstantial evidence is reasonably complete that Kemp was neither 'your fat fool,' nor specifically Falstaff.

Professor Gray repeats the charge already brought by at least two reviewers that I have not made sufficient allowance for the versatility of Shakespeare's actors. For aught I know at present, the charge may be true; I must await the evidence on which it is based. But is it not at least as likely that Professor Gray and the reviewers have made too little allowance for the versatility of Shakespeare? Surely sufficient versatility was allowed and emphasised for 'your fat fool'—too much for Professor Gray, who would take away some of his parts. Now Bottom knows that Shakespeare had his trials with versatile actors, but Quince is equally positive that Shakespeare was himself versatile enough to manage them without giving up a single casting or essential of character portrayal. Despite protests, each pre-assigned part is so fitted to the actor that his objections are answered, his vanity flattered, and yet his particular personality and speciality preserved as it was in the beginning.

It cannot be too much emphasised that under the Elizabethan process of constructing—or should one say manufacturing?—or giving birth to?—a play, the more fundamental of the objections from versatile actors would arise and be adjusted at the plotting of the play, before

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a single line was written. Then at the final reading of the play minor adjustments would be made after the manner of Quince in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. If Shakespeare was as versatile as Quince—and he must have been, since he created him—he had plenty of opportunity to concede non-essentials, and to preserve fundamentals. I must believe, therefore, that barring accident—such as an inopportune duel, or overpotation—the first acting of a play was according to the original casting, and that consequently if we can arrive at Shakespeare's conception of the fundamental in each actor, we can fathom that original casting.

But beyond that I do not go. For Bottom is not our sole guarantee that one actor frequently cast a covetous eye upon the property of his neighbour actor. We seem to hear that actors vied with each other in certain famous rôles. There must have been temporary or permanent changes of rôles, especially in revived plays. These probabilities call for caution in interpreting contemporary statements as to who performed a certain part, whether he was the original actor or a later substitute. But under the conditions then prevailing such probabilities ought not seriously to have affected the original casting of major characters, and it is only this casting which I have regularly attempted each time to deduce.

T. W. Baldwin.

Urbana, Ill., U.S.A.

Shakespeare and Will Kemp: a Rejoinder.

Professor Baldwin's objections to my casting of Kemp as Falstaff are not difficult to answer. The thought of Falstaff had crossed my mind in connexion with Tucca's speech in *The Poetaster*, but I dismissed it because Tucca is referring to the personalities of the actors themselves and not to their rôles. He bars from the supper 'your eating player' (a different man from 'your fat fool'), who 'will eat a leg of mutton while I am in my porridge'; also a red-bearded actor who played the fiddle, and 'your Aesop, your politician, unless you can ram up his mouth with cloves; the slave smells ranker than sixteen dunghills, and is seventeen times more rotten.' In these descriptions, as in that quoted by Professor Baldwin, there is no reference to the parts that the actors played, and Jonson certainly does not tell us 'by description' that Falstaff was one of this actor's rôles. To have inserted a description of the behaviour of Falstaff would have shifted the attack from the actor to Shakespeare.

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But granting that the audience would think of fat fools on the stage rather than plump actors, my contention is still undisturbed. For no audience would think of Falstaff in *Henry IV* as a fool, no matter what the young king called him. Falstaff as he appears in *The Merry Wives* is a fat fool, certainly, but my point was that Kemp did not act this rôle, though it was written for him; and so he would not be in the mind of the audience when the 'fat fool' was referred to. Shakespeare can hardly be said to recognise the need of providing parts for a 'fat fool' actor, for Falstaff is the only character in all his plays who is called 'fat,' except the wife of Dromio of Ephesus—and Hamlet![1]

Professor Baldwin's statement that Shakespeare recognises the presence of this same 'fat fool' in 1601 by 'providing him with a part as Sir Toby Belch in *Twelfth Night*' suggests three possible answers. These are not consistent with one another, and none need be correct for my purpose; but they show how impossible it is to be sure of anything from such 'circumstantial evidence' as we have before us.

(1) A fair success as Falstaff in *The Merry Wives* would be sufficient reason for Shakespeare to give the actor of that part an opportunity as Sir Toby.

(2) If we are to trust the evidence of contemporary dramas, we must believe that Kemp was again with the company at just about the time when *Twelfth Night* was written. *The Return from Parnassus* introduces him with Burbage as trying out new talent for the company immediately after his return from abroad. This was before September 2, 1601, as we know from a Latin note of that date[2], and his association with Worcester's men is problematical before Henslowe's first mention of him on March 10, 1602. Even if Kemp betrayed his fellows as I suggested in my article, it is conceivable that a temporary reconciliation could have taken place, and that Shakespeare could have set himself the task of bringing Kemp and Armin together as Sir Toby and Feste. Such a patching up of the old quarrel, after Kemp had been abroad for about a year and a half, would be no more surprising than Marston's effusive dedication of *The Malcontent* to Jonson and the collaboration on *Eastward Ho* after the recent War of the Theatres. The Chamberlain's men

[1] That 'fat' means 'sweaty' here (see *Times Literary Supplement*, May 26, 1927) the Queen herself testifies by adding, 'Here, Hamlet, take my napkin, rub thy brows,' and in her next speech but one, 'Come, let me wipe thy face.' For Shakespeare to call attention at such a moment to the fact that Burbage was fat would be as outrageous as unnecessary. Dr Tannenbaum's suggestion that Laertes is referred to is almost equally preposterous. Who cares about Laertes in this crisis? And he is not a type of fat man, either.

[2] Written by William Smith of Abingdon, Sloane MS. 392, f. 401. First cited by Halliwell.

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were hard put to it in 1601 from the competition of the children's companies, and a man of Kemp's ability and drawing power might be forgiven much.

(3) And it is also possible that *Twelfth Night* was first produced some years before under the title of *What You Will*. Marston's play of that name was produced in 1600. Would it not have been very stupid of Shakespeare, while one of the outstanding plays of the War of the Theatres was still fresh in people's minds, to have taken Marston's title for a high comedy which was wholly free from personal abuse? He might, however, have revised his drama for a Twelfth-Night celebration, keeping the original name for identification as a sub-title; and this would account for the unique instance in Shakespeare of a double heading. Like Fleay, I find some evidence of revision in *Twelfth Night*[1].

I entirely agree with Professor Baldwin that Shakespeare was capable of satisfying any reasonable demands of his fellow-actors. It is obvious that at times he allows the characteristics of the actor to show in the character that the actor is to play; but I cannot believe that Shakespeare was very much concerned with what the actors wanted or what parts they were to take. He knew that a capable actor will adapt himself to the rôle, and that the rôle does not usually need to be adapted to the actor.

HENRY DAVID GRAY.

STANFORD, CALIFORNIA.

DRAYTON AND THE HOLLAND FAMILY.

It may be of interest to add to Mr Gourvitch's 'Note on Drayton and Philemon Holland[2]' a supplementary link which bears out his hypothesis that the two writers knew each other sufficiently well for Drayton to have had access to the MS. of Holland's translation of Camden's *Britannia*.

[1] It has often been noted that there is an apparent reference to *Twelfth Night* in *Every Man out of his Humour* (1599): 'That the argument of his comedy might have been of some other nature, as of a duke to be in love with a countess, and that countess to be in love with the duke's son, and the son to be in love with the lady's waiting-maid: some such cross wooing, with a clown to their serving-man.' This, of course, is not the exact situation in *Twelfth Night*, but it is as close as it would be artistic to come. An exact duplication would be crass and stupid. Even more distinct references or echoes occur in III, i:

Punt. ...Of what years is the knight, fair damsel?
Gent. Faith, much about your years, sir.
Punt. What complexion, or what stature bears he?
Gent. Of your stature, and very near your complexion....
Car. 'Slud, he takes an inventory of his own good parts....
Punt. Most debonair, and lucent lady....

[2] *Mod. Lang. Rev.* XXV, pp. 332–6.

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The following scrap of evidence will, I think, serve to strengthen the probability of such an acquaintance.

There is a definite connexion between Drayton and Abraham Holland, son of Philemon, who died in 1626. Holland's *Naumachia* (1622) contains, among the commendatory verses, ten lines (sig. A 4 *verso*) headed 'To my friend M. A. H.' and signed 'Michael Drayton[1].' In the *Continued Just Inquisition against Paper-Persecutors* (1625) by 'A. H.,' Drayton is also alluded to, although not in a manner that necessarily proves a personal acquaintance with him. But there is no doubt about the MS. poem in Ashmole 36–37[1], fol. 151[2]. This is headed 'To my honest father Mr Michael Drayton, and my new, yet loved freind, Mr Will. Browne A.H. Wisheth a health,' and signed 'your loving Sonne and frend Ab: Holland.' The poem, which, from the nature of the erasures and alterations, appears to be autograph, consists of 68 lines in pedestrian couplets; it opens with an almost incomprehensible passage, apparently alluding to a drinking-bout in which Holland had taken part since last seeing his friends. Then follow these lines:

> As for thee father, Ile no higher praise
> Than say y^{t} thou art father of our bayes,
> Heroick Ovid, Lucan, Juvenall,
> Our still reviving Spencer I'le thee call
> So long as thou still liv'st; and if I list
> I will turne here a deepe Pythagorist
> And sweare thou hast y^{e} soule of all y^{e} best
> That ever yet have slept in Parnass'e brest.
> As I love thee so let my infant[3] muse
> Grow up and impe her tender wings: and choose
> To pen but good; and scorning to be mute
> Yet shee may scorne to be a prostitute:
> So may thy bayes still grow upon thy head
> So may the place wherein wee both were bred
> Bring forth good poets: so may all y^{e} land
> beholden[4] to thee yet indebted stand
> So may wee both to each ingaged bee
> Thou still my freind and I a freind to thee.

The rest of the poem concerns Browne. After the signature comes the following note to Drayton:

> Father I hope I need not y^{e} second time excuse this rude Elegy, w^{ch} I may truly say was rather written than endited to you, howere take it as a sodaine triall of me in frendship not Poetry. Till I see thee farewell both.

This passage and the *Naumachia* lines indicate that Abraham Holland was not only a young (and not very worthy) disciple of Drayton, but also his friend. It seems not unlikely that Drayton and Philemon were

[1] They reappear in *Hollandi Posthuma*, 1626.
[2] It is mentioned in the *D.N.B.*, but has not, to my knowledge, ever been printed.
[3] Written over 'tender,' erased.
[4] Written over 'Indebted,' erased.

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also acquainted; the proximity of Polesworth and Coventry, where Philemon practised as a physician, and the elder Sir Henry Goodere's connexion with the town (he had a house in Mich-Park St at any rate at the time of his younger daughter's birth, *c.* 1571) make it still more probable.

Mr Gourvitch has shown how Drayton was particularly indebted to Philemon Holland's translation of Camden for details in his Welsh songs in the *Poly-Olbion*[1]. Had Holland any direct connexion with Wales? There is, of course, the Welsh branch of the family, more remotely and doubtfully related than Philemon himself to the original Lancashire Hollands; the Hugh Holland of the Folio lines represents this branch in Elizabethan literature. He, contributing verses to *Coryat's Crudities* (for which Drayton also wrote commendatory lines), is called 'Cambro-Britanus'; naturally, as he was a native of Denbigh. Possibly Drayton, rightly or wrongly, connected the Coventry Hollands with this Hugh, and so meant to convey an acknowledgment of Philemon's help in the address 'To the Cambro-Britanes' prefixed to his *Poly-Olbion*. The only other Welshmen of his acquaintance seem to have been John Williams (King's Goldsmith, 1603–24), whom he met no doubt through his own connexion with the Goldsmiths' Company in 1604: and the 'John Hewes' who, with his lyre 'oft at Powlsworth by the fire, Hath made us gravely merry.' (A 'Richard Hughes, Cambro-Britanus' is another of the company who saluted Coryat.) Still, as Mr Gourvitch has so ably demonstrated, Dr Philemon Holland provided Drayton with a good deal of his Welsh material, and it may well be that the address 'To the Cambro-Britanes' has some connexion with this fact.

KATHLEEN CONSTABLE.

LONDON.

FOOTNOTES TO SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY BIOGRAPHIES.

Samuel Pepys.

(i)

Thomas Povey, whom the diarist had more than once called a ridiculous fool, brought suit against Pepys and William Hewer in the Court of Chancery in 1691. The surviving records of the litigation—so far as I can discover them—are extremely scanty and throw little light on the matter in question, but it is evident that Povey was claiming breach

[1] *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, July 1930; *Rev. Eng. Stud.*, Jan. 1928.

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of the agreement made with Pepys in 1665 as to the profits of the Treasurer to the Lords Commissioners for the Affairs of Tangier[1]. There is little, apart from the depositions. I have been unable to find the bill and answer; there are only two orders of the Court, and these merely extend the time for examining witnesses[2]. Probably the suit was settled privately, or it may have been transferred elsewhere.

Povey produced three witnesses, whose depositions, taken on August 7, 8 and 11 respectively, have been preserved[3]. From the first, Elenor Hilton, widow, of Holborne Row, Lincoln's Inn Fields, we learn only that Povey formerly had a servant named Richard Rice, who died in the Great Plague, and that Povey then lived at Syon Hill near Brainford. William Thorowgood, gentleman, a clerk at East India House, is more helpful. He identifies Pepys' handwriting and signatures in an agreement, six letters and two other writings. He gives the dates of five of the letters: March 8, 1673, March 15, 1673, March 17, 1679, August 12, 1675, February 22, 1673. One writing begins 'Accounts stated betweene M^{r} Povey & my selfe to this 20 Octobr 1666.' The other begins 'To bee expected from S^{r} D Gawden,' and ends '525.15—06,' i.e. £525. 15*s*. 6*d*. He also identifies Pepys' hand in an account ending February 21, 1665—apparently a separate document from those mentioned above. He cannot say by whose means Hewer came to be Treasurer for Tangier, or whether he was acquainted before his appointment with the agreement between Povey and Pepys touching the profits of that office (but believes he was), or whether the profits were as great during Hewer's tenure as when Pepys was treasurer. Finally, James Boynton, gentleman, of Shoe Lane, formerly clerk to Sir John Tippetts in the Navy Office, corroborates the identification of Pepys' hand, and adds that he has sought in vain for one Frances Gaske, who signed the agreement as witness.

(ii)

Some months later, Pepys himself appeared in Chancery as witness in another suit concerning the Navy Office. On January 31, 1692/3, he made a deposition on behalf of Richard Gibson, one of the clerks there, defendant to the bill of Richard Simonds, to the following effect[4]. In 1688, Gibson applied to Pepys for the place of purser in the *Charles* (now the *St George*). Gibson was, in Pepys' opinion, 'as fit as any man

[1] See the *Diary* for March 17, 18 and 27, 1664/5.
[2] C. 33/276, ff. 431 and 560.
[3] C. 24. 1143/53, Trinity Term 1691.
[4] C. 24. 1158/30.

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in England to exercise a Pursers place in a man of warr,' and he accordingly promised it to him. But later, at Gibson's solicitation, he signed a warrant for the appointment of Henry King, a man whom he knew only through Gibson's recommendation. Pepys names York Buildings in the Strand as his residence. He gives his age as fifty-nine—another instance of the accuracy of statements of age in Chancery depositions.

ELEANORE BOSWELL.

LONDON.

MILTON'S TAXES (1641–2?).

In his discussion of Milton's residence in Aldersgate Street (*c.* November, 1640–*c.* September, 1645), Professor David Masson[1] made use of three lists of the inhabitants of Aldersgate Ward in which Milton's name appears:

(1) 'A Booke of the Names, surnames, degrees, ranks and qualities of all the Inhabitants of the Ward of Aldersgate, July 1641' (P.R.O. E 179–252/1), which was made for the collection of the poll tax for the satisfaction of the Scotch army. The amounts assessed are not entered, but Masson estimated that Milton's tax could not be less than £2.

(2) An undated Exchequer paper 'The names of those who have not paid us of the Gentry in the Second Precinct.' Here again the amounts are not stated.

(3) A list of those who contributed to the 'Collection for Ireland' (P.R.O. E 179–252/14) to which Milton subscribed £4. It is a full list of householders including non-contributors and is dated January 2, 1641/2.

'I have made inquiries,' writes Professor Masson, 'after any remaining Ward papers that might give me a trace of Milton in Aldersgate Street but none were to be heard of[2].' It is of interest, then, in view of Masson's statement, to call attention to three Aldersgate Ward papers which are in the Guildhall Library.

The first, MS. 1503/5, is entitled 'Aldersgate Ward, the lowe booke for the subsydes. Ceased the XXIXth of April 1641.' Although it is a full list of householders and lodgers, the amounts due from certain of the more substantial residents only are entered. Under 'St. Butholphes Parrish....The Second Precinct' we find 'Jo. Milton gent' taxed at £4,

[1] *Life of John Milton*, 7 vols., London, 1859–94, II, pp. 356–8.
[2] *Ibid.*, II, p. 358, n.

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the same sum as his old schoolmaster, Doctor Alexander Gill. Mrs Pallavinci, Cromwell's relative, was assessed £3 and Mr Richard Dawson, an attorney, £5.

The next list, MS. 1503/6, bears the title 'Aldersgate Ward, 1 Septembris Aº 1641. Ceased the 21th of September 1641.' The taxpayers and amounts are almost identical with those of the April list. In the precinct named above, for example, only two persons who were assessed in both lists had imposed upon them in September amounts differing from their April tax. These two were 'Jo. Milton gent.' and 'Jo. Birch gent.' both of whom had their April's tax of £4 increased to £6 in September.

Lastly we come to MS. 1503/7, which is possibly a fragment of a larger list. It bears only the caption 'St. Bottolphes Parish.' The handwriting is the same as that of the September, 1641, list, but in regard to names it resembles the 'Collection list' of January, 1642. In this document, however, instead of amounts (usually in even pounds) being entered only against the names of substantial residents, practically everyone on the list is assessed. Stephen Beaumont, a barber, and John Milford, a parish clerk, for example, are in this document taxed at 5*s.* and 10*s.* respectively. But the amounts entered against the names of persons who in the other two lists had no assessments noted were not always small, as in the cases of Jokay Mathew, gentleman, and Justinian Povey, auditor, both of whom in this schedule are assessed £6. Those whose assessments are marked in the earlier documents in this list usually have the amounts first entered at the right of their names cancelled and larger sums written in the left-hand margin. Mrs Pallavinci, for instance, was first assessed £1. 1*s.* 0*d.* but this amount was increased to £7. 12*s.* 0*d.* Dr Gill's increase, however, was but from £1. 12*s.* 0*d.* to £2. 2*s.* 0*d.* and Mr Dawson's but from £2 to £2. 13*s.* 4*d.* John Birch, on the other hand, had no sum but merely the word 'house' entered against his name. The assessment of John Milton was at first £2. 0*s.* 0*d.* but this was increased to £3. 4*s.* 0*d.*

These three documents are chiefly of interest in giving us actual amounts which Milton paid in taxes, or, at least, for which he stood assessed, during his residence in Aldersgate Street. They confirm previous deductions that Milton was at this time a prosperous citizen. They may even enable someone familiar with the taxation of the period to form a close estimate of the value of Milton's property and the amount of his income, but such a project is beyond the purpose of this notice.

EDWIN ELIOTT WILLOUGHBY.

CHICAGO, ILL.

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Saint-Amant and the English Poets.

In the process of sorting out some odds and ends the other day after a removal I came across an off-print of the *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, containing a paper by Edward Bliss Reed, entitled *The Poems of Thomas Third Lord Fairfax from the MS. Fairfax* 40 *in the Bodleian Library* (New Haven, Conn., 1909). Having just read Mr Woledge's note on *Saint-Amant, Fairfax and Marvell* (*Mod. Lang. Rev.*, Oct. 1930, pp. 481–3), I was prompted to read again Mr Reed's study; and found, as I had expected, that he and Mr Woledge are in almost complete agreement. Mr Reed notes that Fairfax's best poem, such as it is, and the one which gives the Fairfax MS. its title, is a pretty close translation of Saint-Amant's well-known piece, *La Solitude* (*Œuvres*, I, ed. Livet, p. 21). Mr Reed also points out that it was during Andrew Marvell's stay at Appleton House, about 1650, as tutor to Fairfax's daughter, that he wrote those nature poems on which his fame rests; and suggests that Marvell got some hints for these from Saint-Amant, though Mr Woledge must be given credit for having detected a conceit in Marvell's lines *Upon Appleton House*, undoubtedly adapted from a similar *pointe* in the French poet's *Métamorphose de Lyrian et de Sylvie*, which lends additional point to his argument.

Mr Reed's paper and Mr Woledge's note suggest one or two interesting questions affecting the literary relations of England and France in the seventeenth century. Saint-Amant, as is well known, visited England on two occasions: first in 1631, as the emissary of Bassompierre; and a second time in 1644, when he accompanied the Comte d'Harcourt, who had been sent over in order to propose the mediation of France in English affairs. It is improbable that Saint-Amant expressed himself in English as fluently as in his mother tongue, as M. Durand-Lapie would have us believe (*Saint-Amant: Son temps, sa vie, ses poésies*, 1898, p. 147), or he would hardly have written the nonsense he did about Ben Jonson and English literature in general. But he must have known English well enough to have got into touch with royalist literary circles in London. However that may be, his poems were well known in England at the time. Thomas Stanley, a fervent royalist, who plays an important rôle at this time as a promoter of the study of foreign poets, translated two of Saint-Amant's pieces (*La Jouissance*, *Œuvres*, I, *ed. cit.*, p. 110, and *La Débauche*, *ibid.*, II, p. 88). A little later Edward Sherburne, a kinsman of Stanley, with whom he lived for some time in the Middle Temple and afterwards in the country, impelled by his friend's example, also turned

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to the study and imitation of the French and Italian poets, to what extent has been amply demonstrated by Dr Mario Praz in this *Review* (*Stanley, Sherburne and Ayres as Translators and Imitators of Italian, Spanish and French Poets, Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xx (1925), pp. 280–94, 409–31). In order to show the influence exercised by Stanley on Sherburne, Dr Praz instances the existence in the British Museum of a copy of the 1638 edition of the *Parte terza* of Marino's *Lira* with the autograph on the frontispiece 'Edw. Sherburne Ex dono Amicissimi Stanley.' Unless my memory fails me (it is some twenty years since I, on the same quest as Dr Praz, had the book out), he might have added that there are in the margins numerous notes in Sherburne's hand which give a useful clue to his thefts from Marino. In 1651 Sherburne published his collected poems, the bulk of which are close translations from the Italian poets, his chief models being Guarini, Marino and Preti. Of the French poets, to whom his indebtedness is much less extensive, his favourite appears to have been Saint-Amant, from whom he took three pieces (*La Métamorphose de Lyrian et de Sylvie*, *Le Soleil levant*, and *Plainte sur la mort de Sylvie*), the last two without any acknowledgment, amounting in all to some 330 verses, which gives Sherburne the doubtful honour of being the most considerable translator of Saint-Amant in the seventeenth century. There is also a rendering of Saint-Amant's facetious sonnet on tobacco (*Œuvres, ed. cit.*, I, p. 182) in Charles Roger's edition of the *Poems of Sir Robert Aytoun* (Edinburgh, 1844, p. 53); but chronology seems to exclude the Scottish poet as the possible author. This list, based on recent research, exhausts, as far as I know, the borrowings by English poets from Saint-Amant; and may be useful in order to correct Upham and other similar works of reference.

Another question suggested by Saint-Amant's *La Solitude*, of which there were at least six French imitations from 1625 onward, concerns the theme of Solitude, on which Miss Phyllis Crump has recently written some admirable pages (*Nature in the Age of Louis XIV*, London, 1928, pp. 147–72). At first sight one might be tempted to conclude that Saint-Amant's model was the *Soledades* of Góngora, a perfect example of his obscure manner, which, like Saint-Amant's *La Solitude* in France, also gave rise in Spain to numerous poems on the same theme, of which the best are undoubtedly those of Lope de Vega. But, as M. Lanson has shown (*Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France*, 1896, p. 323), the French and Spanish series of poems on Solitude are in no way connected; the most that can be said is that Góngora's *Soledades* suggested the subject to Saint-Amant, who had been in Spain and knew Spanish well. The works

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of Góngora, it is true, were not collected till 1627 (*Obras en verso del Homero Español*, Madrid, 1627), some years after the appearance of *La Solitude* (about 1620). Not too much importance, however, should be attached to this fact, as many of Góngora's poems were in circulation long before the edition of 1627. The real reason why the *Soledades* of Góngora (the same is true of all his pieces in the *estilo culto*) never had any influence in France is their extreme difficulty, which made them unintelligible except to those who possessed a very unusual knowledge of the Spanish tongue. This at least was the opinion of Bouhours (*Manière de bien penser*, p. 357), who may be taken to represent the common view: 'Les Espagnols confessent de bonne foi qu'ils n'entendent pas leur poète Gongora, et c'est peut-être pour cela qu'ils lui donnent le nom de merveilleux: *Maravilloso Luis de Gongora*. Ce qui est certain, c'est que son obscurité a passé en proverbe, et que comme les Castillans disent communément: *Es de Lope*, pour marquer qu'une chose est excellente, ils disent de même: *escuro como les Soledades de Gongora*, pour faire entendre qu'une chose est obscure.' On the other hand, Góngora, as a burlesque poet (here his style is perfectly plain), played a decisive part in France; but that is a different story. In England, during the same period, Góngora, whether as a representative of the burlesque or as the exponent of the style to which he has given his name, was practically unknown, if we except two or three inveterate translators such as Thomas Stanley and Philip Ayres who Englished a few of his pieces; and in the next century he had sunk into complete oblivion (see H. Thomas, *Three Translators of Gongora and other Spanish Poets during the Seventeenth Century*, *Revue Hispanique*, XLVIII, 1920, pp. 180–256, 311–16). Though Stanley translated Góngora's *Soledad Primera*, the theme of Solitude, as such, never had any real life in English literature; and when it does appear, sporadically, it is in a foreign garb.

L. E. KASTNER.

MANCHESTER.

TWO FRAGMENTS OF THE 'ROMAN DE LA ROSE.'

The following is an account of two fragments of the *Roman de la Rose* which were brought to my notice by Mr H. W. Garrod, Fellow and Librarian of Merton College, Oxford. I take this opportunity of thanking him for the kindness with which he has placed them at my disposal. Nothing is known of the history of these stray leaves except that they

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have at some time been used for binding purposes. Presumably they were removed in the course of the nineteenth century from one of the volumes belonging to the Merton College Library.

Fragment I consists of two double sheets of parchment. These originally formed part of a quire of which the inner sheet has been lost. Replacing them in their original order, we obtain: f. 1 and f. 2 = lines 2398–2716; f. 3 and f. 4 = lines 3031–3341, without lacunae in either case. Both sheets have been slightly reduced from their former size by the book-binder's knife. The outer sheet (= f. 1 + f. 4) measures $9\frac{3}{4}'' \times 16\frac{1}{2}''$, the inner sheet (= f. 2 + f. 3) measures $.10\frac{1}{2}'' \times 16\frac{1}{2}''$. The height of the written column is $8\frac{3}{4}''$ in each case. A portion of the top right-hand corner of f. 1 has been cut or torn away, with the result that the ends of some of the first fifteen lines of 1 (b) are missing and the ends only of the first twenty lines of 1 (c) are preserved. A slight tear has carried away a few letters in the first three lines of 4 (b) and 4 (c). Otherwise the MS. is in good condition. The writing, which is in double columns of forty lines each, is neat and clear and belongs roughly to the middle of the fourteenth century (hardly later than 1350). The sections of the poem are indicated by coloured initials, eight red and eleven blue, generally but not always alternating. The red initials are adorned with blue flourishes, the blue with red, the flourishes extending along the margin. The initial letter of each line is spaced off and touched with red. In f. 3 and f. 4 the names of the interlocutors *Raison*, *L'amant*, etc., are indicated in red, generally on a separate line but occasionally at the end of a line of the text, a procedure which has sometimes caused the scribe to spread one line of his text over two.

The first four lines of the respective folios read as follows:

f. 1. *Et* se tu te pues auancier
Que ta raison *com*mencier oses
*Qua*nt tu deuras dire .iii. choses
Tu nen diras mie les deus (2398–401).

f. 2. Encor te *com*mant *et* en charge
Que tenir te faces pour large
A la pucele de lostel
.i. garnement li do*n*ne tel (2557–60).

f. 3. Si en dois auoir grant paour
Car a ton eus ni voi piour
Auoec ces .ii. est malebouche
Qui ne sueffre q*ue* nus i touche (3031–4).

f. 4. Mes ne voudroie pour mo*n* pois
Dargent, quil fust sus vo*st*re pois
Molt trouuai dangier dur e lent
Depardonner so*n* mautalent (3187–90).

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The last four lines of f. 4 (d) read:

> *Qui* nous enfaisoit estrangier
> Je ferai q*uanque* vous voudrez belacueil
> Dist belacueil q*uant* il est droiz
> Puis que dang*er* la otroie (3338–41).

Any attempt to determine the relation of this short fragment to the vast number of MSS. of Guillaume's poem examined and classified by Langlois[1] must of necessity be provisional, particularly when one bears in mind the many cross-currents he detected. It is, however, clear that our fragment belongs to the second group (Groupe II). A collation with Langlois' text[2] yields about 100 substantial variants. If these be compared with the variants given in his edition and in his study of the MSS., it will be found that over 50 per cent. show an agreement of our fragment with the variants of *L* + other MSS., and that no less than 20 per cent. show an agreement with the variants of *L* alone.

The following is a complete list of the latter. I have contented myself with giving the readings of our fragment as evidence:

2498 ...endroit laube ne crieue
2511 Chaucier vestir *et* atorner
2524 Ne fenestre ne ouuerture
3033 Auoec ces .ii. est malebouche
3062 Mes du lessier est la mestrise
3079 Cuidiez vous q*ue* amours *con*sente*
3101 Q*ue* ne soi de moi cheuissance
3137 Je vous dirai q*ue* vous ferez
3145 *Qui* bien le chue *et* le blandist
3158 Je ting vers lui la chiere encline
3196 Certes je nai vers toi nulle ire
3223 Q*ue* le bouton encore voie
3227 Mes ie re...g si sa menace
3246 Tant me voie plorer ne plaindre
3257–8 *Et* dist dangier de cel amant
Vous auez tort se diex mamant
3272 De lui faire annui *et* pesance*
3283–4 Dur cuer a qui ne samoloie
Quant il trueue q*uen* le souploie
3288 Ce est folie et mauuestiez*

It will be observed that all but the first three of the cases cited above are to be found in the latter half of our fragment (f. 3 and f. 4), which therefore presents a state of affairs analogous to those MSS. of the *L* family which Langlois (*Les Manuscrits*..., p. 282) denotes *Lm*, *Lm*^{2}, *Lm*^{3}, *Lm*^{4}, *Lm*^{5}, *Lm*^{6}, *Lm*^{7}, *Lm*^{8}, and which he characterises as follows:

[1] Ernest Langlois, *Les Manuscrits du Roman de la Rose, Description et Classement* (*Travaux et Mémoires de l'Université de Lille*, Nouvelle Série, I, 7), Lille—Paris, 1910.

[2] *Le Roman de la Rose par Guillaume de Lorris et Jean de Meun*, publié d'après les manuscrits par Ernest Langlois (Société des Anciens Textes Français), 5 vols., Paris, 1914–24.

(* In these instances the agreement is with certain unspecified manuscripts of the *L* family.)

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'ils [*Lm*, *Lm*^{2}, *Lm*^{3}, *Lm*^{4}, *Lm*^{5}, *Lm*^{6}] suivent *L* jusqu'au vers 1850 environ, puis du v. 2830 environ jusqu'à la fin du poème. Du v. 1850 au v. 2830 ils font partie de I, dont ils reproduisent certaines fautes.... [Of the examples cited only one falls within the portion given by our fragment which agrees with these MSS. in giving line 2459 as *Je voudroie estre par couuant* for *Jou v. p. covenant.*] *Lm*^{7} suit *L* jusqu'au v. 2460 au moins; ensuite il fait partie de I jusqu'au v. 2830 environ, et en a les mêmes variantes que *Lm* aux v. 2721, 2762, puis il revient à *L*. *Lm*^{8} suit *L* jusqu'au v. 850 environ, puis du v. 2830 environ à la fin du poème, dans les mêmes conditions et avec les mêmes corrections que *Lm*^{2}. Son texte comme celui de *Lm*^{2}, a pour base le texte de *L* entre les v. 850 et 1850 et celui de I entre 1850 et 2830; mais entre 850 et 2300 environ, il substitue très souvent la bonne leçon aux fautes de *L* ou aux variantes de *Lm*^{2}....'

In view of the large number of instances between 2398 and 2716 where our fragment agrees with I against *L* (2404, 2408, 2419–20, etc.), the three instances of agreement with *L* appear of doubtful validity. The agreement of our fragment with I between 2398 and 2460 rules out any close affinity with *Lm*^{7}. One would, therefore, appear justified in ranging it with *Lm*, *Lm*^{2}, *Lm*^{3}, *Lm*^{4}, *Lm*^{5}, *Lm*^{6}. It is, however, possible that the three instances in question are not due to mere coincidence and that they point to a closer affinity with *Lm*^{8} which has evidently oscillated more freely between *L* and I. We may, therefore, conclude that our fragment belongs to the *L* family and that it is to be placed either alongside of the series *Lm*, *Lm*^{2}, *Lm*^{3}, *Lm*^{4}, *Lm*^{5}, *Lm*^{6}, or alongside of *Lm*^{8}. It is doubtful whether even with more abundant material than that at our disposal a more definite result could be obtained.

The second fragment, which is in a different hand, consists of one double sheet of parchment measuring $10\frac{3}{4}'' \times 16''$. The writing is in double columns, the height of the written column being $9\frac{1}{2}''$. Here again we have preserved the inner sheet but one of a quire. Numbering the two halves of our sheet 5 and 6, we obtain: f. 5 = lines 16003–16162; f. 6 = lines 16483–16642. As a result of the use to which the parchment has been put, f. 5 *recto* and f. 6 *verso* are to a large extent illegible, half of column 5 (b) and 5 (c) has been cut or torn away, and a few lines are imperfect in 6 (a). The writing is clear and neat and belongs approximately to the middle of the fourteenth century. That the scribe was a Picard is shown by such forms and spellings as: *cozes* (= *choses*) 16138, *forche* 16127, *medechines* 16143, *tresperchans* 16144, *chesser* (= *cessier*) 16460, *fianch* (= *fiance*) 16522, *ensanle* (= *ensemble*) 16488, *biau* 16511,

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Dex 16534, *vo cuer* 16535, *se* (= *sa*) 16542, *le* (= *la*) 16557, *saroit* 16125, *aroit* 16133, *ara* 16568, *atendera* 16566, *venra* 16564, *chil, che, ches, ch'est, cheste, ichi*, for *cil*, etc. 15136, etc. The sections of the poem are indicated by red and blue initials very similar to those in the first fragment. The initial letter of each line is spaced off and the first letter of each column is enlarged and slightly ornate but not coloured.

A collation of this MS. with the text of Langlois yields very little evidence for classification, but one or two striking instances point to a close affinity with *Ac*, e.g., lines 16131–2 *E fust li soufres senz ardure, Pour blanche ou pour rouge teinture.* Varr.: 'omis dans *B Ce Eb He* (ajoutés en marge de *Ce*); écrits en marge de *Ac*, probablement par le copiste, le 2° ainsi modifié: *Seur la desierree t.*' Our fragment gives these lines thus: *Et fust li souffres sans ardure Sus le desiree tainture*; but it is difficult to form a conclusion in view of Langlois' statement, on p. 418 of his study of the manuscripts, that the reading of *Ac* is common to *Mar* and *Bê*. It is also worth noting that, although in our fragment the latter half of line 16070 (col. 5 (b)) is lacking, one can still decipher *A lor mate...*, the final *e* being partly obliterated; it is clear that our manuscript read *matere*, thus agreeing with *A* against the other manuscripts which have the erroneous reading *nature* (cp. the note in Langlois' edition, IV, p. 297). Against this has to be set a tendency to accompany *Ca* (in common with one or more other MSS.); I quote the readings of our fragment for the lines in question:

16492 Quil ne font nis a lor preuoire
16496 *Quanques* il ont fait *et* ueu
16509 Ne maues u*ous* pas esprouuee
16519 Pour che u*ous* pri q*ue* u*ostre* fois
16560 Nenc*on*tre li de riens grouchier
16566 Mais enuis atendera tant
16642 Que tant de pooir lor donnes

But, in view of the lack of homogeneity[1] which characterises *Ca*, it would be rash to formulate any more definite opinion than that our fragment belongs to Group I and shows affinities with *Ac* and *Ca*.

These fragments do not seem to have formed part of any of the imperfect MSS. listed by Langlois. The MSS. from which they were taken would seem to have been excellent copies executed with considerable care. Whether or not they originally belonged to the same volume it is of course impossible to say, but the apparent similarity of the coloured initials might be taken to constitute a slight if precarious argument for such an assumption.

[1] Langlois, *Les Manuscrits...*, pp. 405 ff.

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I append a list of readings calculated to clear up doubtful points or to give added weight to one or other of the readings listed or adopted by Langlois:

2459 Je voudroie estre *par* couuant
2470 *Quant* ie demande tel outrage
2544 Icis veilliers icis penssers
2547–8 Bien le sauons par toi meismes
Qui nes mie des plus hautismes
2570–1 *Et* se tu as si grant essoigne
Que esloigner le te conuiengne
2587 *Com*ment vit homs ne *com*ment dure
2594 Puet viure .i. mois en tel *en*fer
2704 Si est raison q*ue* il te die
3033 Auoec ces .ii. est malebouche
3037 M*ul*t as afaire a dures gens
3145 Q*ui* bien le chue *et* le blandist
3167 Mes iames iour naurai beance
3216 P*ar* souffrir, felon *et* refraint
3223 Q*ue* le bouton encore voie
3228 Q*ue* nai talent q*ue* li mesface

A. EWERT.

OXFORD.

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REVIEWS

CHRISTOPHER MARLOWE. *Tamburlaine the Great.* Edited by U. M. ELLIS-FERMOR. London: Methuen. 1930. xii + 321 pp. 8*s.* 6*d.*

This is the second volume of the new edition of Marlowe's works, which is intended to make them available to the general reader, and in which consequently the spelling and punctuation are modernised. All needful help to their understanding is afforded in the able introduction and notes by Miss Ellis-Fermor. She draws principally on the work of A. Wagner, who in 1885 proved that the octavo of 1590 was the sole source for the text of *Tamburlaine*, and of Miss E. Seaton, who, in *Marlowe's Map* (*Essays and Studies*, published by the English Association, x, 1924) and other papers, has proved in fascinating detail that Marlowe followed out Tamburlaine's conquests on the maps of the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* compiled by Ortelius. The editor herself has traced out the various sources for the life of the great Mongolian Khan Tīmūr, showing how the story passed from oriental to European records, and how various embellishments, such as the golden cage of Bajazet and the white, red and black pavilions of Tamburlaine, were added in the transit. By careful comparison she is able to establish the actual books from which Marlowe had probably taken the legend, and some of the most interesting passages in his sources are given in Appendix C.

These results must have been obtained by long study, but the editor is not tempted by their difficulty to overrate their importance. On the contrary she is emphatic that when all external sources have been examined and assessed, it is Marlowe's own conception of Tamburlaine which is alone essential. She does not attempt to disintegrate the play into a heap of derivations and parallel passages, or to belittle Marlowe's achievement. Her critical comments are full of cordial enthusiasm, tempered by judgment. She well expresses the spirit of the first part: 'it is the radiance of youth, to which fear lends rather exhilaration than awe,' but she is too cautious to go farther and say that Tamburlaine is Marlowe setting out upon the literary conquest of London, though that is an inference which the reader finds almost irresistible.

Marlowe succeeded, as Tamburlaine succeeded. The first part of the play was so popular that a second part was quickly demanded. The editor points out the difference in mood between the first and second parts. The ordinary reader might say that it was the difference between the dramatist's mood in writing the play, and that in which he was left after the play's production, but the editor is more cautious; she simply says that Marlowe had wearied of the subject, and filled up the second part with repetitions and odds and ends, rising to the height of the first part only in the death scenes of Zenocrate and Tamburlaine and in a few other short passages.

The second part opens with the treachery of the Christian, Sigismund King of Hungary, towards the Moslem, Orcanes King of Natolia. Miss

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Ellis-Fermor notes that this episode is out of harmony with the following scenes, where the noble and victorious Orcanes sinks into one of the crowd of conquered kings dragging Tamburlaine's chariot. She does not mention that the contrast between the Christians' ethics and their practice towards unbelievers was the new theme which was attracting Marlowe, and which was to be a leading motive in *The Jew of Malta*. Perhaps in other respects she is a little too lenient to the weaknesses of Part II. She says that 'the minor characters move forward from their subordinate positions and show themselves to have been but obscured by the excess of light turned on the central figure.' But except for the faint outline of Zenocrate, to the ordinary reader the other persons in the play remain mere names without characters. Is Calyphas meant to make a 'gallant and humorous protest against the Scythian cult of arms'? His part is so slight that he seems little more than a repetition of the foolish Mycetes, who had proved popular in Part I. His character depends upon his acting in the scene where Tamburlaine stabs him, and here he has not a single word to say.

In the Notes to the text some interest is given to the explanation of the rather commonplace classical allusions by the attempt to identify the passages in the classical authors known to Marlowe, in which the myths occur.

The volume contains the results of careful and extensive studies communicated to the reader in a spirit of living interest.

The printing and arrangement of the volume are clear and pleasant to the eye. The present writer has detected only one misprint, on p. 287, note to line 16.

M. Hope Dodds.

Gateshead.

William Shakespeare: a Study of Facts and Problems. By E. K. Chambers. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1930. 2 vols. xviii + 576; xv + 448 pp. 42*s*.

In 1903 the author of *The Mediaeval Stage* began his preface with the following words:

> Some years ago I was thinking of a little book, which now may or may not ever get itself finished, about Shakespeare and the conditions, literary and dramatic, under which Shakespeare wrote. My proper task would have begun with the middle of the sixteenth century. But it seemed natural to put first some short account of the origins of play-acting in England and of its development during the Middle Ages.

The introductory 'short account' grew into the two large volumes of *The Mediaeval Stage*, and the 'little book,' after continuing in course of time with four equally large volumes on *The Elizabethan Stage* (1923), has at last 'got itself finished' in 1930 with the two handsome light-blue volumes which lie before us. A history of the English theatre from the beginnings to the death of Shakespeare, in eight volumes, the first two of which comprised the whole world of mediæval games and entertainment, and the next four out-distanced in scope and detail anything

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attempted on their theme in this or any previous generation, might be supposed a sufficient task to engage a scholar single-handed for over thirty years; most could have devoted a lifetime to it and not lived to see it completed. Readers of this journal, however, may be reminded that during this whole period the name of E. K. Chambers has been a household word in a very different sphere; that from 1892 until a few years back its owner was one of the busiest officials in perhaps the hardest worked government department of modern England; that he saw laid those broad bases for the eternity of English public education, the Education Acts of 1902 and 1918, and was himself largely responsible for the remarkable developments of adult education of our time, which could never have come to anything but for the financial assistance and encouragement which his influence and interest secured; in a word that he has perhaps done more than any other living man for the education of the people of this country. His eight-volume 'little book on Shakespeare' has therefore been a parergon, the fruit of evenings at the home desk after laborious days at 'the office.' Fellow-scholars can only salute with reverence the concentration of purpose, the perseverance, and the self-denial which have brought the task to its triumphant conclusion after thirty years of nights, and they may perhaps be allowed to salute also 'the unfailing sympathy, encouragement and patience' of the author's wife, his 'Artemis of the Ways,' to whom the eight volumes are dedicated and from whom their production must have required sacrifice no less than his. Yet what achievement the sacrifice has purchased! It is not given to many to be at once a great man of letters and a leading architect of his country's educational system; for parallels one must turn to von Humboldt, to Guizot and to Matthew Arnold.

Finis coronat opus! For there can be little doubt that the second of the two concluding volumes is of all the eight that which scholars of succeeding generations will most often consult. To one who, like the present reviewer, is actively engaged in Shakespearian investigation, the first with its comprehensive discussion of every conceivable aspect of contemporary Shakespearian scholarship makes exciting reading, while the second to a careless or uninformed eye might appear of secondary importance inasmuch as it contains nothing but appendixes. Yet so rapidly have the theories concerning Shakespeare's text changed during the last twenty years and so much are they likely to continue to change during the next twenty, that the treatment of 'problems' which fills the first of Sir Edmund Chambers's two volumes on Shakespeare will inevitably be at least partially out-moded in a generation. On the other hand, the 'facts' which provide the contents of the second volume are the foundation stones upon which all future students must build. They will be added to from time to time—Dr Leslie Hotson has already made additions since the book appeared—but these additions are never likely to be considerable or subversive. Here, in a word, are to be found all the materials, apart from the plays and poems, for the biography of Shakespeare, annotated by one who knows the period as well as any other scholar alive or dead has ever known it; and if Malone or Halliwell-

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Phillipps could be summoned from the shades and given two sublunary days in which to peruse this book, can we doubt that they would proceed straight to Volume II and devour it from cover to cover?

The following is a list of the headings under 'Records,' which comprise half the volume: Christenings, Marriages, Burials; The Grants of Arms; Henley Street; The Arden Inheritance; Shakespeare's Marriage; The Clayton Suit; Shakespeare's Interests in The Globe and Blackfriars; Shakespeare and his Fellows; Shakespeare's London Residences; The Bellot-Mountjoy Suit; New Place; Shakespeare as Maltster; The Quiney Correspondence; The Old Stratford Freehold; The Chapel Lane Cottage; Court of Record Suits; The Stratford Tithes; The Combe Family; The Welcombe Enclosure; The Highways Bill; A Preacher's Thirst; Lord Rutland's Impresa; The Blackfriars Gate-House; Shakespeare's Will; Shakespeare's Epitaphs. It is of very great value to have this mass of documents brought together from all kinds of sources and printed in one volume with that unswerving fidelity to the originals which we may rely upon in the author. And scarcely less valuable than the documents are the comments that accompany them, the nature and scale of which may be gauged from the thirteen and a half closely printed pages that follow the single extract from the will of John Combe: 'Item, I give... to Mr William Shackspere five pounds.' Little did the worthy John dream what interest would accrue on his £5 after three centuries! The disquisition again upon the sources and extent of Shakespeare's income which follows the 'records' of The Globe and Blackfriars, and that under the head of 'Shakespeare and his Fellows,' which embraces a discussion of actors' names preserved in stage directions, seem to me especially valuable. And the comment is lightened throughout by the writer's characteristic vein of pawky humour, examples of which will be quoted later, so that on almost any page one may come across some shrewd thrust at the sentimental romanticism which seems to dog the steps of Shakespearian biographers. Only once, I think, in this volume does his dislike of bunkum lead Sir Edmund astray:

> A kindly sentiment for an honoured poet [he writes, pp. 51–2] has led to a belief that William and Anne had been living together under a contract amounting to a valid legal marriage....No doubt canon law recognized a contract *per verba de praesenti*, or a contract *per verba de futuro* followed by cohabitation, as constituting a marriage. But this does not seem to have been accepted by English secular law. Nor does contemporary moral sentiment appear to have approved the anticipation of the fuller ceremony.

In the matter of 'contemporary sentiment,' moral or otherwise, the best and amplest evidence is furnished by the works of Shakespeare himself, and Sir Edmund has forgotten that the plot of one of his plays turns upon this very question of the validity of a pre-contract. I mean of course *Measure for Measure*, and I cannot see how anyone reading Claudio's account (I, ii, 149–51) of his relations with the unfortunate Julietta, in which he claims that

> she is fast my wife,
> Save that we do the denunciation lack
> Of outward order,

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can avoid the conclusion that Shakespeare expected his audience to sympathise with the young couple and that, as a modern lawyer writes, 'Angelo's condemnation of Claudio for alleged fornication was, and was intended by Shakespeare to be, absolutely tyrannical and illegal.' (Arthur Underhill, *Shakespeare's England*, I, pp. 407–8.)

The remainder of Volume II is taken up with

Contemporary Allusions, in which, Sir Edmund tells us, 'I have limited myself to passages which make some personal reference to Shakespeare, and excluded some, although not all, in which I do not concur in suspecting a veiled reference.'

The Shakespeare-Mythos, under which heading are included all the traditions and legends connected with Shakespeare which seemed worth printing. An interesting prefatory note distinguishes three streams of these, 'deriving respectively from London, from Oxford, and from Stratford,' and in dealing with the last it discusses the relics and peep-shows to be seen by pilgrims to the shrine of the Bard.

Performances of Plays, a useful item, embracing the extant records of (1) performances September 1588 to May 1594 by (*a*) Strange's, Derby's or the Alleyn company, (*b*) the Admiral's or the Alleyn company, (*c*) Pembroke's, (*d*) Sussex's (from 1590–1 only), (*e*) Hunsdon's, (*f*) Leicester's, but not, unless in conjunction with other companies, the Queen's or Morley's; (2) performances by the Chamberlain's and King's from June 1594 to 1616; (3) performances of Shakespeare's plays from 1616 to the closing of the theatres in 1642. The last section is especially important, in view of Sir Edmund's decision—most unfortunate, as I think—to terminate his *Elizabethan Stage* at 1616 instead of 1642.

The Name Shakespeare, including notices of the name before the fifteenth century, notices of the fifteenth and later centuries, and the spelling and significance of the name. It is to be regretted that in discussing the spelling, Sir Edmund omits to deal with its adjectival form. Otherwise he might have given his reasons for lending the weight of his authority to the spelling 'Shakespearean,' a spelling condemned by the *N.E.D.* and one that seems difficult to justify upon any grounds of analogy. Surely he does not pronounce the word 'Shakespearéan'; and yet if not, can he quote any other adjective in *-ean* in which the accent does not fall upon the penultimate syllable?

'*Shakesperean*' *Fabrications*, a list of forgeries, 'certain or suspected,' most of which 'have been long exposed,' though 'some occasionally still appear in the writings of persons whose historical equipment is imperfect.'

Tables, including a table of quartos and metrical tables, which latter (though Sir Edmund claims full responsibility for only one of them) should prove more reliable than anything hitherto available in this tricky line of evidence.

List of Books, 'mainly intended to elucidate the footnote references' and not purporting to be in any way a complete bibliography of Shakespeare; it should, for example, be supplemented by the list at the head of ch. ix.

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The most unsatisfactory feature of the volume is the 'Subject-Index' with which it concludes, which seems designed rather to fit in with a departmental filing system, than for the assistance of the reader. It is divided into three sections: plays, persons, general—which does not help in any way; it 'is selective, not exhaustive,' that is to say you cannot be sure that the references under any particular entry are complete, and as a matter of fact I am already busy adding references in ink, as I have long been doing with the four indexes to *The Elizabethan Stage*; and finally it strangely excludes the names of all modern critics, or rather I should say of all respectable modern critics, since while J. P. Collier gets his entry as a forger, there is none for F. J. Furnivall.

Here we touch upon one of Sir Edmund Chambers' fundamental weaknesses as a maker of books, viz., his inability to place himself in his reader's shoes and to appreciate his needs. His eight volumes are now complete before us—in magnificent array—and we cannot be too grateful for them; and yet how maddening they are when we want to find anything in them! Analytical tables of contents or chapter-headings would have helped; an arrangement of the chapters in sections and sub-sections, or even more paragraphing and some guidance in the headlines on the right-hand page, would have helped; best of all perhaps would have been a really complete analytical index, such for instance as Dr McKerrow has furnished for his edition of *Nashe's Works*, which, largely because of this index, is one of the most useful books of reference in an Elizabethan scholar's library. Sir Edmund Chambers has seen fit to provide none of these things, and so we half-men struggle with the mountains of material he has accumulated for us, and cover his margins with pen and pencil sign-post jottings in the hope of being able to retrace our steps to at least his more important points when we have finished perusing the volumes and want to use them as books of reference. A good illustration of the kind of thing I mean is the fact that at the latter end of an immense paragraph, six pages in length, we come upon an important discussion of topicality in Shakespeare of which no mention of any kind is made in the 'selective' index. Sir Edmund Chambers has many admirers; let one of them give us a ninth volume containing an abstract, chapter by chapter, and a generously conceived analytical index of the other eight, and he will earn the gratitude of all Shakespearian students.

The quality which Sir Edmund most distrusts in the work of others, is the quality which he himself most conspicuously lacks—imagination. A little imagination would have enabled him to see the student at work upon his books and so make things easy for him. A little imagination—not too much, certainly not a dangerous amount—would have illuminated the volume on 'problems' to which I must now turn. For there is something at once wooden and timid about this volume which sheds an odd shadow over the whole. It is almost as if the author, growing up under the shadow of those two profligate generalisers, the irresponsible Fleay and the Olympian Lee, had registered the vow taken by the royal niece of wicked uncles, 'I *will* be good!' I am not of course suggesting that

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the book is dull; it is never that. But I find it often confused and difficult to read, just because the writer goes out of his way to eschew the theory which, whether ultimately valid or not, might have held the facts together and infused them with interest.

On the other hand, this attitude of extreme scepticism, this contempt for the theories or the romantic imaginings of other men, streaks both volumes with a vein of irony, and occasionally breaks out into a grim chuckle. A few examples may serve to enliven this review, as they certainly enliven the pages on which they occur:

> Of William Shakespeare's own early days there is but little on record; and it is no part of my object to compete with those gifted writers who have drawn upon their acquaintance with Stratford and with the plays for the material of an imaginative reconstruction. (I, p. 16.)
>
> Attempts have been made to determine the precise nature of Shakespeare's medical history, mainly upon the basis of tremors in the signatures to his will. But the diagnoses of doctors are even less reliable when the patient is not before them than when he is. (I, p. 89.)
>
> We cannot, I think, ascribe to Shakespeare that rigid propriety of sexual conduct, the absence of which in more modern poets it has too often been the duty of their family biographers to conceal. (I, p. 90.)
>
> [On the birthday.] J. Q. Adams...leaves April 21 open as 'possible,' and adds that 'the day (April 23) of St George, the patron saint of England, would be especially appropriate.' But Eileithuia cares little for St George. There does not seem to me to be enough material for an opinion as to the exact birth-day. (II, p. 2.)
>
> [In reference to the burial of 'Gilbert Shakspere, adolescens' at Stratford on February 3, 1612.] The term *adolescens*, applied to a man of 45, need not trouble us. *Adolescens*, *adolocentulus*, *adolocentula* appear several times in the *Register* during 1603–11. My impression is that they mean no more than 'bachelor' and 'spinster.' I hope that Mrs Stopes is jesting when she suggests that they may be malapropisms for 'deeply regretted.' (II, p. 7.)
>
> Surprise has been felt that the will contains no mention of books or manuscripts. There is no reason why it should, unless the testator wished to make a special bequest of such articles. A will is a legal instrument for devising property, and not a literary autobiography. (II, p. 178.)
>
> And now as to the 'second best bed.' A good deal of sheer nonsense has been written about this. Wills have been ransacked, for cases, none quite analogous, of other bequests of solitary or inferior household articles. And baseless theories of domestic discord or infirmity have been devised to account for the absence of any further provision in the will for Shakespeare's wife. No such provision was needed....To regard the interlineated bequest as a deliberate slight is absurd. If an explanation is wanted, let us guess that, when the draft will was read over, Mrs Shakespeare asked for the bed; it had come from her old home at Hewland. (II, pp. 176–77.)
>
> One may...suspect a misapplied subtlety when Professor Wilson quotes—
>
> My fathers spirit (in armes) all is not well,
>
> and adds that 'the brackets simply vibrate with the tones of mystery and amazement.' And when he finds 'a wild hysterical chuckle' in Q. 1's—
>
> (My tables) meet it is I set it down,
>
> it is we who chuckle with the reporter. (I, pp. 196–97.)

In this last he has the laugh of me, though he has not proved his reporter's hand at that point and 1918, when the passage he quotes was written, was salad-time. When, however, he writes elsewhere: 'Professor

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Wilson disfigures his own text by introducing a new punctuation, largely composed of dots and dashes, like a feminine novel,' I think I may smile in turn, since I can at least add to the 'feminine novel' Mr H. G. Wells and the F. text of *Winter's Tale*.

Volume I falls into two parts of almost equal length: (*a*) Chapters i–viii, which are concerned with Shakespeare's life and the general problems of the transmission of his texts, and (*b*) an account of those texts, taken one by one in the chronological order worked out in Chapter viii. The first three chapters are biographical, with lengthy and informing digressions upon relevant side-issues such as grammar-school education in the sixteenth century, the confusion of the playing companies in 1592, and the playhouses and personnel of the Chamberlain-King's men. Tradition is generally accepted and the conclusions are conservative: Shakespeare attended the Stratford Grammar School, his father was a butcher, he killed a calf 'in high style,' he stole Lucy's deer, and so on. Yet now and again, when tradition gives an inch an ell is taken, and we get for instance a surprising endorsement of Richard Davies' statement that Shakespeare 'dyed a papist,' on the ground that 'some mental process such as the psychology of religion would call a conversion' will alone explain 'the transition from the tragedies to the romances' (I, p. 86). In this connexion when Sir Edmund comes to deal with *Timon* he inclines to the view that its chaotic condition is due to the fact that Shakespeare 'dealt with it under conditions of mental and perhaps physical stress, which led to a break-down. In any case he seems to have abandoned it, and never to have taken it up again' (I, p. 483). Interesting theories—but theories, even 'romantic' theories. For of course, whatever he may say or however he may strive to suppress them, Sir Edmund has his notions about Shakespeare as well as the rest of us, and hypothesis, like the cheerfulness of Johnson's philosophical friend, will 'keep breaking in.'

Chapters iv and v (*The Book of the Play*, and *The Quartos and the First Folio*) are perfectly admirable summaries, the first of a largely original and close survey of the characteristics of the extant playbooks in manuscript, the second of the work of Professor Pollard, Dr Greg and other bibliographical students. Chapter iv is perhaps the most interesting and valuable in the volume, and I find myself in agreement with almost everything in Chapter v, except the paragraph upon what is called by Sir Edmund (but not by me) 'the doctrine of continuous copy' and the treatment of the theory of 'assembled texts,' though in the latter instance he comes nearer acceptance than I had anticipated from earlier pronouncements.

In Chapter vi (*Plays in the Printing-house*) he is hampered, more I think than he realises, by having to deal with bibliographical theory which has shifted very much during the last ten years and is still shifting. He begins with a disquisition upon the technique of printing and composing, based upon Dr McKerrow's *Introduction to Bibliography* (1927) and for the most part unexceptionable, though I think modern compositors will be surprised to learn that their Elizabethan predecessors

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were so skilful that they could memorise 'a line or so from the copy' before setting them up in type. From this he passes to 'the causes of misprints,' and here he spends some time, I think through misunderstanding, in demolishing a man of straw. No bibliographer that I have ever heard of would be so absurd as to contend that misreading is the sole cause of misprinting; even Kellner, who goes farthest in this direction, devotes a quarter of his book to the consideration of other causes, and when I wrote in 1921 that 'when anything is wrong with the text the blame should *rather* be laid on the copy than on the compositor' I was following Dr Pollard in combating the old view which set down all the imperfections in the early editions of Shakespeare to drunken and ignorant compositors, and did not guess that my words might be misapprehended by someone ignorant of the history of the controversy. On the other hand, there can be little doubt that misreading of the copy is now more generally recognised as a widespread cause of error in printing than it was a decade ago, and when Sir Edmund quotes Dr Greg to the effect that 'nothing could in fact be more misleading than the dogma that "Misprints must be accounted for by Handwriting"' (taken from a review of Kellner), he might also have quoted the same writer's remarks on the relation between printer's errors and graphical confusions in his important articles on 'Massinger's Autograph Corrections' (*The Library*, Dec. 1923; June, 1924), which conclude with the words: 'If modern bibliographical and palaeographical methods of analysis in textual criticism stood in need of further support I think they would find it in ample measure in Massinger's corrections.' The truth is, of course, that the study of Shakespearian texts from the bibliographical angle has necessitated the construction of a body of provisional theory, without which no start could have been made but which needs controlling, checking and modifying in the light of the study of other texts. This checking and control it is now beginning to receive, and provided we sit loose to our original provisional theories and do not harden them into dogmas (as Sir Edmund seems to suppose we have done), no harm can result. At present the whole thing is in a fluid condition, and it will be another ten or twenty years before permanent and assured conclusions can even be expected. For these Sir Edmund Chambers cannot wait; he is making a book. But at times, as he lays about him in his absolute fashion, one feels inclined to exclaim

> The elements,
> Of whom your sword is tempered, may as well
> Wound the loud winds, or with bemocked-at stabs
> Kill the still-closing waters.

Nor I think does he 'diminish one dowle' of Mr Percy Simpson's plume in what he has to say upon the vexed question of Shakespearian punctuation. No doubt Mr Simpson would himself be the first to admit that modifications and qualifications are now required of the general theory he set forth in 1911. The great importance, however, of that publication not only in itself but as stimulating enquiry and research is incontestable, and affords an admirable example of the value referred to above of

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formulating hypotheses at the inception of new lines of investigation. Sir Edmund Chambers is sceptical about the whole business, but his scepticism is due not so much to the weakness of Mr Simpson's position as to a blind, or rather a deaf, spot in himself. Mr Simpson first discovered the significance of Shakespearian punctuation in reading the plays aloud from the Folio text with boys in school; and reading aloud, or at least the capacity of hearing the verse as one reads to oneself, is essential to the appreciation of dramatic punctuation. When, therefore, Sir Edmund Chambers first quotes *M.N.D.* II, i, 10 and *Ham.* I, i, 154,

> The Cowslips tall, her pensioners bee,
> Th' extrauagant, and erring Spirit, hyes

and then comments 'This last line has two commas, one superfluous and the other clearly wrong; and indeed the constant intrusion of a comma directly between the subject and predicate is one of the most disturbing features in the Folio punctuation,' one can only remark (i) that the commas may seem disturbing to the *eye*, accustomed to modern syntactical pointing, but are not in the least disturbing to the ear, if the lines are read aloud, and (ii) that nevertheless the F. commas suggest a rather slow delivery, and had Sir Edmund turned to the two Quarto texts he would have found no 'intrusive commas' to disturb him. He has in truth missed the whole point; but one cannot be Second Secretary of the Board of Education and try out Shakespearian punctuation in the theatre or the class-room at the same time.

I trust it will not be thought that I am fighting for my own hand if I say that I regard the last five chapters of the book as the least satisfactory and the least likely to prove of permanent value. It is true that Sir Edmund devotes a large portion of his space to the consideration of the textual theories of the *New Shakespeare*. He greatly honours the editors by so doing, and they can derive nothing but what is good and salutary from his criticisms. The edition has long needed the tonic of a searching examination of its foundations by a profoundly cautious and sceptical mind, and speaking for myself I look forward to re-reading and pondering these five chapters for the rest of my life. I congratulate myself also that the book has appeared thus early in my task, for though it does not anywhere I think shake the basic principles as re-stated in an article published in this journal last October, I must admit to some shrewd blows. Here is not the place to attempt a reply either in general or in detail; there will be ample time and many opportunities for that. At the moment my chief feeling is one of gratitude. I can now set about strengthening my *apparatus criticus* at the weak spots that the attack has revealed, though they are not necessarily those that Sir Edmund imagines himself to have discovered. Yet I cannot help thinking that what is very much to my benefit may not be so for his, and that his book would have gained considerably had he given less space to the discussion of what are confessedly the purely provisional findings of a serial textual exploration.

A review must sometime have an end, or I should have liked to say something on the concluding chapters of the book, especially the inter-

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esting section on the *Sir Thomas More* problem, in which I rejoice to observe that Sir Edmund is inclined to ascribe Addition III as well as Addition II (c) to Shakespeare, and the amazing resurrection of the Pembroke theory in the section on the *Sonnets*, upon which I will only remark that while

> Dear my love, you know
> You had a father: let your son say so

would be apt enough addressed to the orphan Southampton, it is robbed of half its point if the father was still living, as Pembroke's was till 1601, —and this is but one among many reasons for my amazement.

J. DOVER WILSON.

LONDON.

Shakespeare Studies Biographical and Literary. By EDGAR I. FRIPP. London: Oxford University Press. 1930. x + 176 pp. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Mr Fripp's latest volume contains reports of further research upon Stratford worthies and a group of papers embodying literary criticism. Mr Fripp's contributions to the annals of Stratford are always valuable. His account of various Stratford schoolmasters, including Brownsword, a minor poet in Latin, Roche, possibly Shakespeare's teacher, and Aspinall, perhaps the model for Holofernes, is particularly interesting. He argues at some length once more the question of John Shakespeare's religious sympathies, in order to prove that he was a puritan recusant, in a chapter which may be linked up with his perplexing attribution of puritanism to both Henry V and the poet himself (p. 149) to make it clear that the word needs such definition as Mr Fripp's ecclesiastical learning well qualifies him to give. Mr Fripp's assertion of his theory of Shakespeare's legal apprenticeship (pp. 68, 165) finds further support in the poet's comprehension of the principal legal aspects of suicide, as shown in *Hamlet*. But it is astonishing how remarkably well informed even illiterate Elizabethans were upon questions of law, and any intelligent citizen was capable of such knowledge as Shakespeare here displays in reference to Ophelia's death. Mr Fripp does, however, help us to understand the picture that Shakespeare draws of her drowning, from his picture of the Avon at Tiddington (p. 136). A detailed account of the influence of Ovid on Shakespeare opens with a denial of the 'foggy fallacy' that Shakespeare used Golding's 'clownish translation' of the *Metamorphoses* (p. 98). Such a question cannot be settled in this high-handed fashion, but needs careful textual evidence which is not here adduced. The evidence of *The Tempest*, v, i, 33, is clear. As for 'yellow sands' (pp. 100–1), in two out of three instances Golding uses 'yellow sand.' He, too, reads 'tryple Hecat' (p. 102), and writes of 'wanton' Cupid (p. 112). His shepherd 'pyped still vpon an Oten Reede' (p. 106). And his Autolycus gives better clues to Shakespeare's Autolycus than does that of the original (p. 107). Mr Fripp asserts the authenticity of the signature in the Bodleian copy of the Latin text (p. x), as also of

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that in the British Museum Montaigne (p. 152), which other authorities consider to be manifest forgeries.

Mr Fripp's discussion of Falstaff reveals a complete incompatibility of temperament which he would seem to extend to the creator of the Knight. Surely it has never before been suggested that we have here 'a study of alcoholism' (p. 146), nor has any before so relentlessly pursued Falstaff to his death-bed, with a diagnosis which ignores that which is specifically given by the Hostess, no mean authority, or the alternative evidence of Pistol. A similar stern morality interprets and equates Jaques and Montaigne. The French essayist was once proposed as the model for Hamlet, by Feis, in an astonishing misunderstanding of both persons. The present suggestion seems to me similarly to involve both a Jaques and a Montaigne, if not also a Shakespeare, that are unrecognisable. Montaigne has said some of the finest and most sincere things ever written about marriage, for instance, to take one of Mr Fripp's points (p. 159). It was he also who wrote a certain beautiful letter to his wife, and was capable of great love for a friend, as indeed was Jaques.

The 'ducdame' of Jaques' stanza Mr Fripp reads as 'duedame,' meaning 'dieu damn me' (p. 157). Most students, however, will prefer the convincing explanation set forth by Professor Dover Wilson in the *New Cambridge Shakespeare*. I am glad, however, to find Mr Fripp protesting against the traditional Audrey of the stage, who is certainly not Shakespeare's Audrey (p. 159).

Once more, we have to thank Mr Fripp for a wealth of interesting pictures and reproductions of documents, as well as for the mass of facts that he is gradually building up, which serve to make the Stratford of Shakespeare's day known to us in the fullest and most intimate detail.

CHARLES J. SISSON.

LONDON.

GIOVANNI RAMELLO. *The Tragicall Historie of Hamlet Prince of Denmarke*, 1603. (*Studi sugli Apocrifi Shakespeariani.*) Turin: Bocca. 1930. viii + 292 pp. 50 lire.

Signor Ramello is to be warmly congratulated on his study of *Hamlet*, the first of a series he has projected on the Bad Quartos of Shakespeare's plays, not merely because he has undertaken with such enthusiasm, though an Italian scholar, to investigate so specialised a problem in English, but chiefly because having entered this confine, difficult even for one native here, he shows himself an able and acute investigator. In his zeal, however, he exaggerates the chaos in which English scholarship has left the problem. Writing in his volume dated 1930 he says:

> Col presento lavoro vogliamo recare chiarezza dove è confusione, ordine dove è disordine, certezza di affermazioni risolutive dove è contrasto insanabile di tesi disparate.

But in May 1928 Dr Greg outlined to the British Academy the solution of the problem now proposed by Signor Ramello. Dr Greg indeed introduces some qualifications omitted by Signor Ramello because his analysis

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takes account of certain bibliographical details which his successor has not yet found it necessary to consider.

> The theory which I wish to examine, without necessarily accepting, is that the good second quarto was printed direct from Shakespeare's autograph, that the folio was printed from a playhouse manuscript copied from that autograph, which had undergone certain alterations in the course of two decades of constant use as a prompt-book, and that the bad first quarto is in the main based upon a representation of the play, the actors' parts for which had been transcribed from the same prompt-copy in its original state. (*Principles of Emendation in Shakespeare*, p. 23.)

Signor Ramello has also overlooked such earlier and sound studies as those by Mr James D. Fitzgerald. But he has, without knowing such studies, liberated himself from the far-fetched theories with which much influential English scholarship has obscured the problem. He is not yet, however, abreast of the best English criticism of the text.

Among the many interesting points in the book is the admirable argument in which Signor Ramello insists on the dependence of Q_1 on the play we know from Q_2 and F. Nor does he find any more than did Fitzgerald the need for an original by Kyd to explain its peculiarities. There is also a useful appendix on *Der bestrafte Brudermord*.

It is to be hoped Signor Ramello will pursue his studies in the other Bad Quartos, and that they will eventually extend beyond the five plays he has so far recognised in this class. One is entitled to hope for valuable work from one with such natural aptitude for this type of criticism.

PETER ALEXANDER.

GLASGOW.

Conway Letters: The Correspondence of Anne, Viscountess Conway, Henry More, and their Friends, 1642–1684. Edited by MARJORIE HOPE NICOLSON. New Haven: Yale University Press; London: H. Milford. 1930. xxvii + 517 pp. 24*s*.

Sir Heneage Finch, Speaker of the House of Commons, who was twice married and had a large family, had three remarkable children—Heneage, who became Lord Chancellor and first Earl of Nottingham, John, who, spending a large part of his life abroad, gained academic honours as a distinguished exponent of medicine in Pisa and Padua, and Anne, who, marrying Edward, third Viscount Conway, became the pupil and favoured correspondent of Henry More, the Cambridge Platonist. The unpublished manuscripts, studiously and competently edited as *Conway Letters* by Miss Nicolson, Professor of English in Smith College, are chiefly of value for the contribution they bring to our knowledge of the character, rather than the thought, of Henry More, and of Lady Conway. The letters, further, have much of interest to tell us of the Finch and Conway connexion; they illustrate English and Irish history at the time, for Lord Conway played some part in public life; and they furnish additional biographical details worthy of note, as, for example, several particulars relating to Jeremy Taylor's latter years.

By far the larger part of the material gathered by Miss Nicolson has never been printed before. If previously calendared, or partially used,

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she has, in nearly every instance, printed from her own transcripts. In all she has arranged, to present a consecutive narrative, about three hundred letters and documents. The correspondence of Henry More and Lady Conway forms the basis of her collection. His letters are in the British Museum; Lady Conway's letters to him, for the most part, in the library of Christ's College, Cambridge, where also is an unpublished second part of Ward's *Life of More*. Comparatively few of Lady Conway's letters to More have been preserved: those to her husband and father-in-law are to be found in the British Museum. Further, of course, Miss Nicolson has had recourse to the Public Record Office, and other places, including the Friends' Library, for Lady Conway died a Quakeress. Her transcripts are not always beyond question, and, where so much has been well done, deserved a further revision. Lady Conway's hand, if not difficult, is unattractive; and some of her letters are badly damaged. More could write legibly, but, when tired or hurried, he ran off into something very typical of the undisciplined habits of his mind; and he is not consistent.

Miss Nicolson arranges her correspondence by phases in Lady Conway's life, prefacing each section with a summary of events and characters. These passages of narrative, or commentary, are the least satisfactory part of the book, for Miss Nicolson is often prolix, she slips readily into exaggeration, and the temptation to bursts of fine writing besets her. Is the history of Anne Conway really 'one of the most remarkable of all seventeenth-century stories'? Is the word 'romantic' peculiarly appropriate to the correspondence here collected? The general impression is too frequently that of the sick room, the faint smell of drugs, and cabbalistic mutterings. For More and his circle tended to slip into a credulity the better minds of the century were outgrowing. Can Francis Mercury van Helmont be fairly described as 'perhaps the most universally known character of the seventeenth century,' or as one whose life 'had enthralled the imagination of Europe'? Instances of the like tendency to exaggeration could be multiplied. This is the more to be regretted, for, as an editor, Miss Nicolson has conscience and the right instincts. One or two slight slips have been noted. Lord Herbert of Cherbury's *De Veritate* was first published in 1624, privately printed in Paris, not in 1644 (p. 17 n.). De Thou's great *Historia sui Temporis* (p. 25 n.) was not published in complete form till 1620, after the author's death. Nevertheless Miss Nicolson annotates carefully, with judgment, and not too profusely. The practice, however, of numbering the notes anew for each letter, and not by pages, cannot be commended. The same reference numbers thus may, and frequently do, recur on one page.

It is not entirely easy to understand the esteem, regard, and affection which Lady Conway aroused among members of the small circle within which she moved, although Miss Nicolson's enthusiasm has no questionings. Her placid letters betray little character. Even her husband, an ordinary man of the world, and clearly more at ease during long absences from home, had better natural gifts of expression. It is a comparison of kind, rather than of degree, to turn from her letters to

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those of the contemplative recluse, Henry More. His letters, whether he dwells upon the mysteries, describes a journey, or passes shrewd comments, are eminently readable, and he has a nice humour. 'But if,' the celibate philosopher remarks, 'men were not permitted to leave this life, before they gott one to leave in their stead, Virginity would be a compulsory immortality upon Earth, and some men would be hugely divided betwixt love of themselves and of woemen.' And Lady Conway's one small work to appear in print, first in Latin, then in English, though it won commendation from Leibniz, suggests studious appropriation, rather than originality of thought.

An interest in Lady Conway's life story must remain. How far hysteria played its part cannot be known; but, a lifelong invalid, she knew scarcely any reprieve from torturing headache, which perplexed and defeated the best medical science of the day. All drugs and powders failed; Valentine Greatrakes, the stroker, brought no relief; and Van Helmont's secrets availed nothing. Through it all she devoted her days to unremitting study and the cultivation of philosophy. Ward in his biography of her chief correspondent, reports More as saying that, 'he scarce ever met with any Person, Man or Woman, of better Natural Parts than Lady Conway' (*Life of More*, 1710, p. 193). Time has dimmed for us a light of which her contemporaries were conscious.

HAROLD WILLIAMS.

ASPENDEN, HERTS.

The Student's Milton. Edited by FRANK ALLEN PATTERSON. New York: F. S. Crofts. 1930. x + 1090 + 42 pp. $5.

The Latin Poems of John Milton. Edited with an introduction, an English translation, and notes. By WALTER MACKELLAR. (Cornell Studies in English, XV.) New Haven: Yale University Press; London: H. Milford. 1930. xii + 384 pp. 13*s.* 6*d.*

Reference Guide to Milton from 1800 *to the Present Day.* By DAVID HARRISON STEVENS. Chicago: University of Chicago Press; Cambridge: University Press. 1930. x + 302 pp. 22*s.* 6*d.*

The first of these volumes is a most useful collection, which comprises a careful text, following the early editions in spelling and punctuation, of the complete poems of Milton, with translations of the Latin and Greek poems by Professor Nelson G. McCrea and of the Italian poems by Professor Dino Bigongiari: the more important English prose works: a slightly condensed version of the *De Doctrina*, from Sumner's translation as revised in the Bohn Library: an extract from the Bohn translation of the *Secunda Defensio*: Phillips's translation of the Letters of State concerning the Piedmontese: and brief textual notes and glossary. To include so much in one volume it has been necessary to use double columns for the prose works, but they are still readable. Indeed, the only real inconvenience—though one might also complain with justice of the curious pagination—is that the translations of the Latin, Greek and Italian poems and the originals are printed consecutively; surely

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it would have been possible, without adding seriously to the cost, to arrange them so as to face each other. Introduction and elaborate annotations are omitted, the editor modestly considering Milton's words 'more valuable than anything that can be written about him.' Those who wish for commentary may find it elsewhere.

Dr MacKellar's edition of the Latin poems has a general introduction, introductions to the separate poems, and notes, as well as translations. The general introduction is wordy, and the references to well-known handbooks seem excessive. There are, however, some interesting remarks on the Latin poetry of the Renaissance humanists, and it is worth recording that a scholarly investigation of this subject still remains to be made. Many of the quotations given in the notes seem hardly to justify their insertion. It may be that the book is intended especially for readers with no knowledge of classical literature or even nomenclature, since such information is included as that Ilium is a poetical name for Troy (note on Elegy I, 68). And who is the better for being told (p. 192) that 'Apollo in various aspects greatly interested Milton; in the Latin poems he appears at least thirty-five times'? The translations, though usually accurate, are inelegant, uninspired, and sometimes miss a subtlety of thought or expression. In this respect they do not bear comparison with Professor McCrea's versions. Thus, still in Elegy I, we have (l. 42) 'et abrupto flendus amore cadit' rendered 'and, torn from his love, perishes lamented.' (McCrea, 'and falls pitifully because of thwarted love.') Again, in l. 44, 'conscia funereo pectora torre movens' is translated 'stirring with baleful torch the hearts that are conscious of sin.' (McCrea, 'startling guilty hearts with Death's own torch.') And, in l. 63, 'Cedite laudatae toties Heroïdes olim' appears as 'Give place, O heroines, once so often lauded'—where the reference is definitely to the ladies in Ovid's *Heroides* but is not indicated either by the translation (McCrea keeps 'Heroides') or in the notes.

The introductions to the separate poems are grouped together at the beginning, and the notes at the end of the book. The arrangement of the volume would have been more convenient had each poem been accompanied by its own introduction and notes, as in Dr J. S. Smart's edition of the Sonnets. Some such arrangement might have prevented the repetition in the notes of information already given in the introduction, as, for instance, in the introduction to Elegy II, pp. 23–5, and the notes on ll. 1 and 3, p. 200.

Professor D. H. Stevens's *Reference Guide to Milton* is one of those encyclopaedic compilations which leave a reviewer breathless. It includes almost every document relating to Milton and Miltonic scholarship between 1800 and 1928; there are a few omissions, and one ought to be noted, that of the criticism of *Samson Agonistes* in W. P. Ker's *Art of Poetry*, but for such flaws there is compensation in an occasional dry comment. 'Not conclusive, though accepted by a few critics with surprising alacrity.' 'Saurat, lecturing at Edinburgh, stated the recognised fact that Milton was a man of the Renaissance, not a Puritan.' 'The essays have the unusual quality of emotional power without

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exaggeration of the known facts.' A student of Milton who uses this Reference Guide is not likely to miss much which he ought to read, or to waste time over the unnecessary or the merely ingenious.

EDITH C. BATHO.
ELINOR J. VAUGHAN.

LONDON.

English Biography before 1700. By DONALD A. STAUFFER. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: H. Milford. 1930. 379 pp. 18*s*.

The long neglect of biography as a literary kind is now being compensated for by an intensive cultivation which may have its own dangers. We have done very well in biography despite the lack of interest in the form. But no doubt the modern conception of the biology of literary form will carry all before it, and certainly if it produces works so pleasant in the reading as Dr Stauffer's *English Biography before* 1700 nobody should have any complaint to make. The Greeks long before Plutarch had laid down a definite technique for the kind, and why should not we?

Dr Stauffer's plan is naturally different from that which his compatriot Mr Waldo H. Dunn adopted in Dent's 'Channels of Literature' series some fifteen years ago. In *English Biography* Mr Dunn had the impossible task of covering the whole range of the subject down to modern times, with the result that the later chapters broke into a sort of biographical spray rather than an ordered narrative. Dr Stauffer closes before English biography, to the mind of the ordinary reader, really begins. It is therefore a study in origins. The layman who makes acquaintance with his pages will be surprised at the mass of the material before 1700, and also at the extremely interesting excerpts from early biographies which the author is able to present. Truth to tell this may be one of the 'catches' in the book, for Dr Stauffer has an instinct for the display passage. The lay reader can hardly work through these passages and the surrounding text without getting something which is very valuable, viz., a connected view of the life of the generations which make history. Biographies before 1700 were almost wholly concerned with people who in some measure moulded men's minds. The intimate biography was just appearing—a new and not everywhere welcomed species. So that the historian of biography in that early period is never very far from the central stream of national history or opinion.

What to take in is the problem of all such surveys. Dr Stauffer has not ignored the seventeenth-century 'Character' as an influence on biographical technique, but he has kept it in its place. Mr Dunn gave what one must think disproportionate space to that species. The problem of what to do with the mediæval saints' lives in prose and the mediæval verse life no doubt presented greater difficulty. Both species are 'lives' of a sort. At the very dawn of biography we have Adamnan's *Life of St Columba*, and the verse life just before it expires gives us such a good specimen as Storer's *Life and Death of Wolsey*, 1599. Dr Stauffer judiciously dismisses both species in the short space of his first chapter.

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But short as the mediæval chapter is, it displays the fault to which the thesis writer is prone. It strikes us as a little ridiculous, for example, to apply the academic categories to such a naïve species as the saint's life. At p. 7 the author lists the shortcomings of the kind as if it were a recognised form of biography. Faults of this kind which seem to be the special temptation of the writer of the academic thesis, occur only here and there, and are compensated for by the valuable hints the author gives of the connexions and associations of biography with other kinds. The critical survey which succeeds the chronological survey exposes the author to the risk of partly covering the ground he has just traversed. But new matter is delved up, and an opportunity is given of indicating the significant moments in the evolution of the kind. For example Dr Stauffer shows how addiction to Character writing in the seventeenth century led to the bad habit in biography of dividing the life proper from the character estimate (p. 271). He is able to show also how biography (and autobiography) in the early Shakespearian period is entangled with the romance, and how much the narrative art of Defoe owes to the detailed military biographies of the Civil War period. Further, it had been recognised that the psychological analysis which characterises the work of Bunyan and is such a marked feature of Richardson's novels was due to the introspective habits of the Restoration puritan writers, of Baxter, Bunyan and a dozen others. But no one had given such a convincing account of these writings as is given by Dr Stauffer. I wish that Dr Stauffer's plan had made it possible for him to observe how the novel of our day is turning back on its ancestry and by the mingling of biography and romance has in effect discovered a new species. I also wish that he had made more of the classical influence on English biography. He rightly gives an excerpt from Dryden's important *Life of Plutarch*, the first statement of the requirements of biography which meets modern ideas. I have no space to speak of Dr Stauffer's bibliography, though that is naturally an extremely important part of his undertaking. If it errs at all, it does so in being rather too compendious.

G. Kitchin.

Edinburgh.

Froissart, Chronicler and Poet. By F. S. Shears. With twelve illustrations. London: George Routledge and Sons. 1930. xiii + 244 pp. 10*s.* 6*d.*

It is surprising that so little provision has been made heretofore to give the English reader a survey of the life and works of the greatest of mediæval chroniclers, in view of his importance as a source of English history in the fourteenth century. There is a brief article by Professor W. P. Ker in his Introduction to the edition of Berners' *Froissart*, now out of print; M. Darmesteter's book of 1894 has been translated into English, and recently Dr G. G. Coulton has published a lively essay, illustrated by eighty-two reproductions from an illuminated manuscript

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of the fourth book of the *Chronicles*, but there was a great need for some work of more general bearing. This has been supplied by Professor Shears. He gives a valuable biography of the historian and poet in his personal dealings with upwards of two hundred princes; without such a view of his life no discriminating appreciation was possible of Froissart's method of gathering material from conversation, of his cosmopolitan outlook, or of his capacity for getting at the truth of things.

Professor Shears shows how an early love for the romances of chivalry was not without its marked effect on the chronicler. It contributed towards making his work what it is, the greatest monument to the mediæval institution of chivalry, whether we define that term in the heroic or in the courtly sense. In this respect he is of his time, of the century which saw the climax and the decline of knightly ideals, the ideals embodied in his own words, 'Toute joie et tout honour, Viennent d'armes et d'amour.' Moreover, a knowledge of Froissart's poetry is necessary for a full understanding of his history; facts are his forge, but his is a work of art, he looks forward as well as backward, he imagines as well as describes. We are reminded how Professor Ker held that Morris, in his poems from Froissart, discovered more of the meaning of the historical work than the professional historians, who complain of his levity. In Chapter XII Professor Shears brings out not only the beauty but the importance in literary and historical perspective of the poems, which have suffered an undeserved eclipse since the sixteenth century.

However, it is for his *Chronicles* that Froissart will always be best known. He realised that he was writing for posterity, and that the times in which he lived were vital both for England and France. Professor Shears shows how, in spite of a mediæval attitude to society, he strikes the modern note by his spirit of free enquiry, his rational even cynical outlook, and by his subjectivity. He desires to speak the truth, as he naïvely says (I am alluding to the chronicler), 'as far as it is possible,' and his life appears as a fifty years' quest for facts. If he invents speeches for his characters, even though they do not happen to have been present at the events he is narrating, it is only an artifice of his time, to give verisimilitude to the dull record. Then, as to his impartiality, in Church matters he is conspicuously independent, and his apparently aristocratic bent is due largely to his authority, Jehan le Bel, from whom he borrows whole passages *verbatim*. He does not hesitate to call the Black Prince high-handed, and his next patron, Guy de Blois, self-indulgent. It is to Froissart that we owe the account of the epic struggle for liberty of the Commons under John Ball and Wat Tyler, and that in spite of his distrust of the people. In his facts at least he is impartial, and the successive redactions of various parts of the *Chronicles* show a marked growth in realism. Professor Shears opposes the view that the later redactions show a change of attitude consequent on a change of patron; they show rather a more careful weighing of evidence. The character of the *Chronicles* is always descriptive rather than speculative, though there are passages which would not have been unworthy of the astute Commines.

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Then, as to the general outlook of Froissart, his rational tone is balanced by the appeal made to his poetic imagination by the current beliefs in the superhuman, and he represents his times with fidelity by reporting marvellous stories with apparent credulousness. Without going so far as to say (p. 109) that he eliminates the supernatural, he is modern in his realisation of the 'mutation' of human affairs. Professor Shears succeeds in giving a very clear picture of the historian, his delight in his work, 'plus y suis, plus y labour, plus me plaist,' and his place in literary history.

The quotations are from the French editions of S. Luce and K. de Lettenhove, and are translated in the Notes at the end of the book. There is a good Index. It would, perhaps, be an advantage if the Bibliography were separated from the Notes for convenience of reference. A few misprints have been overlooked: pages ix, x, xi, xii, xiii of the Introduction are referred to, in the Notes, as pages vii, viii, ix, x, xi respectively; 'seige' and 'beseige' occur on pages 114 (four times), 144 and 145, and 'enoble' on page 195.

A charming feature of the book is to be found in the specimens of Burgundian art, the miniatures reproduced mostly from the Breslau manuscript of the *Chronicles*, completed in 1469.

F. C. JOHNSON.

LONDON.

La Femme et la Société française dans la première moitié du xvii^e siècle. Par GUSTAVE FAGNIEZ. Paris: J. Gamber. 1929. xxii + 397 pp. 30 fr.

In this, his last work, the late M. Gustave Fagniez—('grand érudit et vaillant écrivain,' as M. Funck-Brentano designates him in an appreciative preface)—has given us a singularly interesting study of the evolution of woman in the difficult years following on the religious wars and the promulgation of the Edict of Nantes. The habits of violence engendered by all wars, the family feuds, and the sense of insecurity had left deep marks on the individual character and the conduct of life in general; but far more astonishing was the rapid and steady swing of the pendulum towards an ideal of morals, manners and intelligent development which seems to have particularly affected women, and which, endowing them with a certain austerity and virility, prepared them to take their place as the pioneers of a new epoch. It would appear that, before the period considered here, the education of girls tended rather to concern itself with manners and such a course of domestic training as would fit them for married life and the management of a house, while solid learning and intellectual pursuits were held to be scarcely suitable for any but Court ladies. Nevertheless there was a good level of elementary teaching within the reach of all, whether provided under the superintendence of the clergy, or by convent schools, or by voluntary effort. But it is in 1590 that we find Henri IV deploring that 'l'ignorance prenait cours dans le royaume par la longueur des guerres civiles,' and it was the consciousness of this disaster which gave to France two religious congregations specially devoted to female education, the Ursulines

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and the Augustines de Notre-Dame. The first, an Italian Order, appeared in Avignon in 1592, and the Sisters carried on their work with such unexampled success that, before the end of the next century, they had founded between three and four hundred houses. They had paying pupils in their schools, but they taught the poor gratuitously; the teaching was uniform, consisting of reading, writing, arithmetic and household work; the more advanced classes were taught liturgical Latin, the writing of business letters and the general management of a house: in every class religious instruction held the place of first importance. The Augustines, who came into being early in the seventeenth century, had a programme similar in nearly all respects to that of the Ursulines, but in addition they set up in their schools workrooms where tapestry, lace-making and all kinds of needlework were taught. To these two Orders many others were quickly added, some, like the Visitation, concerning themselves solely with the leisured classes, others having the professional ones chiefly in mind. Thus there was soon to be found growing up a generation of happy, well-taught, well-disciplined children, many of whom in their turn became teachers. But, as regards secondary education, one thing cannot fail to be observed: there was no ideal of intellectual culture; what was aimed at was to form notable housewives and capable heads of families. The love of learning for its own sake seems nowhere to be found at this epoch in France, and, perhaps, was never compatible with the keen business capacity which is the salient feature of the French woman.

Even during school life, our author points out, children received a good deal of instruction in manual work, and so went out into the world with some equipment for the task of earning their own living. Hitherto the openings for women in trade had been few and very jealously guarded; many trades were closed to them altogether, and into many they could only get a footing as the wives, widows or daughters of men who were or had been engaged in them. But, owing to the diminution of the working class after the civil wars, there was a far greater demand for women's work. The manufacture of all kinds of linen, which seems to have been a very comprehensive term, was exclusively in their hands, and the making of embroideries, passementerie and every sort of trimming, gave much employment. Lace-making was, perhaps, the greatest of their industries; lace was used on everything, dresses, coats, linen and even furniture, and the number of women employed in its manufacture was said to have caused a shortage of domestic servants. In Paris heavy fines were imposed for the wearing of lace, which appears only to have had the effect of making other kinds of embroidery more popular, but those in gold and silver were also prohibited. These sumptuary laws, so well known in Italy, but never very efficacious there or anywhere else, certainly tended for a time to limit extravagant expenditure, especially on the occasion of a marriage, when the number and value of the presents expected on each side often went near to ruin both families. It was the *grand monde* that first set an example of economy, and it was some time before the bourgeoisie followed the lead. M. Fagniez tells us that Sainte Jeanne Françoise de Chantal objected to her daughter receiving jewels

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from her fiancé, saying: 'On n'en porte plus à la Cour, on laisse cela aux femmes de la ville,' and raising the same opposition to an elaborate trousseau: 'Dans la noblesse et à la Cour on ne s'en soucie plus.' He even tells us of one bridegroom, the Comte de Brienne, who substituted for the jewels usually placed in the bride's *corbeille* a copy of the sermons of Père Louis de Granade: one wonders if the marriage was broken off!

Meanwhile, in spite of restrictions, the first half of the seventeenth century saw an immense extension of women's sphere in industry, and new means of existence were rapidly being opened to them, their capacity for business, their diligence and accuracy, standing them in good stead as it does to the present day. Much as they had suffered from the instability of the foregoing times, these had developed in them an unexpected energy and courage.

In a most interesting chapter on the theatre, perhaps really the best in the whole book, M. Fagniez pleases himself with tracing out the influence of women on the drama. He writes:

> Dans le cours de la période que nous étudions, nous avons vu, chez le public, le sentiment des convenances devenir plus délicat, la jouissance que procure le spectacle plus élevée....La farce allait, sans perdre son nom, devenir avec Molière, la comédie facétieuse. L'influence du public féminin dans cette révolution fut prépondérante.

The conduct and outlook of the great ladies undoubtedly left its impress on all classes. We know much of the domestic arrangements of Mesdames Acarie and Chantal, how, side by side with their preoccupation with religion, they attended to their family affairs, their houses, their children, their servants, with the most exemplary care, and how widespread was the effect of their influence—Madame Acarie, with her enormous circle of friends and acquaintance, being known as 'la conscience de Paris.' But there were many others who, without these outstanding virtues, yet caught something of the ideal and developed the sense of responsibility for the welfare of others which bore fruit in the manifold charitable enterprises, spiritual and temporal, which were such a distinguishing mark of the time. The story, so often told, of the rise and growth of these enterprises and of the great men who inaugurated them—Saint François de Sales, Saint Vincent de Paul, and a host of others with their accompanying female disciples—has been recently set before us afresh in Henri Brémond's learned work, *Histoire littéraire du Sentiment religieux en France*; it is most sympathetically sketched here in the two concluding chapters of this book, and the situation is thus summed up:

> Ainsi point de classe, point de situation sociale pour laquelle la charité n'eût réparé une injustice du sort, ouvert un avenir, allégé le poids de la vie....La charité féminine achève la figure que la situation de la femme dans la famille, dans la société, a déjà dessinée, de façon à faire mieux apparaître le caractère que cette société lui doit.

It is impossible to do justice to a work so rich in research, so informing and so uniformly interesting as the one before us. The mere labour required for amassing all these facts and statistics is amazing, but M. Fagniez, though reminding himself more than once that he is a

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historian and not a critic, is by no means content with the dry bones of history; rather are they made alive by the force of his clear judgment and his large charity.

MAUD F. JERROLD.

LONDON.

Histoire de la Poésie Française de la Renaissance au Romantisme. IV. *Jean de la Fontaine.* Par ÉMILE FAGUET. Paris: Boivin et Cie. 1930. 357 pp. 15 fr.

Of this fourth volume of the late Émile Faguet's *History of French Poetry*, which is devoted to La Fontaine, it may be said at once that it is not well arranged. It is split up into too many chapters, each dealing with different sides of La Fontaine's life, character, and literary genius, and as a consequence there is a good deal of overlapping and repetition. I would further suggest that the quotations are too numerous and too long—too numerous, at any rate, for those who are familiar with La Fontaine and too long as illustrations to a critical account of his genius. The first two chapters deal with his life and character. Without containing anything new, they are sympathetic and on the whole just—a little too lenient, perhaps, to the failings of *le bonhomme*. For the eight years between his election to the Academy in 1684, when, according to Boileau, he promised to be *sage*, and his illness in 1692, which was followed by his conversion, are passed over almost in silence. It was during these years that he frequented the ill-famed and cynical society of the Temple. It was the period not only of many anonymous Jeannetons, but of his liaison with the notorious Mme Ulrich. None the less, no one doubts the sincerity of his conversion.

To come, however, to a more important point, Faguet's account of the 'four friends,' La Fontaine, Molière, Racine and Boileau, which follows the accepted tradition, has been demolished by M. Jean Demeure in the *Revue d'histoire littéraire* for 1929 (pp. 161 ff. and 321 ff.). We must abandon the whole story of the meetings between them, whether in the taverns of the *Mouton blanc* and the *Croix de Lorraine* (both of doubtful existence) or in Boileau's supposed lodgings in the Rue du Vieux-Colombier (or Colombier). The other tradition, that the four friends are portrayed by La Fontaine in *Les Amours de Psyché et de Cupidon*, seems hardly more secure. At any rate Gelaste cannot be meant to represent Molière, for the visit to Versailles refers to the year 1668—not, as Faguet says, to 1664—when Molière and Racine had quarrelled. (See P. de Nolhac's *La Création de Versailles*, 1925, pp. 106 ff.) Faguet's conjecture, therefore, that La Fontaine meant by Gelaste first Molière and later, when he published his story in 1669 (not in 1668), Chapelle, is an impossible one.

But enough of criticism. There is very much in the book that is not only interesting but instructive for all readers of La Fontaine, and especially for those who wish to study him with care. I will confine myself here to a few points which seem to me new or worth noting. We

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are so used to regard La Fontaine as a writer of fables that we are apt to forget that the *Fables* form only about a fifth of his whole work. Of the rest we know a certain number of the *Contes*, *Psyché*, the charming *Voyage de Paris en Limousin* in the form of letters to his wife, a few other letters, and perhaps part of the *Songe du Vaux*—and that is all. Faguet's eighth chapter on 'La Fontaine satirique, dramatiste, élégiaque' is, therefore, well worth attention. It introduces us to the diverting and admirable satire on Lulli, entitled *Le Florentin*, to the comedy which by chance bears the same name and which Faguet, I think, overestimates, to the elegy *Aux Nymphes de Vaux* with its touching reference to the recent arrest of Fouquet, and to some beautiful lines from the *Adonis*, which Faguet with no great exaggeration calls 'merveilleux,' and which illustrate the artist's poetical imagination at its highest. Finally, Faguet quotes from *Psyché* and *Le Songe de Vaux* examples of La Fontaine as a lyrical poet. But he is not, rightly says Faguet, a lyrical poet in the sense that the term bears in the nineteenth century. The high lyrical gift is the one poetical quality that he lacks, 'because he was incapable, apart from his feeling for nature, of profound sentiment.' 'He is the most perfect poet, in all kinds and all degrees of poetry, except the highest, in our literature: he is one of the greatest representatives of French imagination and of French versification regarded as pure music and true harmony.' That is Faguet's conclusion, and it is no more than the truth. It is strange, however, that, considering the last words, he nowhere in this book—unless I have overlooked it—says anything about La Fontaine's versification. Yet in his *Dix-septième Siècle* he had declared that to give a complete idea of it would require 'une étude entière,' and he adds three pages which show how capable he was of dealing with the subject. 'Il raconte par le rhythme.... Il peint par le rhythme,' and he gives striking examples.

Readers will probably be most attracted by the last two chapters, 'Le fabuliste' and 'La Fontaine animalier,' and I would call their attention to the four pages (305 ff.) in which Faguet discusses La Fontaine's idea of the fable and particularly to the passage from the first fable of Book v (*Le Bûcheron et Mercure*) in which this idea is fully set forth. In the pages which follow Faguet for the sake of precision divides the fables into eight classes. They are not meant to be mutually exclusive, but there is an important distinction, well drawn out by Faguet, between the fables in which the animals represent men and those in which they remain true animals. Of the former class he gives as examples the well-known *Le Corbeau et le Renard*, and two of the very finest, *Les Animaux Malades de la Peste* and *Les Obsèques de la Lionne*. His examples of the latter ('La Fontaine animalier') include *Le Héron* ('le héron au long bec emmanché d'un long corn') and *Le petit Lapin* with its consummate lines:

> Elle porta chez lui ses pénates, un jour
> Qu'il étoit allé faire à l'aurore sa cour
> Parmi le thym et la rosée.

But I need say no more; a book which has La Fontaine for its subject

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and Faguet for his interpreter may be left with confidence to the enjoyment of the reader.

ARTHUR TILLEY.

CAMBRIDGE.

Les Récits de Voyages: Sources de l'Esprit des Lois de Montesquieu. Par MURIEL DODDS. Paris: H. Champion. 1929. 324 pp. 30 fr.

This is a well-planned and well-executed piece of work, which inspires one with confidence. During the first half of the seventeenth century very few books of travel of any value were published in France. The chief exception is François Pyrard's *Navigation aux Indes Orientales* (1619), extracts from which were printed in *Purchas his pilgrimes* (1625). But the commercial expansion of France, which began about 1660 as the result of Colbert's accession to power, led to a rapid increase. The best known countries were Persia and Turkey. For Persia Montesquieu's chief authority was Jean Chardin, a Protestant jeweller, who came to reside in England in 1680, where he was knighted and made a member of the Royal Society. The account of his journey to Ispahan was published in London in 1686, but it was not till 1735 that a complete edition of his travels appeared at Amsterdam. That of 1711 is incomplete. Montesquieu had used him freely in his *Lettres Persanes*. For Turkey his principal source is an Englishman, Sir Paul Ricaut, of Trinity College, Cambridge, who published his *Present State of the Ottoman Empire* in 1668. It was translated into French in 1670 and Miss Dodds points out that Montesquieu must have used an Amsterdam edition of that date, which is said to be exact and well annotated.

Other Englishmen to whose travels Montesquieu was indebted were Addison, whose *Remarks on several parts of Italy* appeared in a French translation in 1722; John Parry, a civil engineer, who was Montesquieu's sole authority for Russia; William Dampier, captain in the Royal Navy and pirate, whose *Voyage round the World* was translated soon after its publication in 1697; William Smith, surveyor to the Royal African Company, who published in 1726 a survey of Guinea, which, according to Miss Dodds, is interesting and enlivened by amusing anecdotes; Thomas Shaw, Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford and Principal of St Edmund's Hall, who travelled in his earlier life in Barbary and Levant and published an account of his travels in 1738; Admiral George Anson, created Lord Anson, whose *Voyage round the World in 1740–1744* was compiled from his papers and published under his directions by his chaplain, Richard Walter, a Fellow of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, in 1748; and lastly Thomas Gage, who lived for some years in Mexico and Central America, and whose great work, *The English-American his Travail by Sea and Land*[1], appeared just a hundred years before Anson's *Voyage* and was translated into French by order of Colbert in 1676. Montesquieu is indebted to it for two instances of cruelty on the part of the Spaniards, once citing it by name.

[1] In later editions, as in that of 1655, it was entitled *A New Survey of the West Indies*. It has been republished recently under its original title.

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Montesquieu's chief authority for China, and one to whom he refers very often, is the Jesuit Jean-Baptiste Du Halde, whose admirable and trustworthy *Description...de l'Empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise* (4 vols.) was published in 1735. Du Halde was also editor (after the death of Légobien) of the well-known *Lettres Édifiantes*, a collection of letters written by Jesuit missionaries from 1703 to 1741. Miss Dodds comments, as other writers have done, on the rose-coloured picture which they present of the morals of the Chinese; and on the manner in which their reports were exploited in the eighteenth century by Deists and other enemies of the Christian religion. The collection also includes letters from Canada and North America, in which there is the same tendency to represent the natives in an attractive light. But the writers do not hide the darker side of the picture—their cruelty, licentiousness and superstition. There is therefore less excuse for the legend of the 'noble savage' of New France than there is for that of the virtuous Chinaman.

Miss Dodds says that it is difficult to trace the sources for most of Montesquieu's observations on the Indians, but he definitely refers to the *Lettres Édifiantes* for the superstitious beliefs of the Natchez (Book XVIII, c. 18). Another authority that he must certainly have consulted is Père Charlevoix's admirable and trustworthy *Description et Histoire générale de la Nouvelle France* (3 vols., 1744). Writers, on the other hand, like the Gascon Baron de la Hontan and the Flemish Récollet father, Louis Hennepin, he doubtless left severely alone. As for South America, he used for Paraguay the *Lettres Édifiantes*, and for Peru Garcilaso de la Vega, whose mother was a princess of the royal family of the Incas, and whose two great works appeared in French translations, under the titles of *Histoire des Yncas* and *Histoire des Guerres civiles des Espagnols dans les Indes*, in 1633 and 1648 respectively. For Mexico he used the no less authoritative work of Antonio de Solis, *Historia de la Conquista de Méjico* (1684), of which a French translation was published in 1691. But on the whole Montesquieu pays very little attention to the New World, which Miss Dodds, no doubt rightly, explains by the fact that for nearly a century the attention of France had been directed to the East—to India, Persia, and China. It was not till the second half of the eighteenth century that the New World became the fashion. There remain to be noticed two of Montesquieu's more important sources for the East. There is first the German physician Engelbert Kaempfer, one of the greatest travellers of any age, who spent a year and a half (May 1691 to October 1692) in Japan, but whose account of that country remained in manuscript till it was bought from his heirs by Sir Hans Sloane, translated into English by John Gaspar Scheuchzer, a Swiss who had settled in this country and been made a F.R.S., and published in 1727 under the title of *The History of Japan and Siam*. A French translation, made by the well-known Pierre Desmaizeaux, appeared two years later[1]. Secondly, there is François Bernier, the pupil of Gassendi and the friend of Molière, who, after spending twelve years in India—

[1] There is a very full notice of Kaempfer in the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*.

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eight as physician to the Emperor Aurangzeb—published in 1670–1 *Histoire de la dernière révolution des états du grand Mogol.* It was often reprinted, but under rather a different title. Miss Dodds has used the Amsterdam edition of 1699, the same that Montesquieu used.

In Miss Dodds' Second Part there are two short and excellent chapters on Montesquieu's treatment of his sources. He is, she says, the best 'documented' French writer of his century, both in his exactness and in the amplitude of his sources. He never cites textually, but he invariably gives the true sense of his authority. His references are not, she finds, always correct, but this is probably due, she adds, to typographical errors, arising partly from Montesquieu's bad eyesight or negligence on the part of his secretaries. As a rule, he merely takes his facts from his authorities and draws his own conclusions, but his idea of despotism, which he hated (see especially book II, c. 5), and which is only true for Persia and Turkey, and not for China or Russia, is, as Miss Dodds points out, largely inspired by Chardin and Ricaut. Similarly his famous theory of the influence of climate is formulated quite clearly in Chardin, and is to be found also in Du Halde and Bernier.

In her Third Part Miss Dodds sets out in parallel columns Montesquieu's own text and the corresponding passages from his authorities. This is an excellent idea and one which enables the reader to check the results of her conclusions. I have only to add, by way of slight criticism, that her Bibliography would have been more useful and certainly more interesting if she had given the first edition of the works which Montesquieu used as well as the edition which she herself consulted. An index would also have been welcome.

ARTHUR TILLEY.

CAMBRIDGE.

VITTORIO ROSSI. *Scritti di critica letteraria.* 3 vols. Florence: G. C. Sansoni. [1930.] xlviii + 333; 463; 476 pp. 150 lire.

On the occasion of Professor Vittorio Rossi completing the fortieth year of teaching activity, a number of his friends and pupils have published a considerable selection of his articles which he himself consented to edit and, so far as possible, to bring up-to-date. The content of these volumes provides a better portrait of the master than the one which faces the frontispiece; for it is clear evidence of the tireless zeal with which Rossi has pursued his researches and of the easy mastery with which he deals with the many different subjects which, in the course of years, have attracted his attention. Statistical evidence of this is also provided by the bibliography which is inserted in the first volume: it contains 434 items out of which 48 are here reprinted, excluding, as was natural, the larger works such as the *Quattrocento* which he is now revising, the well-known *Storia letteraria per i licei*, and the volume on Guarini. It would be interesting to remark upon the many items in the bibliography which show the important part played by Rossi in the dis-

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cussion of university reform, his affectionate interest in the fate of his colleagues, and the keen political sensibility which he particularly showed in the days of Italy's worst trials.

The first volume is entirely dedicated to Dante and contains, among others, that most valuable essay on the *Stil nuovo* which is, within a narrow compass, perhaps the best balanced and penetrating analysis of the lyrical works of Guinizelli, Cavalcanti, Dante and Cino. Equally valuable is the review of Asín Palacios' *Escatologia musulmana en la Divina Commedia*. This work aroused considerable attention and found readier assent among the less competent lovers of Dante than among scholars, and, as the former are usually more vociferous than the latter, this calm and uncompromising refutation of all that is uncritical in that work will always be welcome. It is probable that orientalists could be of much assistance to students of thirteenth-century poetry, particularly lyrical poetry, if they did not allow themselves to be carried away by their 'discoveries.' It would be well to get first at the facts, and defer drawing conclusions until such facts had been digested and sifted. We have here also three excellently commented cantos of the *Commedia*, a long review of Bassermann's *Dantes Spuren in Italien*, and odd articles of which it will be sufficient to say that they repay close study, for Rossi has never touched upon a subject without adding to our knowledge, and they have in no way been affected by the passing of years. The last essay, *Dante nel trecento e nel quattrocento*, is of particular interest, for only a scholar, as intimately familiar as Rossi is with all the writings of the Italian 'Humanists,' could have produced it. We know about the discussion between Petrarch and Boccaccio concerning Dante; it was not an isolated case, but rather an incident in the arduous task of reconciling the instinctive admiration for Dante with the ideas of the Renaissance; and a study of it can be, as Rossi shows, of great assistance in probing the deeper convictions of the leaders of the Renaissance.

The second volume falls into two sections, the first of which is concerned with Petrarch, containing essays and investigations which are steps in the preparatory work for the critical edition of the letters of that poet; they show Rossi's industry and the acumen of which the text of the letters will be the ultimate fruit. Minor characters of the Renaissance, Sacchetti, Albizzotto, Guidi, Burchiello and the like, are the subjects of articles in the second section. Three essays of the third volume deal with the history of mediæval schools in Italy, and furnish illuminating particulars about the conditions under which teachers and pupils lived in Venice and Pavia. A long study dedicated to the poet Andrea Michieli is a model of what such monographs should be, exhaustive in scholarship and sparing in words. We meet further with articles on the Trevisan and Soranzo libraries. A number of the Soranzo MSS. passed into the Canonici library, part of which was transferred to the Bodleian, while the remaining section, after belonging to Canon Sneyd and Fairfax Murray, was most unfortunately dispersed in 1919. Those who have sometimes attempted to trace the history of a particular MS. will readily appreciate the importance of the results that Rossi has arrived at in

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this field[1]. The articles on Foscolo's *Ortis* show the successive stages through which that novel passed to its ultimate form; a tangled story is here unravelled for the first time with excellent remarks upon the political and literary influences to which Foscolo was subjected at different periods. Yet another side of Rossi's personality is illustrated by the eloquent discourse, *Nazione e letteratura in Italia*. It is his inaugural lecture on being transferred to the University of Rome; it was delivered on November 6, 1916, and it impresses even belated readers with its virile inspiration. The teacher realised that, in days of national stress, students and teachers must pursue their work with a sterner will and the determination of fitting themselves for the future by good work; and this was good work. It is followed by an interesting discourse, *La cultura italiana fuori d' Italia nel Rinascimento*, and two obituary notices.

C. FOLIGNO.

OXFORD.

GIUSEPPE TOFFANIN. *Il Cinquecento*. 667 pp. ANTONIO BELLONI. *Il Seicento*. 606 pp. GIULIO NATALI. *Il Settecento*. 2 vols. 1243 pp. (*Storia letteraria d' Italia*.) Milan: F. Vallardi. 1929–30.

So successful were the earlier issues of the *Storia letteraria d' Italia* published by F. Vallardi of Milan that now, after the lapse of some thirty years, it has been decided to prepare a new set of volumes. Each successive generation requires a fresh account of the history of a national literature, and it is certainly true that the general outlook upon literary matters, mainly through the influence of Croce, has been so deeply modified in Italy since 1900 that such a contention is justified, quite apart from the considerable advance in our knowledge of facts brought about by incessant investigations. So far three centuries of Italian literary history have been dealt with in this series. The volumes of the second issue, despite a uniform method, varied in merit; but in this third issue uniformity of method is no longer apparent at all. Works of this kind are conceivably intended for consultation rather than continuous reading, but it would not seem that all the present contributors have kept this consideration in mind. Professor Belloni has recast his *Seicento*, and his work contains less that is new than was to be expected; his earlier volume was excellent and showed complete mastery of the subject; in revising it he has had three main objects in view: the attainment of a more logical arrangement of the matter; the introduction of generalisations to suit the current fashion in criticism; and up-to-dateness. Under the first heading one finds that Chapter I corresponds to the old Chapter II with the inclusion of Marino who was previously dealt with in Chapter III; Chapter II reproduces, with but few alterations and additions, the old Chapter I; Chapter III is still the old Chapter III with the omission of one section; Chapter IV contains the matter that was pre-

[1] At least one more Soranzo MS. has reached the Bodleian by the Bywater bequest; and the *Statuti dell' arte della lana* (p. 266) was presented by Mr Murray to the Biblioteca del Museo of Padua.

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viously surveyed in Chapters IV and V; Chapter V covers the ground that was previously dealt with in Chapters VI, VII and VIII, with an addition on the relations of Cicognini and Goldoni and some slight compression; Chapter VI contains the matter of the old Chapter IX and part of what was said in Chapter X; and Chapter VII contains a considerably revised account of the remaining sections of Chapter X. Each chapter, moreover, has been revised in some detail, and has been enriched by sections dealing with the social and intellectual background and the arts. The main object has been to so retouch the text as to embody some of Croce's principles. Also the works of Professor Toffanin have contributed some new ideas, particularly to the conclusion; as is natural, the altered critical environment is more noticeable in the general sections such as the introduction and conclusion. It is Belloni's opinion that hitherto too much stress has been laid on the literary decadence of the period, overlooking its contribution to the transition from the Renaissance to the philosophical age; that too much has been made of external, and particularly of Spanish, influence; and, finally, that *secentismo* is not to be considered a reaction against the Renaissance and the Counter-Reformation, but as an effort to free literature and life from the shackles of classical rules and Renaissance motives. It would be difficult to disagree with such a conclusion. The bibliographical notes have been brought up-to-date; here and there they have been reduced by referring to works from which bibliographical information may be gathered. Given the consultative character of the series, it may be doubted whether such a device can be usefully adopted in all but exceptional cases. There are a few misprints, ranging from *carettere* (p. 1) to *poblema* (p. 598).

Professor Toffanin's *Cinquecento* is a remarkable piece of work, more personal in treatment than any of the other two, and, I venture to think, correspondingly less suitable as a work of reference. The parallel volume of the earlier issue was due to Francesco Flamini, and the emphasis in it was laid on the literary features as distinct from the intellectual and political tendencies of the age; it was equally notable for accurate bibliographical information and also for a certain lack of grip. Toffanin seems bent on avoiding this defect at the risk of missing the good points in the work of his predecessor. For quite a number of years he has been meditating and writing on the later Renaissance and the Counter-Reformation; he has done much to throw light upon the critical ideas and ideals of the sixteenth century, and to show that it was their natural development which brought about *Marinismo*. He has also worked on the literary sources of Machiavellism and, being a scholar of much independence of thought, he has welcomed the opportunity of expounding some very definite, and in some cases revolutionary, opinions concerning this age. It could not be his object to offer students a detached presentation of well-ascertained facts patiently traced to their sources. Much rather would he stimulate them by his eloquence and dazzle them with unexpected associations, and sometimes force them to read a few pages over again when the mass of new facts rendered his meaning less clear. His 'Cinquecento' has no connexion with Flamini's; far less does it resemble

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the 'Cinquecento' of de Sanctis. So much has been written on the political and moral detachment of scholars and poets, that there may be readers who will reluctantly admit that such a detachment was only apparent, and that it veiled a strong political and a normal moral sentiment. Such an admission entails the abandonment of many well-established ideas. Looking at the sixteenth century with eyes that are fresh and keen, and a mind that is not afraid of being original, Toffanin has seen that the earlier scholars of the 'Quattrocento' had been antagonistic to the popes and sometimes to religion in the interests of a Latin, or rather Roman universality; but, when the temporal power of the popes, reorganised by Alexander VI, Cæsar Borgia and Julius II, became better established in Rome and the papacy identified itself with Rome and Roman traditions, scholars and poets began to give loyal support to the popes who protected them, and the antagonism of Christianity and classicism disappeared. By extolling Cicero and Virgil the scholars felt that they were extolling a universality that was centred in Rome and was in fact Italian. At first they endeavoured to combat the rise of Italian as distinct from Latin literature, for they feared that the rise of vernacular literature would break up the universality of Latin. By degrees, however, they realised that the triumph of Italian over Latin could not be avoided, and so persistent was the effort made to transfer the rhetorical refinement of Latin to Italian that inspiration was stifled. The first chapters of this work are particularly worthy of attention and admiration; Toffanin is less at ease when he is confronted with facts which are less amenable to a new interpretation; he is essentially what Italians call 'un agitatore di idee,' and occasionally he seems to take some liberties with the evidence. The bibliographical notes merely aim at being complementary to those of Flamini, and, even then, are far from being complete or adequate. This volume was the first to appear in the third issue and possibly the scope of the revision had not been fully considered, for the notes to the *Seicento* and *Settecento* are incomparably fuller. The plan of cheapening the cost of printing by forcing students constantly to look up the notes in an issue for which these volumes are intended to be a substitute seems to me indefensible.

On the contrary, the bibliography of Professor Natali's *Settecento* is so complete, well ordered and up-to-date, as to constitute in itself an achievement for which scholars will ever be in the debt of the author. Professor Concari had written a volume that was almost the slightest (430 pages) and was probably the least successful of the earlier issue. Natali substitutes two volumes running to almost 1300 pages. This will give some idea of the scope of this amazing work, which is fully worthy of the great Italian scholars of Italy in the seventeenth century. By comparison with other centuries the 'Settecento' had been strangely belittled and misjudged. It used to be called the 'secolo dell' Arcadia,' understanding by Arcadia no more than did Crescimbeni. The age of Vico, Gravina, Maffei and Muratori, of Metastasio, Goldoni, Parini and Alfieri, of Tiepolo, Guardi, Longhi and Canaletto, of Italian music and architecture spreading in all countries of Europe, was regarded as

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an age of involution. In her graceful way Vernon Lee did much to show the inadequacy of such a judgment, and in recent years the whole period has been thoroughly investigated afresh, Natali himself taking a large share of this work, and some of its results have been made accessible to a wider public in the valuable 'Collezione settecentesca' edited by Salvatore di Giacomo. Benedetto Croce has written a great deal on Vico and in general on the Neapolitan 'Settecento,' and the extraordinary vogue of the studies on Casanova has contributed some assistance in clearing up certain aspects of this period; Gabriel Maugain produced an important book on Italian thought; the publication of the correspondence of the brothers Verri is evidence of the research into the Milanese revival connected with the 'Accademia dei Pugni.' It is not surprising, therefore, if Concari's volume was generally felt to be inadequate and out of date; but, nevertheless, Natali's erudition and grasp of detail have produced a work that far exceeds the most sanguine expectations. He seems to have been aware that, in a way, he was breaking new ground, that no one else could ever hope to possess a familiarity comparable to his own with all the aspects of this period, and to have also been conscious that at last, in his maturity, an opportunity was offered to him to give the real measure of his worth. He has planned his work on a large scale, the first volume dealing with social and intellectual conditions, and only the second volume treating literature proper. This very spaciousness recalls the extraordinary diligence and fertility of men such as Muratori and Tiraboschi, and Natali is not dwarfed by such a comparison. His survey is a miracle of accurate scholarship, a store of facts and of bibliographical information to which students of the 'Settecento' will ever have to turn. It is a work of consultation, planned and executed as such works should be in all its details, down to the elaborate indices. It fully justifies Natali's contention that this century was one of exceptional activity and far less influenced by French, English and German thought than has been generally assumed. Natali is emphatic on this point, and repeatedly insists upon it. In so far as its presentation of facts is concerned, his work is beyond praise. He has not only enumerated them; he has mastered them with so intimate a familiarity that they speak for themselves. This period witnessed, in Italy as well as in other countries, a revival of interest in philosophic speculation, and—particularly in Italy—a special interest in literary criticism which was shared by men such as Gravina, Muratori and Maffei; according to Professor Toffanin this critical movement was an outcrop of classicism; it was on the contrary a forecast of Romanticism, according to Professor Robertson, and its echo would have reached Germany through the contacts between Calepio and Bodmer of the Zürich group.

Unfortunately Natali, through lack of interest or of specialised preparation, is less felicitous in his treatment of general questions. Not unlike Tiraboschi, he is more at home with facts than with ideas, and is occasionally unable to avoid pitfalls and such expressions as can, for example, be read on pp. 4 and 375. He is so incomparable a master

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when he moves within a territory that he can claim as his own, that it seems a pity that he should occasionally stray farther afield than is strictly necessary to the accomplishment of his task. His enthusiasm never flags, as is shown by the liveliness of his style throughout this bulky work; on the contrary, he is as keen in recording the results of recent research as in calling attention to points that may still be usefully investigated. Such enthusiasm and selflessness are as rare as his erudition, and have all contributed to the production of a work that will certainly be of permanent value.

C. FOLIGNO.

OXFORD.

Deutsche Literaturgeschichte. Von ALFRED BIESE. I. Band: Von den Anfängen bis Herder. II. Band: Von Goethe bis Mörike. III. Band: Von Hebbel bis zur Gegenwart, herausgegeben von JOHANNES ALT. Munich: C. H. Beck. 1930. xvii + 658 pp.; viii + 673 pp.; 864 pp. 27 M.

To a foreign observer a striking feature of contemporary literary activity in Germany is the writing of literary history; there seems to be an insatiable appetite in the reading public there for books of this class. The lists of new publications in this *Review* bear witness to it, and when German publishers think such works are likely to interest a public outside Germany, also our reviewing pages. This impresses us the more in England, for the production of general literary histories seems to have gone out of fashion with us; and when they are written, their authors show a reluctance—or is it a lack of confidence?—to carry them 'bis zur Gegenwart.' The latter feature is constant in all recent German works, Germany apparently taking her most modern literature in all its manifestations very seriously; even older books like Scherer's classic *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur* have been brought into line with this requirement. In the present work, as completed, after the death of the author in March of last year, by Professor Johannes Alt, more than four hundred pages—nearly a fifth of the whole book—are devoted to a period in which the authors discussed are still in large proportion alive.

When the first volume of Biese's work appeared in 1907—it was completed in 1910—I remember drawing attention to it as a history that might well commend itself to students of German literature in this country. It had conspicuous qualities which we appreciate: a lucid and well-proportioned presentation of the material facts, a discerning appreciation of the beauty and strength of German literature, and more particularly of its basic lyric quality. It had an advantage over Scherer's work—which we had long possessed in English translation—in so far as it did not presuppose in its readers too intimate a familiarity with the literature itself; it supplied the needs of those who sought not merely critical opinions, but also initiation and guidance in acquiring a familiarity. Above all, it was written in a careful and attractive style, avoiding alike the flippancy of the popular writer and the heaviness of so many products of the universities in this field. These qualities seem to me still

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conspicuous as I re-read the work to-day. In his preface to Volume I of this twenty-fourth edition Biese wrote:

> Wir stehen auch heute noch auf den Standpunkte, dass eine Literaturgeschichte erzählt sein muss, dass sie sich weder in begriffliche Darlegungen noch—mit dem Streben nach einer doch unmöglichen Vollständigkeit—in nüchterne Aufzählung verlieren darf, dass sie ferner zeitgemäss sein, d.h. also dem geistes- und ideengeschichtlichen Zuge unserer heutigen Wissenschaft nachgeben muss.

In these days when in so many German literary histories the primary quality of 'Erzählen' is obscured or neutralised by 'begriffliche Darlegungen,' the standpoint which Biese maintains is likely to be particularly welcome to the Anglo-Saxon reader.

A comparison with my copy of the first edition has shown how careful and thorough the revision has been. The work has been brought up to date with fullness of knowledge; and it has been adapted—although just here Biese's original judgments were often in singularly little need of such adjustment—to the new orientation of the twentieth century. In the course of the revision the work has undergone enlargement, Volume I by about 10 per cent. of its bulk, Volume II by considerably less; while the last volume has swollen from 656 to over 800 pages. The pictorial illustrations have been added to, and the publishers have provided a more attractive type. In spite of their increase in size these new volumes are less heavy to handle than their predecessors. Of what I take to be Professor Alt's additions to Volume III it may be said that they are conceived in the spirit of the original work; but in the course of later editions I daresay there will be a considerable shrinkage of the space devoted to contemporary literature. Possibly also more drastic cuts might have been made in the section dealing in what, when the first edition was published, was the 'Gegenwart.' All in all, I would repeat it, none of the recent histories of German literature is likely to give such unmixed satisfaction to foreign readers as this.

J. G. ROBERTSON.

LONDON.

Der Todesgedanke in der deutschen Dichtung vom Mittelalter bis zur Romantik. Von WALTHER REHM. Halle: Max Niemeyer. 1928. 480 pp. 26 M.

In this work the author has set himself the highly laborious task of analysing the various attitudes to death, or, as he calls them, the 'Todesgedanken,' of successive schools or groups of German writers. In order to avoid the generalities which such a method of procedure would necessarily involve, Dr Rehm gives a fairly full account of the theories of those writers who have given special prominence to the idea of death in their works, and freely quotes passages which embody their main conceptions or philosophy. That there should be a certain amount of repetition is unavoidable; for man's attitude to death has not changed in the essentials. The *memento mori* attitude may be specially characteristic of one period, but it is to be found, perhaps less pronounced, in

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others; and it is never quite absent from any. The task of giving the various 'Todesgedanken' of each individual school in their true perspective, and of providing some comparison of them with those of former ages, has been carried out in an able and scholarly manner, while the lucidity of the language gives a real interest to the mass of detail which the book contains. That a few chapters should be dull—those dealing with *Der Ackermann aus Böhmen* to *Das Jahrhundert des Barock*, for example —may be due more to the repetition which the subject has required, than to failure on the author's part to give life to his subject.

In the introduction Dr Rehm discusses the importance of death for literary production, and indeed for all intellectual activity. Plato believed that the life of a philosopher consists of a constant consideration of death, and Cicero expresses almost the same idea in the words: 'Tota philosophorum vita est commentatio mortis.' This idea has been maintained throughout the ages. Schopenhauer says: 'Der Tod ist der eigentliche inspirierende Genius oder der Musaget der Philosophie. Schwerlich sogar würde, auch ohne den Tod, philosophiert werden.' It is equally true of literature, the mirror of life. A modern like Thomas Mann declares: 'Es würde schwerlich gedichtet werden auf Erden ohne den Tod.' Man's attitude to life is influenced by his attitude to death, and his conception of life moulds his intellectual and artistic productions; literature at its highest interprets life and becomes the 'Organ des Lebensverständnisses, sie bringt die Fragen des Daseins, die Metaphysik des Lebens und des Todes in eine Form und wird so Ausdruck des Lebensgefühls, wird Symbol.' It is, in other words, the medium for the expression of the ideas which are current in a given age, it is the field in which each generation can discuss and formulate its 'Todesgefühl'; for each generation is faced by death in new surroundings of thought and must interpret death anew. Yet death has seldom been regarded as an evil in itself; it is not the end, but a change; and when man speaks of death, he unconsciously thinks of life; 'da schwingt auch das Lebensbewusstsein mit.'

The first chapter deals with 'Die altgermanische Zeit,' which, as Rehm shows, was governed by the idea of fate. Fate, symbolised in the Norns, ruled the life of man, but especially of the hero: 'Sie setzten Satzung, Der Menschensöhne Leben sie lenkten, Das Los der Krieger,' for 'Niemand wendet der Norne Spruch.' Death to the 'Recke' was an enemy to be overcome, and this feat could only be accomplished by turning the 'Zwangtod' into a 'Freitod': 'Heldentum ist erhöhtes Leben, Heldentod ist erhöhter Tod; im Tode sieht der Germane den entscheidenden Augenblick des Lebens.' Only in seeking and finding death does the Germanic hero show his strength, and in the final fatal struggle prepare himself for the perfect 'Heldentum.' From this conception the author traces the development of the 'Todesgedanke' through the early Christian era, in which death was at once regarded as 'der Sünde Sold' and the gateway to eternal bliss or damnation, down to the 'Hochmittelalter,' when it received its peculiar aspect through the combined influence of the church and 'Rittertum.' The new attitude is reflected

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in the Crusades, while the poetry of the period emphasises man's duty to prepare for death, so that he may at last gain eternal peace; as Wolfram says: 'Sorge um dīn ende, daz dir dīn arbeit hie erhol, daz dort din sēle ruowe dol.' The later Middle Ages saw the rise of mysticism. Death becomes more personal; it is introduced as a character on the stage, and addresses its coarse and braggardly verses to the audience direct; in the 'Totentanz,' in the 'Streitgedichte,' and in the 'Spiegelbuch' he is alike 'der Allgewaltige, Rücksichtslose, Unerbittliche.' In the sixteenth century the change in the 'Todesgedanke' is reflected in the art of Dürer and in the literature of the Reformation. Man is no longer the slave, but the master, of death.

In the literature of the 'Aufklärung' death becomes a more important factor. Wolff and Leibniz taught the importance of self-development; Shaftesbury saw in nature the fount of all beauty and blessedness; Pope's didactic poems and Ferguson's moral philosophy describe virtue and happiness as one. German thought provided a fertile soil for these new ideas, which found their fullest expression in Herder's *Erziehung des Menschen*, in which the author declares that 'die Vollkommenheitsstufe' which has once been attained can never be lost.

In the period of 'Empfindsamkeit und Sturm und Drang' we can only mention Klopstock and Hölty, whose works, though bearing decided traces of Young's *Nachtgedanken*, show a 'Lebensgefühl' which is nevertheless optimistic. There is no death in creation, only eternal change; but they feel the need to explain what this change is. As Herder says: 'Töricht ist's sich um das zu bekümmern, was wir nicht wissen können; träge und unverdrossen wäre es, sich um das nicht bekümmern zu wollen, was uns von der Zukunft zu wissen not ist.' And thus we arrive at the climax: Goethe and Schiller. Schiller, in his *Ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen*, follows Kant's 'moralische Gesetze' which gave a new turn to the 'Todesproblem'; and what Spinoza, Shaftesbury, Lessing and Herder had taught regarding virtue for virtue's sake—'jenes Bewusstsein, in dem Pflicht und Neigung zusammenfallen'—becomes the *leitmotiv* of all his writings. Goethe goes further; he believes that man can attain to this harmony by the mere act of striving, by activity. Nowhere are his views more clearly set forth than in one of his conversations with Eckermann: 'Die Überzeugung unserer Fortdauer entspringt mir aus dem Begriff der Tätigkeit. Denn wenn ich bis an mein Ende rastlos wirke, so ist die Natur verpflichtet, mir eine andere Form des Daseins anzuweisen, wenn die jetzige meinen Geist nicht ferner auszuhalten vermag.' It is also the sermon preached in *Faust*. Death is no longer an enemy; though he may not be a welcome visitor, he is stripped of his horror and is portrayed as the brother of sleep. To live life well and to the full, leaving death to take care of itself, seems to be the motto of the period; and no one expresses the spirit of the age better than Kant: 'Den Tod fürchten die am wenigsten, deren Leben am meisten Wert hat.'

The 'Todesgedanke' undergoes a decided change in the Romantic period. Death becomes one of the most important themes of both

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philosophers and poets, and we need only mention Novalis as the highest representative of the cult, 'der erste Mensch in unserem Zeitalter, der Kunstsinn für den Tod hat,' as F. Schlegel described him. Death to the romanticist is even less repulsive, it is in many cases a welcome, 'ersehntes Erlebnis'; for death is life, 'Lebendig wird man, wenn das Leben endet.' Such paradoxes as 'Der höchste Moment des Seins für uns ist der Übergang zum Nichtsein, Moment der Vernichtung,' gain currency in romantic literature. The will to die replaces the will to live. Novalis believed 'dass es eine Kraft im Menschen ist, die unter sorgsamer Pflege sich zu einer sonderbaren Energie entwickeln kann'; and this force was, in his case, 'der Wille zum Sterben.'

In spite of the fact that man's attitude to death has changed from age to age—whether he regarded it as an enemy to be overcome or a friend who brought relief, a tragic immovable fate or a cynical, sometimes comical, character—each school was impressed by the mystery which surrounds it. Though man's dissatisfaction with the explanations of his predecessors has acted as an incentive to seek for new theories, there has also ever been the fear that the full truth was beyond his reach; as C. D. Friedrich puts it: 'Sinnet und grübelt wie ihr auch wollt, Geheimnis bleibet euch ewig der Tod.' This point takes a secondary place in Dr Rehm's scheme; but his book is thorough, scholarly, and interesting. His descriptions are illuminating, and he quotes copiously from the most important authors, a fact which not only gives weight to his arguments, but also assists the reader in obtaining a more vivid conception of the attitude to death which was characteristic of each age.

JAMES BOYD.

BRISTOL.

HAVICH DER KELLNER, *Sankt Stephans Leben*. Herausgegeben von REGINALD J. MCCLEAN. (*Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters*, Band XXXV.) Berlin: Weidmann. 1930. xi + 82 pp. 7 M.

The University of London has done its fair share in editing texts in this series. The sixteenth volume, *Die heilige Regel für ein vollkommenes Leben*, was edited in 1909 by Professor R. Priebsch, and now another London teacher, Dr McClean, has edited the thirty-fifth volume. It is unnecessary to say that the editor has done his work well. The fact that it is published by the Prussian Academy of Sciences is a sufficient guarantee of merit.

The book consists of four parts: Introduction, containing palæographical details (pp. v–xi), Text with footnotes on doubtful readings (pp. 1–74), List of names of persons and places mentioned in the poem (pp. 75–76), Glossary of uncommon words or words with unusual meanings (pp. 77–82).

The 'literature' of the subject is scanty. In 1924 Dr E. Baumgarten discussed the sources and influences in his dissertation *Lateinische und mittelhochdeutsche Stephanuslegenden*, Halle. He attempted to show that Hartmann von Aue exerted a great influence on the author of *Sankt*

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Stephans Leben. Dr McClean examined the language and metre of the poem in his *Sprachliche und metrische Untersuchungen über St Stephans Leben*, Leipzig, 1928, and showed that the poem is written in the Bavarian dialect, that it belongs to the latter part of the fifteenth century, but is a copy of a much earlier original, and has suffered in the process of transcription. Even such a well-known name as *Leucius* appears as *Dobetinus* (l. 420), *Lewencius* (l. 908) and *Leoncius* (l. 2500). The analysis of the rimes indicates that the original text may be as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century. Such rimes as *sein*: *gemein* prove that for the poet M.H.G. *î* was already a diphthong, yet the MS. shows some spellings with *i*, i.e., *christenlich*: *reich*. Unrounding of *œ* is proved by rimes like *herren*: *stœren*; *begert*: *hœret*.

The poem begins with a narration of the events following the Crucifixion, based on the *Gospel of Nicodemus*. This narrative appears to follow sometimes the A version and sometimes the B version of Tischendorf's text. This fact supports the suggestion made some years ago in the *Modern Language Review* (xx, p. 314) that a version of the *Gospel of Nicodemus* combining the A and B texts must have existed. The martyrdom of St Stephen follows the Biblical story fairly closely. Then come accounts of numerous miracles such as are common in legends of saints. A curious incident introduced into the narrative is the extinction of the flames on a ship afire at sea by the agency of the Veronica picture of Christ. No source for this miracle appears to be known.

Though the poet tells us his name and where he lives:

> auch hais ich der Chelner
> und pin ein Passawer (ll. 11–12),
> Der dy rede richt
> in theuschem geticht,
> der ist Havich der Kölner,
> von Baiern ein Passawer (ll. 5224–7),

he merely succeeds in puzzling us. Does *Chelner* mean *Kellner* or *Kölner*?

The name *Havich*, in connexion with *der Kölner*, might suggest that the family came from Cologne, and line 5235: *Wir chomen von dem reich dar*, may lend support to the view that *Chelner* = *Kölner*.

The Glossary contains the following words not found in Lexer: *afterkünftec* (*später geboren*), *dâsîn* (*Anwesenheit*), *gotewillekome*, *grisgrînen*, *schalander* (*Ruderschiff*), *schifmiete* (*Schiffslohn*), *sutentür*, *tribune*, *übergüetec*, *wegeschîn* (*Licht für den Weg*), *wunderlist* (*wunderbare Kunst*).

The poem is welcome, not because it has any poetic merit, but because it contains so much to interest the palæographer and grammarian.

A. C. Dunstan.

Sheffield.

Friedrich Hebbel as a Dramatic Artist. A Study of his Dramatic Theory and of its Relationship to his Dramas. By G. Brychan Rees. London. G. Bell and Sons. 1930. 189 + xxii pp. 7*s.* 6*d.*

It is a remarkable fact that a dramatist of such individual genius as Friedrich Hebbel should not have attracted more attention in this

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country. In publishing his study of Hebbel as a dramatic artist, Dr Rees has done good service to English students of nineteenth-century German literature, for it would be difficult to find another dramatist of this period whose art reflects the thought of his own age in so intensely tragic a conception of life. It is possible that our comparative neglect of Hebbel may be due, in part, to the fact that critics in Germany have so frequently insisted on a metaphysical treatment of his dramatic work. But while the poet's own temperament and some of his own statements lend colour to the view—whether explicitly urged or tacitly assumed—that his dramas illustrate a philosophic thesis, closer examination of the plays themselves has led to a re-consideration of this view. Dr Rees states the central problem in the sub-title to his book: 'A study of Hebbel's dramatic theory and of its relationship to his dramas'; and from the outset he joins issue with those who would assume equality of importance between the theorist and the dramatist. 'We therefore consider it essential to a proper understanding of Hebbel to realise at the beginning that he was first and foremost a poet, and only in the second place a thinker' (p. xx). 'The comparative value of the logician and the poet is a consideration which cannot properly arise' (p. xviii). But neither can the poet's thought be separated from his work; it is important to consider the relationship between them. In the Introduction Dr Rees states the nature of this relationship: 'We have to do, then, with a thinker whose thoughts were sudden intuitions, not the result of carefully thought-out logical definitions.... The *Tagebücher* and *Briefe* are to be approached as the expressions of a poet, not as the reasonings of a philosopher' (p. xxii). From these conclusions, reached through his study of the poet's work as a whole, the author proceeds to an investigation, in the first place, of Hebbel's critical thought and, in the second, of a number of his tragedies.

Part I of the study is therefore devoted to a discussion of Hebbel as a thinker. It is divided into four chapters, of which the first is entitled 'Formative Influences in Youth,' the second 'Weltanschauung,' the third 'Critical Manifestos,' and the fourth 'The Problematic, Tragedy, Comedy, Tragi-comedy.' It is difficult to find in this section any clear lines of argument or exposition, though much of the incidental criticism is perceptive and suggestive. It would seem, for instance, more natural for the second chapter—on Hebbel's philosophy of life—to serve either as introduction or conclusion to a section that deals with his dramatic theory, since such a chapter necessarily includes discussion of the basic issues involved in his conception of tragedy. It is, however, preceded by a semi-biographical chapter on the early years—the influence of which is justly stressed—and is succeeded by an account of the poet's critical views on drama, and a discussion of his less important theory of comedy. If, as Dr Rees maintains, Hebbel was by no means a systematic thinker (pp. xx and xxii), it was perhaps inevitable that a consideration of his reflections on drama and life should produce the impression of disjointedness. But a connexion is clear between certain fundamental ideas of the poet concerning human life and the types of

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tragic character and situation that recur in his greater dramas, and the detailed discussion of the tragedies in Part II would seem to follow more immediately on Hebbel's reflections upon tragic art than upon his theory of comedy and tragi-comedy.

The second Part of the study consists of a critical consideration of six tragedies—*Judith*, *Genoveva*, *Maria Magdalena*, *Herodes und Mariamne*, *Agnes Bernauer*, and *Gyges und sein Ring*. ('*Die Nibelungen*,' the author states in the Preface, 'is not included, as it contributes nothing additional to the elucidation of the problems under review.') Critical analyses of the dramas are followed by discussion of their particular contribution, in treatment or ideas, to the sum of Hebbel's work. In *Judith*, *Herodes und Mariamne*, and *Gyges und sein Ring*, Dr Rees sees the Hebbelian opposition between the individual and the 'Idea' or cosmic process. His view of Mariamne and Rhodope in particular is dependent on this explanation. 'As the play stands,' he says of *Herodes und Mariamne*, 'it is clearly completely in line with Hebbel's dramatic theories. The influence of the conception of the Idea is final in this play in the character of Mariamne, who represents it. The twofold command to put Mariamne to death is due to it, the inscrutability of Mariamne *vis-à-vis* of Herodes is explained fully, and only by the conception of Herodes sinning against the Idea incorporated in Mariamne' (p. 124). Yet it would hardly seem to need a philosophic explanation if Herodes' violent assertion of proprietary rights, even to the command over Mariamne's life, should evoke in her the resolve to die rather than let him see into her heart, to assert that freedom of the spirit of which he would deprive her, to avenge herself by continuing the very silence which stirred his jealous mind to doubt her love. Mariamne is an intensely self-conscious individual, capable at once of heroic passion and logical analysis; Herodes' distrust of her loyalty and her devotion leads him to an action which must assail her independent spirit, and rouse both her logic and her passion in defence of it. But Dr Rees sees in this drama the 'portrayal of a problematic nature which could not hope to be understood by those round it, and which, therefore, reduces the tragedy of their situation to a minimum' (p. 122).

In *Gyges und sein Ring*, he also finds that 'Hebbel's conception of the Idea exerted once more a definite and controlling influence on the action of the play' (p. 161). Kandaules appears to him, not as a man growing in ethical stature through tragic experience, but as a type of 'a significant struggler face to face with the scheme of things, the Idea' (p. 161). His downfall, however, is not the tragic fate attending the innovator, but a disaster due to 'the failure to keep his wrong secret' (p. 160). Rhodope, therefore, also ceases to be tragic. 'She is simply a case of a woman brought into a foreign land which has more advanced views than hers. Kandaules and Rhodope do not go to their doom in a conflict with their age' (p. 159).

The familiar assumption that Hebbel's characters are less important for themselves than for that which they represent seems to underlie these statements. There is no reason why Rhodope should not be a

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tragic figure even if she finds herself in the simple situation here outlined; her reaction to the situation is the matter for the tragedy. Kandaules goes to his doom, not in conflict with his age, but because, not content with love, he must display possession. A tragic situation is thus created which men of less stature than he and Gyges would have failed to recognise; and there is surely some justification for the older view that in this recognition lies the significant contribution of *Gyges und sein Ring*.

In his Conclusion Dr Rees sums up the main lines of Hebbel's thought. He stresses the consciousness of dualism in the universe which is to be found in every phase of the dramatist's interpretation of life. To the fundamental question of the relations between his dramatic theory and dramatic practice a composite answer is given. The influence of production and theory is mutual (p. 166); it was the plays of the early period that influenced his dramatic theory, while those of the second period were more consciously related to his metaphysical views (p. 166). Only *Judia* and *Ein Trauerspiel in Sizilien* are conceived on a theoretical basis; the other tragedies are 'on a psychological basis, which underwent a change during the course of the play' (p. 167). Dr Rees maintains the view that Hebbel did not consciously choose to illustrate his conception of dualism in human life, but that new ideas were constantly arising out of the plays during the period of composition. Each play was thus gradually revealed as 'one more instance of the dualism which Hebbel realised in his earliest years' (p. 168); in this way the processes of thought and poetic production are inextricably interwoven. This concluding chapter is suggestive, and provocative. Hebbel is presented as a tragic writer of poetic and emotional power, who yet lacks human sympathy and does not recognise the principle of compromise. Universality is denied him, since the source of strength to which he points lies in resignation rather than in love; his characters 'do not command our pity, but arouse only a sense of awe, grandeur, mystery; there is the problem without its ultimate solution' (p. 176). Yet Dr Rees recognises that the poet touched humanity 'at its most perplexing experience, the downfall of the good, or at least of the innocent. Into this dense darkness Hebbel sent rays of penetrating light. In the consciousness of the sacrificial nature of such downfall to the progressive welfare of the race, we are raised above our miserable ego into a clarified experience' (p. 175). Although the author maintains that this outlook is not sufficiently human to make a wide appeal, yet the vitality of Hebbel's contribution to thought is here admitted; and we feel that the dramatist has in a sense conquered his critic when we read in the final paragraph that 'in spite of all the drawbacks, we have experienced a deeper consciousness of what it means to be a man' (p. 176). Is not this a 'universal' experience?

EDNA PURDIE.

BANGOR, N. WALES.

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Neue Wege zum reinen Deutsch. Von THEODOR STECHE. Breslau: F. Hirt. 1925. 8vo. 351 pp. 12 M.

In this original and stimulating work Dr Theodor Steche addresses himself to the problem of those foreign words which constitute a 'Teilsprache' or sub-dialect with a life and grammar of its own within Standard German. If we adopt his classification of the different types or levels of German into the 'Edelsprache' or higher literary language, the 'Zwecksprache' or technical language, the 'Umgangssprache' or educated colloquial (which with the 'Schriftsprache' or educated written language constitutes the 'Gemeinsprache' or Standard), the 'Mundarten' or regional dialects and the 'Ludersprache' or slang (ranging from thieves' cant to familiar expressions in vogue at the moment), we shall find that the chief area attacked by the foreign element is the 'Zwecksprache,' whence a further infiltration takes place into the Standard. This is understandable, for in the sciences the supreme need is clarity and non-ambiguity rather than elegance or character and there is a constant influx of new ideas requiring designation. Dr Steche next proceeds to single out the various groups into which foreign words fall, his object being to ascertain whether elimination or reduction is more desirable in respect to some groups than others. Such groups are: (1) foreign proper nouns, (2) 'guest-words' (*Gastwörter*) including names of exotic animals (*Känguruh*) or plants (*Pitchpine*), potentates (*Sultan*), utensils (*Samowar*), geographical features (*Tundra*), local customs (*Pogrom*), winds (*Monsun*), non-Christian festivals and time divisions (*Ramadan*), (3) specialised stocks, e.g., Italian musical terms and English tailoring materials, (4) the 'Fremdwörterteilsprache' or—as he calls it later—the 'Fremdkunstsprache' proper, which consists of words from the classical languages and French, continuing the double tradition of the Latin-Greek 'Gelehrtensprache' of lawyers, officials, doctors and scholars generally on the one hand and of French as the polite 'Hofsprache' of diplomats, officers and nobles on the other. Among the characteristics of this 'Fremdkunstsprache' are its readiness to admit hybrids (*Automobil*), its ability to differentiate meanings by modifications of the given foreign stem (*Kapital, Kapitäl, Kapitel*; *original, originell*; *real, reell*), its bogus derivatives (*prozentuell*) and its queer lapses of meaning (Engl. *cakes* for 'biscuits'). Taken as a whole this 'Fremdkunstsprache' is treated by its users just like an artificial international language. This feature is shown particularly in the principles laid down in 1892 by the Geneva Congress on chemical nomenclature, viz. the discoverer or first synthesiser of a new substance has the right to name it, the affixes used, e.g., *—an(e), —ol,—id(e)*, etc., must have a constant meaning and, provided that this condition is fulfilled, no limit, whether by convention or æsthetic considerations, is placed on the formation of new derivatives. Over 200,000 chemical substances have now been systematically named, but for some sesquipedalian forms it has been found practical to use in addition 'Trivialnamen' or everyday terms, e.g., *picoline* (in the pyridine-series) as against *pipecoline* (in the piperidine-series). Another peculiar modern development is that of the 'Anlautsprache,' i.e., letter words or

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initial sound words, e.g., names of firms like *Hapag*, *AEG*, military abbreviations in army orders such as *Flak* ('Fliegerabwehrkanone' or 'archie'), trade-products and wares like *Ica* (a camera) with its diminutive *Icarette* formed on the analogy of 'cigarette.' Dr Steche then compares these various procedures with the methods of vocabulary formation in vogue in Esperanto and Ido. These projects fulfil the requirements of the Geneva Congress just mentioned in regard to constancy of meaning and unrestricted deriving capacity. They differ from each other in regard to the basic stock of roots, Esperanto admitting more Germanic and Slavic elements as against the overwhelming Romance character of Ido, and to the degree of explicitness demanded of derived forms (Dr Steche says that it is like the issue between *Kleinkinderbewahranstalt* and *Kinderhort*, but it should be said in fairness to the Idists that they allow more laxity in compounds than in affix-derivatives). Bearing these analogies to the 'Fremdkunstsprache' in mind, the author would include an acquaintance with modern interlinguistic projects in the equipment of every student of what he calls 'angewandte Sprachkunde' or 'applied linguistics.' As to the scope of the latter he has some interesting views, which he summarises on p. 96 as follows: its field of investigation is the 'Zwecksprache'; its practical functions are to afford expert guidance to the scientist or other specialist in his linguistic tasks and to develop the resources of the German vocabulary simultaneously with its 'de-alienisation'; its theoretical activities are the investigation of the linguistic material provided by scientific nomenclatures and terminologies and—as stated—the comparison of the procedures with those followed in constructed international languages. Its point of view is descriptive ('synchronistic' in De Saussure's sense) rather than historical or 'diachronistic.' Following up his theoretical programme Dr Steche in the second and third parts establishes principles for the introduction of new words. Well aware of the difficulty of introducing new roots, he pins his faith to a fuller and more considered exploitation of the affix-resources already available in German rather than to encouraging—as purists have been wont to do—a proliferation of new compounds. He gives us a most useful survey of the means of derivation to hand in Modern German and employs—not without influence from the Esperanto system, as he would be the first to admit—a notional classification within the speech categories, including, e.g., among the deverbative suffixes those indicating simple activity (German *-ung*, Esp. *-ad*), inclination or tendency (*-sam* like Esp. *-em*), passive possibility (*-bar* like *-ebl*), worthiness (*-bar*, *-wert*, *-würdig* like *-ind*), etc. Among the devices for the reduction of the foreign elements and replenishment of the German stocks he advocates (1) 'Einlehnung' or assimilation to German sounds and spelling, e.g., *Scheff* for *Chef*, *Schie* for *Ski*, (2) cross-fertilisation or blending, e.g., as a substitute for 'methodisch' the form *planbewusst* blended from *planmässig* and *zielbewusst*, (3) simplification of over-affixed forms, e.g., *vereinheiten* for *vereinheitlichen*. He gives a large number of carefully discussed examples to illustrate his new ways of approach. No doubt some words will appear strange and at first perhaps repellent to his fellow-countrymen, e.g.,

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Arbeitung (method), *Warmheit* (temperature), *linisch* (linear), but then the pioneers who introduced *Feldzug*, *Scheinwerfer* and *Tatsache* were met too with derision and obloquy! Some suggestions seem rather happy, e.g., *Satzgrund* for the 'subject' of a sentence, though perhaps Kalepky's *Satzträger* is preferable. It has interested the reviewer to note recently a considerable increase of derivatives in *-lich* and *-haft*, e.g., *gesanglich*, *bühnlich*, *buchliche* Schöpfungen (in A. Heusler, *Die Altgermanische Dichtung*, p. 22), *unbuchhaft* (*op. cit.*, p. 26), *listenhaft* (*ibid.*, p. 72), *novellenhaft* (*ibid.*, p. 91), a welcome sign of vigour and growth. In the present work Dr Steche has given a well-reasoned and informative survey of the state of things to-day and of the possibilities of future development, and his book may be warmly recommended to all teachers and students of modern German.

W. E. Collinson.

Liverpool.

Henrik Ibsen. *Œuvres complètes.* Traduites par P. G. La Chesnais. Tome I. Œuvres de Grimstad (1847–50). Paris: Plon. 1930. cxxxi + 395 pp. 50 fr.

Ibsen the Master Builder. By A. E. Zucker. New York: H. Holt. x + 312 pp. $ 3.50.

The imposing volume by M. P. G. La Chesnais is the first of a collection of Ibsen's works in French translation which is planned in sixteen volumes. The translator has the authority of the dramatist's widow and son and the consent of his former authorised translator, Comte Prozor. This volume appeared originally in 1914, when the continuation of the work was prevented by the war; and now the author, feeling the need of utilising later materials, has issued it in a new edition. A complete translation of all Ibsen's writings is contemplated; and the present volume contains not merely *Catilina* and the early poems, but even the fragment of the historical novel *Fangen paa Agershuus*. Of the quality of M. La Chesnais' translation I am not entitled to speak, although I confess I am a little sceptical of the wisdom of the extreme literalness at which he aims: 'L'exactitude du sens, et, autant que possible, la similitude de la construction grammaticale, ont été principalement recherchées, même par les vers.' Is a translation of such faithfulness likely to be generally acceptable, and especially in France? I have often the impression that M. La Chesnais' verse translation is not very far removed from prose. It is not, however, as a translation—which of course, is of less importance to us—that I would draw attention to the work; but to the importance of the introductory matter with which he accompanies his translation.

The book opens with seven chapters on 'La littérature et la société en Norvège vers 1850.' One has not to read many pages to discover that the author is writing with extraordinary fullness of knowledge and clearness of judgment. His account of the Norway into which Ibsen was

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born, its social conditions and its struggle for literary autonomy is admirable; he gives an excellent account of the Wergeland-Welhaven controversy and of the beginnings of the Norwegian theatre. Could one have a more pregnant summing-up of literary Norway than the fact that, at the time when Ibsen made his début, sixty-five francs a year would have purchased all her original productions? There could be no better prologue to a life of Ibsen than M. La Chesnais' first chapter. The six chapters which follow are modestly entitled by the translator 'Notice biographique.' But so far from these being merely an obligatory introduction to the translations, they constitute the beginning of what promises to be the most exhaustive of all books on Ibsen for the reader who is not familiar with Norwegian. Not merely is M. La Chesnais acquainted with all the published literature on Ibsen—often sought out in obscure and remote quarters—but he has carried on his research on the spot and has frequently interesting side-lights, acquired by oral communication, to throw on the poet's early days. In addition to this, *Catilina* has a well-balanced introduction of its own. Here perhaps more might have been said about literary influences. I have never felt entirely convinced that Ibsen was ignorant of the Dumas-Maquet *Catiline* which was played at the Comédie française in October 1848. At most, M. La Chesnais grants that the title of the play might have been in the nature of a suggestion; and some years ago Professor Koht told me that, alive to the possibility of Ibsen knowing the French play, he had had the Norwegian press searched for a reference to it; but to no purpose. This may be conclusive, but there are, I think, other hints which Dumas might have afforded Ibsen besides the suggestion of Catiline's career as a suitable vehicle for his thesis; and for the rest, M. La Chesnais reminds us (p. 55): 'Ibsen pouvait se procurer des livres plus facilement que ne paraît le croire son ami Chr. Due. Son nouveau patron, L. Nielsen, était, comme Reimann, membre de la société de lecture de Grimstad, et sans doute, lui en procurait.'

The American book which I have coupled with this important French undertaking, has also been re-issued in England. It claims to be the first biography of Ibsen in English for about twenty years; and naturally brings a great deal of detailed information hitherto inaccessible to the English-reading public. The author has utilised a trip to Europe to visit places and people associated with Ibsen's life; but, as far as I see, little has emerged from these personal contacts that is new to the student of Ibsen, or not to be found already in print. 'Problems of literary criticism and literary influence do not properly fall within the scope of this volume,' the author says, 'and therefore the plays have been discussed only as they throw light on the personality of the dramatist.' This is perhaps not to be regretted, for the reader who seeks literary criticism must be chilled at the outset by the foolish tag from the Italian playwright Pirandello which Professor Zucker sets on his title-page: 'After Shakespeare I unhesitatingly place Ibsen first!' Since this book appeared I understand that the American-Scandinavian Foundation has decided to publish an English translation of Professor Koht's authoritative biography of Ibsen,

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which is doubly inaccessible to readers outside Norway, being written in the 'Landsmål.' This will make Professor Zucker's book in great measure unnecessary.

J. G. ROBERTSON.

LONDON.

SHORT NOTICES

The Committee for Advanced Studies in the University of Oxford has published two volumes of *Abstracts of Dissertations for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1928. 144 pp. 1929. 169 pp. 5*s*. each). The value of such a publication is undoubted, and it is greatly to be desired that other British Universities would follow suit. Dr J. C. Ghosh's findings concerning Otway, for example, have not been published elsewhere, as far as I know, and a valuable summary of Dr R. E. Brettle's thesis on Marston adds considerably to what he has published in periodicals. The length of these summaries of theses varies greatly, and is not by any means in proportion to their value, in the various branches of learning. That of a thesis on La Calprenède (1928, pp. 37–54) is a regrettable case in point. Presumably the author's summary in each case is accepted without demur. Some editorial work is clearly desirable. It is to be hoped that in a subsequent volume there will be a list of earlier theses accepted for the D.Phil. It seems odd, by the way, to find Mathematics listed under 'Physical Sciences.' C. J. S.

The Donne Tradition, by George Williamson (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1930. x + 264 pp. 14*s*.), is a closely argued and pregnant study of the 'metaphysical' poets in the seventeenth century, in which the writer seeks to set upon a new foundation the continuity of manner and matter traceable in a long succession of notable poets, and to free the question from the weight of Dr Johnson's diagnosis. It is a matter for debate whether the term 'metaphysical' is not, in fact, the truest single word that can be applied to this trend of poetry, though Dr Williamson thinks not. When we consider its origins, we may perhaps think that Dr Johnson spoke more truly than he was aware himself. Indeed, Dr Williamson's valuable treatment of Chapman in this connexion bears closely on the point. Among the many virtues of this book is its author's marked distrust of vague talk about 'influence.' But I do not think that the study of Baudelaire is likely to help one to understand Donne. There is a profound difference between the men in the very real zest of Donne. The *Goût du Néant*, I feel, is something that would have been almost meaningless to him, an active, stirring soul if ever there was one.

On p. 13 Dr Williamson seems to refer the poem with that remarkable image of 'a bracelet of bright hair about the bone' to his wife Anne. But probably he does not mean that it was written upon her, or after her death, though an unwary reader would certainly take it so. One is somewhat surprised to find Dr Williamson using Cunningham's edition of Ben Jonson for a quotation from the Conversations with Drummond

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(p. 233). Surely Herford and Simpson's edition ought to be taken as superseding its predecessors in scholarly use.

If, finally, there is a gap in Dr Williamson's appreciation of Donne, I should be inclined to find it in the apparently inadequate realisation of Donne's frequent grotesque humour, a fundamental element in his poetry, as it was in Browning's. C. J. S.

William Nevill's *Castell of Pleasure*, which has been edited for the Early English Text Society by Roberta D. Cornelius (London: H. Milford. 1930. 132 pp. 12*s.* 6*d.*), is extant in two copies only—one of an undated edition printed by Wynkyn de Worde, the other printed by Pepwell in 1518. But in both there is an introductory dialogue in which the author requests Copland to print the book, and Copland adds an envoi in French and English; this, and the known connexion of de Worde and Copland, enable the editor to show that the undated edition is the earlier, though it cannot have been much earlier. The poem itself is a belated example of the conventional dream allegory; the introductory dialogue and the envoi are far more interesting. In particular one may note Copland's lament 'Bokes be not set by, theyr tymes is past I gesse' (l. 45), and his reference to his difficulty in deciphering his copy because of the writing and because of the fading of the ink (ll. 946–7). The editor suggests (p. 32) that this difficulty may account for some of the crabbed constructions and for the irregularity of the metre in the poem itself: there is no saying how far Copland's 'divining' extended. The text of this reprint is that of de Worde, with variant readings from Pepwell. But there is some inconsistency: e.g., *auctour* for *auctor* in the heading of the poem, *faulte* for *fault* (l. 945), *effecct* for *effect* (l. 968) are unrecorded, though most of the variants that are noted are of no greater significance. The Introduction adds considerably to our knowledge of Nevill and gives an account of the literary relations of the poem, and other relevant matters, while the Notes and Glossary give what is needed in elucidation of the text. A few misprints may be noted for correction: p. 72, *is no* for *in so*; p. 86, *90* for *290*; p. 114 (footnotes), *949*, *950* for *948*, *949*; and on p. 13, *harbour* should surely be *arbour*.

H. W. H.

Dr John Sampson's *The Wind on the Heath. A Gipsy Anthology* (London: Chatto and Windus. 1930. xx + 362 pp. 7*s.* 6*d.*) is not merely a good gipsy anthology, but one of the best anthologies in existence. To those whose knowledge of gipsy life and character does not go beyond vague recollections of *Lavengro*, it must reveal a wildness and beauty scarcely guessed at; and even for those—they cannot be many—whose learning approaches that of Dr Sampson, there must be much of new as well as renewed delight. It is a golden book, and the notes, a rare thing, are not in the nature of alloy. Dr Sampson's 'correctives and explanations' deserve their title. They are admirable in wit and temper, and almost unassailable in scholarship: indeed, it is with a certain malicious relief that a reviewer is able to point out such a small slip as that made in the suggestion that Wordsworth may have

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met Peter Bell in the Lake District. Actually they walked together most of the way from Builth to Hay. One would like also to add to the discerning 'corrective' on Wordsworth's *Gipsies* and Hazlitt's retort, Keats's judicial pronouncement: 'With respect to Wordsworth's "Gipsy," I think he is right, and yet I think Hazlitt is right, and yet I think Wordsworth is rightest.' That debate—it is hardly a controversy—suggests possibilities of other differences between the contributors to the volume. What would the tender-hearted, though scarcely comprehending, young Princess Alexandrina Victoria have thought of Parson Haberdyne's sermon? One suspects that she would have been free from that inward conflict experienced by Fanny Burney over a similar question. And, on the other hand, how Scott would have enjoyed both this sermon and the tale of the Red King and the Witch! The book is adorned by a coloured frontispiece by Mr Augustus John, the anthologist's 'old friend and brother Rai,' and is rendered more gracious by Mr John Garside's drawings in black and white. E. C. B.

Dr F. E. Budd's anthology of *Lullabies* (Eric Partridge. 1930. viii + 128 pp. 6*s*.) includes poems written in English between 1300 and 1900; the text and notes are careful, and the introduction is thoughtful, emphasising rightly the elegiac mood of most English lullabies. Exception might be taken to some of the editor's judgments: thus, for example, to many readers Mrs Browning's 'conception of the Virgin's natural disappointment because her Babe is "A child, without the heart for play"' must seem not 'distinctively feminine,' but a piece of false religious sentiment, marring a poem which might otherwise deserve his praise of it as a well-sustained monologue. Isaac Watts knew better:

> See the lovely babe a-dressing;
> Lovely infant, how he smiled!

And, indeed, one may question whether the 'religious consolation' in this *Cradle Hymn* or in Wither's *Rocking Hymn* is as Puritan or Genevan as Dr Budd suggests. Many pre-Reformation lullabies, such as Nos. II and III in this collection, have the same insistence on the purpose of the Incarnation, and are more tragic in tone than the verses of Wither and Watts; and descriptions, even lurid descriptions, of the pains of hell are not a Puritan monopoly. But, these differences set aside, Dr Budd has given us a scholarly book containing much beauty. E. C. B.

Among the happiest re-discoveries made by Benedetto Croce, in his researches into the literature of the Seicento, has been that of the poetical and dramatic worth of the three almost forgotten tragedies of Federigo della Valle: *Judith*, *Esther*, and *La Reina di Scotia*. For here was a poet who, in the age of Marino (his younger contemporary by a few years), could write tragedy nobly on noble themes, 'e non solo nella loro concezione e nel loro andamento, ma anche nelle immagini e nelle parole, libere quasi da ogni traccia di barocchismo.' I quote these words from the preface that Croce prefixes to the reprint of the third of these works (*La Reina di Scotia*, tragedia di Federigo della Valle. Bologna, Zanichelli,

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1930. 137 pp.) recently issued as No. 4 of Lovarini's *Nuova scelta di curiosità letterarie inedite o rare*. There are few among the neglected poetical productions of the seventeenth century in Italy so deserving of such republication as this beautiful and moving play, of which I have spoken at some length elsewhere (*Annual Bulletin of the Modern Humanities Research Association*, No. 9, July, 1930). These three tragedies of Federigo della Valle were printed at Milan in 1628, in which year the poet himself died, and are all three practically inaccessible to the general reader. The British Museum possesses only the *Reina di Scotia* and the *Esther* (not the *Judith*, which, Croce states, was published in the same volume as the *Esther*). Senator Croce and Signor Lovarini will add further to our gratitude if they deal in like manner with the *Judith* and the *Esther*, and, perhaps, even follow this up with *La Reina di Scotia* of the Neapolitan poet, Carlo Ruggeri, whose play—printed in 1604—anticipated Della Valle in bringing Mary Queen of Scots upon the Italian scenes. E. G. G.

No one has done more for the study of Comparative Literature than Professor Fernand Baldensperger, and the two large volumes of *Mélanges d'histoire littéraire générale et comparée* (Paris: H. Champion. 1930. xii + 382 and 397 pp. 120 fr.), offered him by his colleagues and friends on the occasion of the thirtieth year of his activity as a teacher of Comparative Literature, form a well-merited tribute to his achievement and stimulating influence. It is to be regretted that, beyond the few words of dedication, there is no introduction to the volumes in which Professor Baldensperger's career might have been outlined and some estimate given us of the value and magnitude of his work. For the latter, however, the imposing list of his contributions to learning and criticism, with which the volumes are rounded off, speaks. It is interesting to note how the sixty-two contributions which they contain are geographically distributed. Twenty-two come from France itself, and nearly twice as many from outside France. Of these foreign countries Italy, Scandinavia, Switzerland and the United States are to the fore with five contributions each. It is not to our credit that we are only represented by three items. But neither here nor in Germany has the conception of Comparative Literature as an independent province of literary research won the acceptance one might have expected for it. Our universities are still without chairs or lectureships on the subject, although these would obviously provide useful clearing-houses for a large body of literary research which it is difficult to accommodate in existing categories, or at least falls between them. One reason is, no doubt, that the subject is ill-adapted to the examination system which controls our syllabuses. This *Review*—and I would recall that the opening article of its first volume in 1905 dealt with Comparative Literature in its general aspects—would particularly associate itself with congratulations to Professor Baldensperger and wishes for the long continuation of his activities as a teacher and pioneer in new fields of literary research.
J. G. R.

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In the *Germanische Bibliothek*, published by Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, Heidelberg, the first part of an *Althochdeutsches Lesebuch*, intended as an introduction to Old High German (*Althochdeutsches Lesebuch*. I. *Prosaische Denkmäler*. Von Richard Newald. iv + 70 pp. 1930), has now appeared. It contains eleven texts, arranged in chronological order, beginning with the O.H.G. translation of Isidorus *De Fide Catholica* and ending with selections from Notker. The book contains footnotes on readings, the original Latin texts in the case of translations, and a glossary. A. C. D.

In Volume XII of the *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature* (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press; London, H. Milford. 1930. 320 pp. 10*s*. 6*d*.) Professor Frederick W. C. Lieder occupies some seventy odd pages with 'The Don Carlos Theme,' an elaboration of the paper he published in the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* in 1910. In the earlier contribution he dealt with thirty-seven versions; in the present one the list is swelled to a hundred and five—among them, however, some very questionable items such as Calderón's *La Vida es sueño*, Racine's *Mithridate*, Grillparzer's *Esther* fragment and Tennyson's *Queen Mary*. On the other hand, important additions are the tragedy by Ximenès which I had missed in the original list—might not Diderot's analysis of this play, from which alone I have my knowledge of it, have been included?—and a number of *Don Carlos* plays in the British Museum. Neither here nor in his edition of Schiller's *Don Carlos* (New York, 1912) does Professor Lieder discuss the question of Schiller's possible indebtedness to his predecessors, not even to Otway and to Campistron's *Andronic*. He merely says: 'Some commentators are fairly convinced that Schiller was acquainted with Otway's *Don Carlos* and Campistron's *Andronic*. Schiller, who never hesitated to acknowledge his indebtedness to others, mentions neither of these authors.' On the contrary, Schiller never, as far as I remember, mentions any indebtedness to previous plays, when, as in the case of *Wallenstein*, *Maria Stuart*, *Die Jungfrau von Orleans* and *Wilhelm Tell*, there is reason for believing that at least the initial suggestion came from earlier dramas. It is to be regretted in this connexion that Professor Lieder was unable to examine J. G. Dyck's *Don Carlos und Elisabeth* (1779) which, I am inclined to think, led Schiller in the first instance to write his *Don Carlos*. The major part of this volume of the *Harvard Studies* is taken up by a study of the Russian *Nachalnaya Letopis* or *Primary Chronicle* by Professor Samuel H. Cross. J. G. R.

Gamalnorsk Ordbog med Nynorsk Tydning, by Leiv Heggstad (Det Norske Samlaget, Oslo, 1930. xii + 838 pp.), is a revised and enlarged edition of the *Gamalnorsk Ordbok* of Marius Hægstad and Alf Torp. It follows the plan of the earlier edition, but does not include the two introductory essays, that by Marius Hægstad on Old Norse before 1350, and that by Torp on Old Norse Grammar. These may however, still be purchased separately. Even without them the new edition is a much

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larger volume than the old, and as it is both clear and easy to use, it will probably not be superseded for many years to come.

E. C. B.

We would also draw the attention of students of Norwegian to a new *Norsk Riksmåls Ordbok* which the firm of H. Aschehoug in Oslo has just begun to publish. The chief editors are Trygve Knudsen and Alf Sommerfelt, who are assisted by a committee of helpers. It has been in active preparation since 1922, and it is hoped to complete it in thirty parts costing only a krone each. The materials of the dictionary are drawn from Norwegian writers—a list is given in the preface to the first part—from Wergeland and Welhaven to the present day; and it will thus provide a valuable compendium of the evolution of the present Riksmål from its original Danish basis. A feature of the work which should particularly commend it to foreign users is its phonetic transcriptions. J. G. R.

Professor Hans Vollmer of Hamburg asks us to bring to the notice of students of German his plan for the formation of a *Deutsches Bibel-Archiv*. The programme is a very large one. It is proposed to describe all manuscripts and printed documents containing German translations and paraphrases of the Bible and parts of the Bible, to collect all German quotations from the Bible and references to it in German literature, and to describe and to provide photographs of all German pictures, frescoes, miniatures, etc., which have Biblical motives. Since this programme is so extensive it is proposed at first to limit these activities to the period 1200–1522.

Konrad Burdach has shown that an investigation of these German translations of the Bible throws a great deal of light on the history of the German language. Much work on pre-Lutheran translations of the Bible has already been done, but since each investigator has worked independently much waste of effort has resulted. Professor Vollmer suggests that in future each investigator should report to a central office so that all work shall be team-work. He proposes that the office shall be in Hamburg since the University Library contains so much of the material which has to be studied, and that a special periodical should be founded in which authors may publish the results of their researches.

This project should appeal as much to theologians and historians, of course, as to students of German. Professor Vollmer's address is Schmalenbeck, Bezirk Hamburg. A. C. D.

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(*b*) *Old French.*

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(*c*) *Modern French.*

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SOME SEQUENCES OF THOUGHT IN SHAKESPEARE AND IN THE 147 LINES OF 'SIR THOMAS MORE'

I.

THIS paper does not propose to apply psycho-analysis to poetry—such an attempt would, I trust, be discouraged by the editors of the *Modern Language Review*. It merely essays a common-place (and, I hope, common-sense) application of a simple method, the use of which has not, I think, always been fully appreciated.

No one can have observed the workings of his own mind (or of that of any of his fellow mortals) without being struck by the power of association. Some of these associations are common to a large number of us. The delight a dog will show when his owner fetches the whip is not an individual trait, but is common to many good dogs with clear consciences, who associate the whip with a walk rather than with castigation. Yet dogs also show associations which are exceptional, perhaps quite individual, due to some memory, to something they may have experienced keenly. And in a man also we may be able to observe associations due to links of thought which are peculiar—sometimes so peculiar that a group of them marks 'the singularity of his essential being, his utter unlikeness to any other creature in the world.' And this singularity is not found only in the men of genius; it is often shared by humbler folk, like Kipps:

> He had ceased from rowing, and rested on his oars, and suddenly he was touched by the wonder of life: the strangeness that is a presence stood again by his side.... 'Queer old Artie!'
> 'Ain't I? I don't suppose there ever was a chap quite like me before.'...

We can feel the 'essential being' of Wordsworth in the *Lines written above Tintern Abbey*, where he tells us what he owes to the 'forms of beauty' seen five years before on the banks of the Wye.

> Nor less, I trust,
> To them I may have owed another gift,
> Of aspect more sublime; that blessed mood,
> In which the burthen of the mystery,
> In which the heavy and the weary weight
> Of all this unintelligible world
> Is lightened:—that serene and blessed mood,
> In which the affections gently lead us on,
> Until, the breath of this corporeal frame,
> And even the motion of our human blood
> Almost suspended, we are *laid asleep*

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In body, and become a living soul:
While with an eye made quiet by the power
Of harmony, and the deep power of joy,
We see into the life of things—

In *The Prelude* (Book II) we have a parallel passage:

From Nature and her overflowing soul
I had receiv'd so much that all my thoughts
Were steep'd in feeling;...for in all things now
I saw one life, and felt that it was joy.
One song they sang, and it was audible,
Most audible then when the fleshly ear,
O'ercome by grosser prelude of that strain,
Forgot its functions, and slept undisturbed—

At this very height of his description of the 'blessed mood' the poet feels doubt. In *Tintern Abbey*:

—If this
Be but a vain belief,—

In *The Prelude*:

—If this be error, and another faith
Find easier access to the pious mind,—

Yet the poet continues to tell how he has turned in spirit to these 'forms of beauty':

—If this
Be but a vain belief, yet, oh! how oft,
In darkness, and amid the many shapes
Of joyless daylight; when the fretful stir
Unprofitable, and the fever of the world,
Have hung upon the beatings of my heart,
How oft, in spirit, have I turned to thee,
O sylvan Wye!

So in *The Prelude*:

—If this be error...
Yet were I grossly destitute of all
Those human sentiments which make this earth
So dear, if I should fail, with grateful voice
To speak of you, Ye Mountains and Ye Lakes
And sounding Cataracts! Ye Mists and Winds
That dwell among the hills where I was born.
...if in this time
Of dereliction and dismay, I yet
Despair not....

The sequence of thought is the same. The 'blessed mood' which the poet has felt; the sudden doubt: 'if this be error'; yet must he speak of the comfort he has received, amid the 'fretful stir unprofitable,' the 'dereliction and dismay.'

Now many have felt this 'blessed mood'; many have felt the shadow of doubt in the midst of their joy; all have found comfort in distress from memories such as those of which Wordsworth speaks. Yet, if we

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did not know anything of the authorship of these lines from *Tintern Abbey* and from *The Prelude*, I do not think it could be reasonably maintained that two minds had conceived them in entire independence. And, nevertheless, note how very small is the actual verbal repetition, almost limited to simple words like 'sleep,' 'joy,' 'life,' 'if this be (error), yet.' The poet's power of language is shown by the way in which he clothes the same thought in phrases generally, though not always, different.

Of course, this argument of the individual mind shown by certain sequences of thought may be pressed dangerously. We must allow for chance. An American scholar has recently pointed out a resemblance between *Beowulf* and a story written in the second half of the eleventh century at the court of Kashmir[1]. There is a real likeness: though I think that it is one which could be accounted for by supposing that certain elements, common wherever the human race is interested in stories, have happened to come together, and, alike in western Europe and in India have, independently of each other, made a very similar, yet fortuitous, combination. But the most striking thing, which the American scholar had not noted, is that in both stories the same moral is drawn, that 'Fate favours the brave.' Now this can only be an accident; it is part of the literary form in which the deeds of Beowulf and the Indian story are dressed, and even if we allow the *stories* to have some ultimate connexion, this literary form must be independent. But if the resemblances had been between two poems where a theory of literary connexion was possible, say between *Beowulf* and some Latin poem of the Dark Ages, this verbal parallel, combined with the indisputable likeness of the story, would have seemed to many too strong to be dismissed as purely fortuitous. Yet fortuitous it must be.

Nevertheless, a point can be reached beyond which it becomes absurd to speak of fortuitous combinations.

It is for that reason that, in dealing with such a problem as the authorship of the passage of 147 lines, sometimes attributed to Shakespeare, in the play of *Sir Thomas More*, it is vital to consider the different parallels with Shakespeare, not merely in isolation, but as a series in succession. The evidence is cumulative. We must constantly ask ourselves: is it reasonable to dismiss this also as an accident, in view of the other parallels which we have already observed?

The veteran Shakespeare-scholars who have dismissed the claim that

[1] *Eine mittelalterlich-indische Parallele zum Beowulf*, by A. H. Krappe, in the *Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift*, XV, 1927, pp. 54–8.

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'the 147 lines' are the work of Shakespeare, scholars like Sir Sidney Lee and Professor Alois Brandl, seem hardly to have allowed sufficiently for this cumulation. Brandl comes forward as the Devil's Advocate (a part which, as he genially admits, can never be a popular one). 'A hundred unreliable arguments,' he says, 'do not together make one reliable one[1].' But surely we must discriminate. If our arguments are so unreliable as not to be arguments at all, then clearly Brandl is right; the sum of a hundred naughts is still naught. But if our arguments *are* arguments, even though each taken singly may be unreliable, nevertheless, *if they are independent of each other*, they may together make a reliable group.

In practice we all admit this. You have to meet a stranger in a crowd, knowing only that he has red hair, wears a monocle and walks with a limp. Each of these things, taken singly, is common to thousands or to tens of thousands of people. Yet, when you catch sight, amid the crowd, of a red-haired man, you don't meditate upon the total number of red-haired men in England—you look for the monocle and the limp. If these are also there, you ask, with some confidence, 'Are you Mr Harris?'—or whatever the name may be. If he says yes, you accept the identification, without brooding over the fact that there are nearly a thousand Harrises in the London Telephone Directory alone.

And in one sense our problem is easier than this. For the crowd amid which we have to identify our man is not great. Shakespeare and the author of 'the 147 lines' belong to a *small* group—the writers for the stage from about 1590 to 1600: a group of only a few dozen at most.

The main outlines of the problem are well known. The play of *Sir Thomas More* is extant in manuscript in six different handwritings. This passage of 147 lines is written in a hand which Dr Greg named D, in his monumental edition of the play, and it is the only passage written in that hand. The character of his corrections shows that D is the author of the lines he writes. These lines had been cursorily attributed to Shakespeare, on grounds of style, in 1871; but there was no elaborate investigation till Sir Edward Maunde Thompson took up the problem *solely from the point of view of the handwriting*, in 1916. With a boldness which is astonishing, when we remember that all he had of Shakespeare's hand was six signatures and the words *By me*, Sir Edward almost staked his reputation as a palæographer upon his conviction that the two hands were the same. The confidence of this challenge has concentrated attention upon the palæographical problems of the play, which have been the

[1] 'Hundert unverlässliche Argumente geben miteinander noch nicht ein verlässliches.' (Alois Brandl, quoted in *Die Literatur*, Stuttgart, XXVII, Jan. 1925, p. 221.)

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subject of several books and many articles. The literary problems have received comparatively little attention. I contributed a paper on them to the joint volume *Shakespeare's Hand in the Play of Sir Thomas More* published eight years ago, and one or two friends have since given me some valuable hints which I shall use later in this paper.

Above all, Professor Caroline Spurgeon has written a paper on *Imagery in the Sir Thomas More Fragment*, part of which covers much the same ground as my earlier paper, but in a different way. It affords most valuable and welcome confirmation, because of the different approach, and also because Dr Spurgeon is (what I am not) an accomplished Shakespearean scholar, and her systematic work on Shakespeare's images places her in a very strong position, even among accomplished Shakespearean scholars.

I propose to approach the problem yet again, and again from a somewhat different angle, and in doing so I shall have occasion repeatedly to express my indebtedness to Professor Spurgeon.

What I wish to emphasise is the extreme complexity of the combinations common to 'the 147 lines' of *Sir Thomas More* and to Shakespeare. Sir E. K. Chambers, after dealing at length with the palæographical problem, simply says:

> Professor R. W. Chambers has shown that the combination of sympathy for the psychology of the mob, with a strong sense of order and degree, as maintainers of the social system against anarchy, is consonant with the political temper, not only of the early Cade scenes, but also of *Julius Caesar*, *Troilus and Cressida* and *Coriolanus*[1].

Now this seems to me to state only a small (albeit important) portion of the problem. It *is* certainly demonstrable that Shakespeare had a passionate love of authority and order, and at the same time was, as Bagehot has said, '*sympathisingly* cognizant with the talk of the illogical classes.' And it is certain that in 'the 147 lines' the combination of these two things, passionate abhorrence of mob rule and good-natured ridicule of mob logic, is to be found; it is, if possible, more emphatic and undeniable in 'the 147 lines' than in Shakespeare's acknowledged work. And it is no doubt a remarkable combination. There is something individual about it (just as there is about the *saeva indignatio* of Swift's Irish pamphlets, the combination of hatred of the oppressor with contempt for the oppressed). But this combination is worked out in detail through a number of other combinations, and these combinations in their turn are equally characteristic of Shakespeare. The argument that the author

[1] *William Shakespeare*, I, p. 509.

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of 'the 147 lines' is Shakespeare lies, not in any one of these, but in the whole combination of combinations.

Let us take the opening lines of D's addition[1]:

Enter Lincoln, Doll, Clown, George Betts, Williamson, others, and a Sergeant at Arms.

Lincoln. Peace, hear me, he that will not see a red herring at a Harry groat, butter at elevenpence a pound, meal at nine shillings a bushel and beef at four nobles a stone, list to me.

Geo. Bett. It will come to that pass if strangers be suffered, mark him.

Lincoln. Our country is a great eating country, argo they eat more in our country than they do in their own.

Betts Clo. By a half-penny loaf a day, Troy weight.

Lincoln. They bring in strange roots, which is merely to the undoing of poor prentices, for what's a sorry parsnip to a good heart?

William. Trash, trash; they breed sore eyes, and 'tis enough to infect the City with the palsy.

Lincoln. Nay, it has infected it with the palsy, for these bastards of dung, as you know they grow in dung, have infected us, and it is our infection will make the City shake, which partly comes through the eating of parsnips.

Clown. Betts. True, and pumpions together.

Sergeant. What say you to the mercy of the king, do you refuse it?

Lincoln. You would have us upon th'hip, would you? No, marry do we not; we accept of the king's mercy but we will show no mercy upon the strangers.

Now, any reader must be struck by the general resemblance of these lines to the Jack Cade scenes in *Henry VI, Part II*, and in particular by the use of *argo* for *ergo* in both scenes.

A difficulty as to the pronunciation of *er*, which has given us *clerk* and *Clarke*, *Derby* pronounced *Darby*, existed in Elizabethan days. This led to the mispronunciation which pedants called *Plateasmus*. '*Plateasmus est quando crasius et voce plusquam virili loqui nitimur*[2]': so Lyly's Grammar tells us, and *argo* for *ergo* is one of the instances supplied:

$$\text{Vt pro} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{Ergo} \\ \text{Sperma} \\ \text{Perago} \end{Bmatrix} \text{efferimus,} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{Argo} \\ \text{Sparma} \\ \text{Parago.} \end{Bmatrix}$$

Now it is a common Elizabethan joke to make the pedant, or some person of low degree, chop logic with *ergo*. This happens in Shakespeare five times, in Ben Jonson, Heywood, Dekker, Lodge, Greene, Sharpham and elsewhere. Therefore, in view of this common mispronunciation, against which schoolboys were warned, it would seem to be an obvious elaboration of the jest to go farther, and make the man of low degree mis-

[1] The stage direction, and most of the names of the speakers, were added in the hand of C. The writer of the text (D) allotted the speeches here to Lincoln and the Sergeant, and marked the remaining speeches by the word *other* (*oth., o.*).

I have intentionally modernised the spelling. We are all familiar with Shakespeare in modern spelling, whilst *Sir Thomas More* has never been reprinted save in the old spelling. This creates a subtle, quite unjustified, feeling of difference.

[2] From the *Brevissima Institutio*, a portion of Lyly's *Latin Grammar*. This portion was in existence as early as 1569. It is quoted by Prof. H. M. Ayres in *Speculum*, I, pp. 440–3.

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pronounce his *ergo* as *argo*. Nevertheless, I only know of three examples. I have searched, or had search made, in all the extant plays between 1580 and 1610, and *argo* is reported only the three times we know: in this mob scene of D's addition to *Sir Thomas More*; in the Jack Cade scene in *Henry VI, Part II* (IV, ii) and (improved to *argal*) in *Hamlet* (v, i, 12, etc.). It is just possible (though extremely unlikely) that an example *may* have escaped the vigilance of Miss Mary McGregor, to whose help in this search I express my indebtedness. Anyway, we can say that this *argo*-jest, unlike the *ergo*-jest, is not a commonplace.

But the occurrence of this word in itself is nothing, compared with the context in which we find it. Jack Cade and his men chop their logic, and all the time the author is poking fun at them, with that 'good nature with which he seems always to make sport with the passions and follies of a mob, as with an irrational animal.' 'There's Smith the weaver,' says Holland. '*Argo*, their thread of life is spun,' says Bevis; and then Jack Cade enters with his questionable economics: 'There shall be in England seven halfpenny loaves sold for a penny; the three hooped pot shall have ten hoops; and I will make it felony to drink small beer.'

The argument for identity of authorship does not lie in the fact that *argo* is unknown in extant Elizabethan drama outside Shakespeare and 'the 147 lines'; it does not even lie in the occurrence in both scenes of both *argo* and the *halfpenny loaf* (striking as this is, for how many times elsewhere in Elizabethan drama is mention made of halfpenny loaves?). Nevertheless, the fact that the *argo* and the *halfpenny loaf* occur in both passages is not the point. The point is that the thought is the same: we have the same type of false argument, mingled with false economics, and discussion of the diet of the poor. The *argo* and the *halfpenny loaf* are merely, as it were, signposts which attract our attention. We look, and we find that the thought is being led in the same direction. It is that which matters, although, but for the signposts, we might have overlooked the similarity of the thought.

Professor Schücking has suggested Heywood rather than Shakespeare as the possible author of D's '147 lines.' Nothing could show more strongly the special character of the relationship of these lines with Shakespeare, than a comparison of the relationship which Schücking tries to establish with Heywood.

Schücking points to no sequences of thought common to Heywood and 'the 147 lines'; all we get is the occasional occurrence of a phrase or idea in common, and it is to this that Schücking trusts. Such common phraseology may sometimes have subsidiary value, but it forms no

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foundation for attributing to one author the different writings in which it occurs.

It is necessary to repeat that it is not in the single phrase or idea that individuality shows itself, but in the *combination of ideas*, till we get a complex so marked that its reproduction can hardly be the result of mere accident. 'Our country is a great eating country,' says the agitator in *Sir Thomas More*. Schücking adduces, as a parallel between *Sir Thomas More* and Heywood, Heywood's allusion to the English love of 'the large excess of a full table[1].' But that England is a country of large appetites is mentioned by the agitator in *Sir Thomas More* as a fact generally known and admitted, on which he can base his argument. How can the fact that a writer knows of a thing which everybody knows, be an argument that he is one particular man, whether Heywood or anybody else? It certainly cannot make for Heywood against Shakespeare, for in *Macbeth* also we have allusion to 'English epicures' (i.e., gluttons). It proves nothing either way, in favour of either Shakespeare or Heywood. This charge of gluttony is a frequent one. It may be that in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries Englishmen were more prone to admit gluttony as a national fault than they have been before or since. If this be so, then such references go to prove that the play of *Sir Thomas More* and Thomas Heywood and William Shakespeare all belong to the sixteenth or early seventeenth century. But that we knew already. What *is* Shakespearean is not 'Our country is a great eating country,' but the combination of ideas which we find common to 'the 147 lines' and to the Jack Cade scenes.

When we come to a comparison of the speeches of More in 'the 147 lines' and of Ulysses in *Troilus and Cressida*, we shall find that not only are the same ideas combined, but (what is even more remarkable) they are developed in exactly the same order. In the scenes of riot this is not always so, nor is that fact surprising. 'Then are we in order when we are most out of order,' says Jack Cade. 'You...whose discipline is riot,' says More to the mob. That the *order* of the rioters is *disorder* is a striking way of expressing a thought, a way not very likely, one would imagine, to have occurred independently to many writers. Anyhow, there it is, and therefore we must not be surprised if, whilst we find the same elements in the mob oratory of D's '147 lines' and of the Jack Cade scenes, the elements are not invariably combined in the same order; the sequence is, as it should be, sometimes inconsequent. One principle, however, is followed both by D and by Shakespeare. The agitator,

[1] *English Traveller*, I, i; *Works*, 1874, IV, p. 12.

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Lincoln or Cade, comes on the stage haranguing his followers and commanding silence. Cade *always* enters talking. It needed no Shakespeare to invent *that*, but it marks a certain similarity of treatment. Call it (*a*). In both scenes we have (*b*) the enumeration of things which go to make up the painful budgets of the poor, with false economics based on the *halfpenny loaf*, and (*c*) the logic-chopping with *argo*. Of very special importance is (*d*) the statement of the grievance of the rioters. In the play of *Sir Thomas More*, as D's collaborators had written it, the London citizens are represented as patient, law-abiding, loyal, honest and reasonable, but goaded to madness by wrongs such as no free men could endure. They have as sound reasons for rioting as men could have. But in D's '147 lines' that is all forgotten. Instead, we have the typical Shakespearean attitude to the mob. We begin with a grievance which, however quaintly expressed, has an element of truth: 'They bring in strange roots, which is merely to the undoing of poor prentices, for what's a sorry parsnip to a good heart?' says Lincoln in *Sir Thomas More*. 'Is not this a lamentable thing,' says Jack Cade, 'that parchment, being scribbled o'er, should undo a man?...For I did but seal once to a thing, and I was never mine own man since.' It is impossible not to have some sympathy with these complaints, but they are merely the prelude to (*e*) absurd statements about the corruption spread by these innovations. Parsnips, says Lincoln, have infected the City with the palsy, and this infection will make it shake, 'which partly comes through the eating of parsnips.' (Note the moderation of 'partly.') So Jack Cade addresses Lord Say:

> Thou hast most traitorously corrupted the youth of the realm in erecting a grammar-school: and whereas, before, our forefathers had no other books but the score and the tally, thou hast caused printing to be used; and, contrary to the king, his crown and dignity, thou hast built a paper-mill. It will be proved to thy face that thou hast men about thee that usually talk of a noun and a verb, and such abominable words as no Christian ear can endure to hear.

These absurdities, depicted by the dramatist with fun and merry good humour, are, by a terrible combination, coupled with (*f*) merciless savagery: 'We will show no mercy upon the strangers,' says Lincoln; Cade hangs the Clerk of Chatham because he has confessed that he can write his name. Finally we have (*g*) the instability of the rioters: in 'the 147 lines' Lincoln simultaneously accepts the king's mercy, but will show no mercy upon the strangers; Cade's followers alternately decide to accept the king's mercy and to go on rioting. The folly of the mob is emphasised in each case by comment: 'You are the simplest things that ever stood in such a question,' says the Sergeant to the mob in *More*; 'Was ever feather so lightly blown to and fro as this multitude?' says Cade.

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Within this framework we have a number of other things common to 'the 147 lines' and plays of Shakespeare other than *Henry VI, Part II*. These, in isolation, would not be arguments, but coming within this scheme common to the Cade scenes and 'the 147 lines' they have subsidiary force.

'You would have us upon the hip,' says Lincoln to the sergeant. Long ago Dyce noticed that this wrestling metaphor, though by no means confined to Shakespeare, is one of which he is specially fond. (Dyce merely made this remark in passing, with no thought of arguing for any Shakespearean authorship here.)

More striking is the imagery by which parsnips are spoken of as 'bastards of dung.' The term 'bastard' is common enough, as applied to some flower or plant which only half belongs to the family—an inferior or less proper kind, which has only a partial resemblance to its legitimate kinsfolk. Bastard Pimpernel is also called False Pimpernel; Bastard Saffron, also called Mock Saffron, is so called because used as a substitute for saffron. But that common use is inapplicable here: the parsnips are parsnips right enough. Why, then, 'bastards'? A meaningless term of abuse? Hardly, if D be Shakespeare, for in Shakespeare we may expect thought to lie behind some of the strangest terms. Professor Spurgeon[1] has pointed to the explanation by a comparison of *A Winter's Tale*: '"Bastards of dung." Here the term "bastard" is applied to a vegetable: the parsnip, a strange root. Shakespeare applies "bastard" to flowers, strange varieties:

> Carnations and streak'd gillyvors,
> Which some call nature's bastards. *W.T.* IV, iv, 82.'

But probably there is more in it than that; for a stranger is one thing, a bastard another. The objection which Perdita has to the gillyvors finds its explanation in the gardening books of the time, which tell of the practice of putting vermilion or cinnabar, azure or verdigris between the rind and the small heads growing about the root, to modify the colour. And so Perdita does not care to get slips of these flowers because

> There is an art, which in their piedness shares
> With great creating Nature.

They are artificial, therefore illegitimate, therefore bastards. Polixenes contradicts this; he grants the artificiality, but denies that it is illegitimate—for

> Nature is made better by no mean
> But Nature makes that mean.

[1] *Review of English Studies*, VI, p. 259.

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So a gentler scion may be *married* (note that word) to the wildest stock:

> This is an art
> Which does mend Nature, change it rather, but
> The art itself is Nature.

Polixenes has cornered Perdita: if she denies that this is true marriage, she will be condemning herself; for she believes herself to be a shepherdess, and yet hopes to be married to Florizel, whom she knows to be the Prince. Therefore she can only assent to what Polixenes says, with a 'So it is.' Polixenes follows up his advantage:

> Then make your garden rich in gillyvors,
> And do not call them bastards.

But Perdita sticks to her point, whilst shifting from the dangerous ground she has taken up by associating unusual unions with bastardy. She will no more plant the gillyvors than she would expect Florizel to approve of her if she painted her face: and with that she hastily breaks off the discussion.

The point may be easily missed in reading, but in acting would be brought out by an interchange of looks between the lovers. As to the question in debate between Perdita and Polixenes, it might be discussed almost endlessly. Let us return to our parsnips. Parsnips are grown in ground prepared beforehand by digging trenches, filling them with manure and covering them over. Lincoln, like Perdita, would say that, compared with the products of honest mother earth, such growths are artificial, therefore illegitimate, therefore bastard. It is an odd use of the word. For normally the wild or inferior variety is regarded as the bastard, and the more fully developed type as the legitimate. But here it is the highly cultivated kind which is called bastard, as against the wild growths which are regarded as Nature's legitimate children.

Here we have one of the cases (there are others, and they are most significant) where Shakespeare and 'the 147 lines' throw light upon one another.

And this is only one out of a number of minor parallels between the opening of D's mob scene and Shakespeare. Parsnips breed sore eyes, says a rioter, and sore eyes give the palsy and are a cause of infection. This may seem difficult, but, as Professor Spurgeon has shown, it is Shakespearean. 'In Thersites' repulsive list of diseases (*T. and C.* v, i, 23) *cold palsies, raw eyes* go together; Biron tells Rosaline that the king and the two other lords are *infected*, "*they have the* plague, *and caught it of your eyes*;" and Anne cries to Gloucester (*R. III*, i, ii, 149), "Out of my sight, thou dost infect my eyes."'

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But these fleeting parallels, even the striking similarity of thought which leads to an identical use of the figure 'bastard' in *More* and in *The Winter's Tale*, have, it seems to me, only subsidiary value. What seems to mark the individual mind is the complex of parallels, (*a*) the entry of the mob leader, *talking amid clamour*, (*b*) the false economics of the *halfpenny loaf*, (*c*) the logic-chopping with *argo*, (*d*) the *undoing* of the poor by parsnips (or writing, as the case may be), (*e*) the *infection*[1] spreading therefrom, (*f*) the murderous outburst, and (*g*) the instability of the mob. These parallels make the few lines in *More* read like a summary of the Jack Cade scenes in *Henry VI*. Those who hold that such a series can be the result of mere accident should find a parallel to such accident. So far, no one has even taken the first step, which is to find another example of *argo*. The combination produces an effect of mingled humour and horror, quite unlike anything else in Elizabethan drama outside Shakespeare and this *More*-scene. It is instructive to contrast the treatment of rebellion and mutiny in *Jack Straw*, or Heywood's *Edward IV*, or Webster's *Appius and Virginia*, or his (and Dekker's) *Sir Thomas Wyat*, or the other mob scenes in *Sir Thomas More*[2].

Let us go on to the next passage. The Lord Mayor and the Earls of Surrey and Shrewsbury enter: Surrey attempts to get a hearing:

Surrey. Friends, Masters, Countrymen—
Mayor. Peace, ho! Peace! I charge you keep the peace.
Shrew. My Masters, Countrymen—
Sher. The noble earl of Shrewsbury, let's hear him.

With this compare *Julius Caesar*:

Brutus. My Countrymen—
Sec. Cit. Peace, Silence! Brutus speaks.
First Cit. Peace ho!
Brutus. Good Countrymen, let me depart alone...

Or

Antony. You gentle Romans—
All. Peace ho! Let us hear him...
Antony. Friends, Romans, Countrymen,...

The question which those who do not accept the Shakespearean authorship of 'the 147 lines' have got to face is whether this parallel to *Julius Caesar, in combination* with the parallel to the Cade scenes, can fairly be put down to mere accident. It must be noted that Professor Schücking,

[1] The word used in 'the 147 lines' and in the *Contention* is 'infect'; in *Henry VI* 'corrupt.' But no importance attaches to the choice of synonym.
[2] See *The Crowd in Elizabethan Drama*, by A. M. McGregor (a Univ. of London M.A. Thesis, 1927).

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the most redoubtable of those who deny the Shakespearean authorship, is convinced that the likeness here cannot be mere accident. He attributes it to D imitating *Julius Caesar*.

Now whether these likenesses can best be accounted for by postulating such imitation, or by postulating the working of the same mind, is a problem which may be deferred till we can consider them all together.

What I have in mind at present is the sceptic who denies both explanations; who holds that such likenesses are not beyond the possibilities of 'the long arm of coincidence.' If we grant that to our sceptic, we must ask him to proceed to a scrutiny of the first thirty-four lines uttered by More, and a comparison of these with the sixteen lines from the great speech on 'Degree' by Ulysses in *Troilus and Cressida*. Both start from disrespect to authority: the Earl of Surrey has been shouted down; Agamemnon has been flouted. To both orators this suggests the same picture of a flood surging over its banks:

Ulysses. Take but degree away, untune that string,
And hark, what discord follows! Each thing meets
In mere oppugnancy: the bounded waters
Should lift their bosoms higher than the shores,
And make a sop of all this solid globe.

More. Whiles they are o'er the bank of their obedience
Thus will they bear down all things.

From this, both speakers pass to a further stage which assuredly is not an obvious one; their words go beyond the ordinary Tudor fear of civil war and anarchy. If authority is despised, degree neglected, then the helpless, the babes or the aged, will be done to death even by those nearest to them. Most people would say that this is not a necessary or a logical consequence; that it is the exaggerated language of a man obsessed by 'a real and ever-present fear' of anarchy. If Degree be but taken away, says Ulysses, imbecility, that is helpless childhood or age, must suffer:

Strength should be lord of imbecility,
And the rude son should strike his father dead.

Similarly More assures the mob, who, after all, though wildly riotous, are nevertheless decent folk, quite loyal to their ruler,

Had there such fellows lived when you were babes
That could have topped the peace... the bloody times
Could not have brought you to the state of men....
By this pattern
Not one of you should live an aged man.

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From parricide or infanticide both speakers pass to the picture of self-devouring monsters:

Ulysses. And appetite, an universal wolf,
So doubly seconded with will and power,
Must make perforce an universal prey
And last eat up himself.

More. and men, like ravenous fishes,
Would feed on one another.

The succession of thought is, then, the same in each case: (*a*) Degree neglected, (*b*) the flood surging over its banks, (*c*) the doing to death of the aged or the babes, (*d*) cannibal monsters. It is this linking of the thought that matters. The wording is not the same, nor have we any reason to demand that it should be the same. For if so striking a sequence of thought were uttered in the same words, we should have a mere repetition, such as we do not find, and ought not to expect to find, in the 'myriad-minded' Shakespeare.

There are of course in Shakespeare 'echoes which pass from one play to another,' as Sir Walter Raleigh has called them; and similarity or identity of phrase will often be momentarily associated with this sequence of similar thought. But only momentarily. And mere similarity of phrase is not of equal importance with identity of thought. Common Elizabethan phrases have too often been claimed as proofs of two authors being the same man, when they only show that two authors used a common language. Still, verbal echoes are not to be neglected, least of all when they are connected with a real image in the writer's mind.

It has been pointed out how frequent in Shakespeare, as illustrating insubordination or rebellion in men, is the image of waters breaking their bounds and overbearing everything. The comparison of Laertes, overbearing the officers of Claudius, to 'the ocean overpeering of his list' will occur to the reader. But both in *Coriolanus* and in 'the 147 lines' this parallel in thought is closely associated with a verbal echo.

Cominius leads Coriolanus away with the words

Will you hence
Before the tag return? Whose rage doth rend
Like interrupted waters, and o'erbear
What they are used to bear.

Menenius remains to intercede for 'the consul Coriolanus':

Brutus. He consul!
Citizens. *No, No, No, No, No.*

In 'the 147 lines' Surrey provokes the mob by a jeer entirely in the manner of Coriolanus himself. The mob shout him down:

All. We'll not hear my lord of Surrey: *No, No, No, No, No.*
More. Whiles they are o'er the bank of their obedience
Thus will they bear down all things.

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Again, we shall find verbal echoes if we take the lines in D:

More. Grant...that this your noise
Hath chid down all the majesty of England....
Not one of you should live an *aged man*,
For other ruffians, as their fancies wrought,
With self same hand, self reasons and self right
Would shark on you, and *men* like *ravenous fishes*
Would *feed on one another*.

Professor Spurgeon has pointed out how 'the majesty of England' has a peculiarly Shakespearean ring, recalling 'the majesty of buried Denmark,' 'the beauteous majesty of Denmark[1]'; how the rather peculiar use of *self* is Shakespearean[2]; and how the phrase 'ravenous fishes' also occurs in a Shakespearean passage. In this speech and in *Hamlet* come the two earliest instances known of the rare use of 'to shark' as a verb. All this has subsidiary value. But the striking thing is that in *King Lear*, just as in 'the 147 lines,' we pass from the idea of a state of things in which life is made impossible for the aged to the idea of men devouring each other like cannibal sea-monsters. Albany says to Goneril:

A father, and a gracious *aged man*
...have you madded....
If that the Heavens do not their visible spirits
Send quickly down to tame these vile offences
It will come,
Humanity must perforce *prey on itself*
Like *monsters of the deep*[3].

Note the entire difference of the language in which the same thought is expressed.

Finally, as a contrast to the leisurely way in which both More and Ulysses develop their argument, from Degree neglected, through the imagery of the waters, the argument of the injustice to helpless youth or age, and the imagery of cannibal monsters, observe how Coriolanus, in his wrath, leaps from the idea of Degree neglected to the very half line with which More concludes a long passage. Coriolanus exclaims:

You cry against the noble Senate, who,
Under the gods, keep you in awe, which else
Would feed on one another.

That is to say, whilst in 'the 147 lines' and in *Troilus*, we have the full sequence (*a*) (*b*) (*c*) (*d*), we have in *Coriolanus* and *Hamlet* the sequence (*a*) rebellion, (*b*) flood; in *Lear* the sequence (*c*) outrage to the aged, (*d*) cannibal sea-monsters; and again in *Coriolanus* the sequence (*a*) rebellion, (*d*) cannibalism. Are these parallels still to be dismissed as mere accident?

[1] *Loc. cit.*, p. 262. [2] p. 265.
[3] *King Lear*, IV, ii, 49. This was pointed out to me by Dr Perrett and Professor Sisson independently; and it has also been noted by Professor Spurgeon (p. 265).

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If so, take eleven further lines from More's speech:

> And to *add ampler majesty to this*
> God hath not only *lent the king his figure,*
> His throne and sword, but given him his own name,
> Calls him a *god on earth.* What do you then
> Rising 'gainst him that God himself installs
> But *rise 'gainst God*? What do you to your souls
> In doing this, O desperate as you are?
> *Wash your foul minds with tears,* and *those same hands*
> That you like rebels lift *against* the peace
> Lift up for peace, and your unreverent *knees*
> *Make them your feet.*

Now, in the first place, compare Menenius' speech in *Coriolanus*:

> You may as well
> Strike at *the Heaven* with your staves as lift them
> Against the Roman state; whose course will on
> The way it takes, cracking ten thousand curbs
> Of more strong link asunder than can ever
> Appear in your impediment. For the dearth
> The gods, not the patricians, make it, and
> Your *knees* to them, not *arms*, must help.

In both passages the comparison of the State with the Divine Power (an obvious comparison) is followed by the admonition that subjects should use not *hands* or *arms* in rebellion, but *knees* in prayer. Two minds, it may be said, might have hit upon that antithesis independently. True. But how many more times have we to postulate such coincidences?

Now turn to *Richard II*, and we shall find further parallels spread over the last two acts, where Shakespeare is thinking intensely on the prerogative of the king. More speaks of *God* adding ampler *majesty* to the *king* by lending him his *figure*. The Bishop of Carlisle in *Richard II* speaks of the *king* as '*the figure of God's majesty*.' Such is the king's majesty, says More, that the rebels should 'make their knees their feet.' This is surely an unusual phrase. The writer has a picture in his mind—the suppliants approaching the king by coming towards him on their knees—literally walking on their knees.

Now in the next act of *Richard II* we have the continuation, from a different point of view, of this question of the king's prerogative, and whether conspiracy against the king's majesty may be pardoned. 'For ever will I *walk* upon my *knees*,' says the Duchess, kneeling before the king—and when at last she has prevailed upon him to grant pardon to Aumerle, she exclaims '*A god on earth* thou art.' Now contrast with these sequences the 'curious parallels' which Schücking finds between 'the 147 lines' and Heywood. '*Wash* your *foul minds* with *tears*,' says More to the mob. Schücking justly finds 'a very close parallel' in the words of

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Mistress Frankford[1]: 'But when my *tears* have *washed* my *black soul* white.' For the matter of that, we have a close parallel in *Much Ado*:

> Claudio...who...speaking of her *foulness*
> *Washed* it with *tears*.

Such parallels in isolation prove nothing, either for Heywood or for Shakespeare. But further, Schücking points out that the phrase *a god on earth* occurs in two plays of Heywood. And, in yet another play of Heywood, we have the line: 'I wish that I could *march upon my knees*.' These parallels seem to Schücking to be noteworthy, and I think they are. Yet the similarity between these phrases, as they occur in 'the 147 lines' and in the scattered plays of Heywood, is one which, as we shall see, involves no real connexion of *thought*.

But the parallels between 'the 147 lines' and the later acts of *Richard II* all have their root in the same thought of *revolt against the king's authority*. Touch that string, and from the mind of D, and from the mind of Shakespeare, issue, together with the same political doctrine, the same images and sometimes the same phrases.

Even at the cost of some repetition it is worth while going in detail over the two passages, to note how closely the same sequence is maintained in 'the 147 lines' and in *Richard II*:

(*a*) The rebels, says More, 'whiles they are o'er the bank of their obedience,' will 'bear down all things.' We have found the same image used to illustrate the same thing, rebellion against authority, in *Troilus*, *Hamlet* and *Coriolanus*. So in *Richard II*:

> Like an unseasonable stormy day
> Which makes the silver rivers drown their shores,
> As if the world were all dissolved in tears,
> So high above his limits swells the rage
> Of Bolingbroke, covering your fearful land....

(*b*) Against this flood, More and the Bishop of Carlisle respectively make head by argument. 'To add ampler majesty,' says More, 'God hath lent the king his figure.' The Bishop of Carlisle exclaims

> Shall the figure of God's majesty...
> Be judged by subject and inferior breath?

(*c*) Then comes the most striking thing—the extension, in the words of both speakers, More and the bishop, of the evil from generation to generation. The idea of 'Degree' is linked in the mind of Shakespeare with the idea of father and son, childhood and old age. Modern revolutionaries have loved to commemorate a day or a year. *To Shakespeare revolution is never a matter of a day or a year*, but the breaking of a tie

[1] *A Woman Killed with Kindness*, v, iii; *Works*, 1874, II, p. 151.

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which binds the generations each to each. 'Take but degree away,' says Ulysses, 'and the rude son should strike his father dead.' 'Had there such fellows lived when you were babes,' More assures the rioters, they would not be alive; 'and by this pattern not one of you should live an aged man.' The Bishop of Carlisle prophesies that, if Richard II is deposed, England will see

> future ages groan for this foul act....
> And in this seat of peace tumultuous wars
> Shall kin with kin, and kind with kind confound....
> Prevent it, resist it, let it not be so,
> Lest child, child's children, cry against you 'woe!'

Can such a crime, working evil from generation to generation, be forgiven?

(*d*) God has ordained the king 'a god on earth,' says More, and there is nothing for rebels to do save pray for forgiveness by

(*e*) making their knees their feet. With a terrible irony, Shakespeare in *Richard II* has left the question of forgiveness to be settled by the 'foul traitor' Bolingbroke himself. Bolingbroke has become king; and, whilst he himself is plotting the murder of Richard, he learns that Aumerle has plotted his own death. When the duchess vows (*e*) for ever to walk upon her knees, this is in *prayer to the king to forgive the treason* of Aumerle; and she exclaims (*d*) 'A god on earth thou art,' when by exercising his prerogative of mercy to one guilty of treason against him, Bolingbroke has proved himself a king.

Every one of these five parallels between 'the 147 lines' and *Richard II* has its root in the same thought—revolt against the king's authority.

But there is nothing whatever of that community of thought in the parallels which Schücking quotes from Heywood. They are all merely repetition of similar phraseology. Jupiter says of gold: 'Thou art a God on earth, and can'st all things[1].' The Fair Maid of the West says to the King of Fez, when he has generously reunited her to her lover,

> Oh, were you of our faith, I'd swear great Mullisheg
> To be a god on earth[2].

When the Crusaders approach Jerusalem, Tancred devoutly exclaims:

> I cast my heart as low as to this earth,
> And wish that I could march upon my knees
> In true submission, and right holy zeal[3].

The reference is to the posture of pilgrims approaching a holy place. It

[1] *The Golden Age*, *Works*, 1874, III, p. 67.
[2] *The Fair Maid of the West*, I, v, 2, *Works*, 1874, II, p. 331.
[3] *The Four Prentices of London*, *Works*, 1874, II, p. 230.

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may be observed to-day, at Assisi, on the anniversary of the Portiuncula indulgence, when pilgrims will fall in prayer at the great west door, and move on their knees all the way up the vast nave, till they reach the tiny church which Francis repaired.

But the point is that, in 'the 147 lines' and in *Richard II*, this attitude, appropriate to *worshippers* approaching a Holy of Holies, is spoken of as the right attitude for petitioners of an earthly monarch. It is justified, in that the petitioner is suing for a life which has been forfeited by treason, to a king who is 'a god on earth.' To us, the phrases 'walk upon my knees,' 'make your knees your feet,' either seem mere conceits, or call up a picture of the suppliant shuffling forward, which seems grotesque. Not so when pilgrimage customs were still a tradition, as they were to the Elizabethans. Mr Harold Goad tells how he saw at Assisi a grey-haired Italian woman take a locket from her neck, open it, and kiss the portrait of a young soldier, before she went down on her knees to make her painful way up the long nave. Like Shakespeare's duchess, she was praying for pardon for her son—not to a god on earth. It may of course be disputed how far Shakespeare had any similar pilgrimage-procession in mind. But he indisputably had in mind a picture of suppliants moving forward on their knees. The same picture comes in *Troilus and Cressida* (v, iii, 10), 'pursue we him on knees.' The same picture is clearly in the mind of D. When both in 'the 147 lines' and in *Richard II* the king implored is spoken of as 'a god on earth,' there is the peculiar appropriateness that such humility of approach befits a god rather than a man. In Heywood there is no such connexion of thought.

Yet I do not deny that the Heywood parallels are interesting, and, as Schücking claims, worthy of attention. Schücking of course admits that these parallels, and the few others which he quotes, 'by no means suffice to prove that the insurrection scene was written by Heywood.' But if such a superficial and isolated use of similar phrases is to be considered as having any weight at all, then I submit that the quite astonishing combinations common to Shakespeare and 'the 147 lines' might well be considered conclusive.

Almost every reader of Heywood has been struck by his likeness to Shakespeare, since Charles Lamb christened Heywood 'a sort of prose Shakespeare.' The play of *Sir Thomas More* concerns itself with what was peculiarly Heywood's field—the celebration of worthies connected with the City. If D be Shakespeare, we might expect him to remind us a little of Heywood and a great deal of Shakespeare. Which is exactly

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what he does. He cannot *be* Heywood; for Heywood's handwriting is well known[1], and is certainly not that of D.

Yet Schücking objects that the likenesses which I quoted in 1923 between 'the 147 lines' and Shakespeare are 'superficial.' 'The decisive test as to the imagery employed is,' he says, 'whether it bears the particularly Shakespearean mark.' That mark he justly defines as 'the acuteness of the observation,' 'the persuasive power of Shakespeare's almost paradoxical combination of things, the surprising riches of his associations.' 'Lines,' he says, 'like those from *Coriolanus*, I, i, 168:

> You dissentious rogues
> That, rubbing the poor itch of your opinion,
> Make yourselves scabs;

are therefore unmistakably Shakespearean; they would betray his hand wherever they were to be found. Are there lines of this sort in the "insurrection scene"? Certainly not.'

But surely the answer to this is to be found in Professor Spurgeon's detailed study of the imagery, where she shows how, of the twelve images[2] to be found in 'the 147 lines' '*every one* can be paralleled in Shakespeare's known plays.' Coriolanus' 'itch of your opinion' was long ago compared by Richard Simpson to More's 'ruff of your opinions':

> And that you sit as kings in your desires,
> Authority quite silenced by your brawl,
> And you in ruff of your opinions cloth'd.

For 'cloth'd in opinions,' Professor Spurgeon compares Gratiano's 'dress'd in an opinion of wisdom' (*Merchant of Venice*, I, i, 91). 'Ruff' of course means 'pride' or 'excitement.' 'But,' she says, 'the word naturally suggested its other meaning of an article of clothing, and so the verb clinches it into a metaphor, giving a double meaning to the noun.... This method of swift evolution, by way of association and suggestion, is a marked feature of Shakespeare's style in metaphor, and especially of his middle and later style, from 1594 onwards, and it is one in which he differs from most, if not all, of his contemporaries.' And not merely the style but the whole picture is Shakespearean. The mob, clothed in their opinions like robes of state, sit, pleased at having attained their ends. This is closely parallel to the address to

[1] Heywood's hand has been identified by Dr Tannenbaum with that of the B addition to *Sir Thomas More*, and the identification is recognised by Greg as possible. (*Times Literary Supplement*, XXVI, 1927, p. 871.)

[2] Other phrases might also, I think, have been counted as images: 'have on the hip,' 'make your knees your feet,' 'god on earth'; and these are equally Shakespearean.

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'the fond many' in *Henry IV, Part II* (I, iii, 94): 'And being now trimmed in thine own desires[1].'

The statement that these 'ruff of opinions' lines in *More* are less in Shakespeare's manner than the corresponding 'itch of opinion' lines in *Coriolanus* can hardly be maintained, in view of the essay which Mr E. E. Kellett, quite independently of the *More*-problem, published in 1923, *On a Feature of Shakespeare's Style*[2]. This feature is the way in which the use of a word suggests to Shakespeare a further thought based upon another sense of the same word:

> The heavens, as troubled with man's *act*,
> Threaten his bloody *stage*[3].

Mr Kellett gave examples of this from Shakespeare, literally by the dozen. And the transition in this *More*-passage from 'ruff' (excitement) to "clothed' is only another example of the same thing.

Professor Spurgeon, like Mr Kellett, undertook her examination of Shakespeare's images quite independently of *Sir Thomas More*. It was only when she had completed her investigations, after some years, that she applied them to this problem. And it is not merely that she found all the images in *More* paralleled in Shakespeare's known works, but also 'that they fall under the usual headings in the usual proportions found in Shakespeare, that the greater number of them express ideas and applications of those ideas peculiarly characteristic of Shakespeare and repeatedly found in his work, that they are moreover expressed in language in every case reminiscent of Shakespeare.' 'I confess,' she writes, 'the result has astonished me.'

No doubt, certain of these likenesses in imagery and association, if considered individually, are commonplace and superficial. But my argument is, that we must take them as a whole. Whether, when they are so taken, the total effect is that of a superficial likeness, is the question which the reader has to decide.

More particularly Schücking thinks my parallel of the greyhound and the puppet government 'superficial.' Titus Lartius summons the officers of the conquered Corioli 'to know his mind': the London rioters wish to impose *their* mind upon the king's officers. This is described in *Coriolanus* as

> Holding Corioli in the name of Rome
> Even like a fawning greyhound in the leash
> *To let him slip at will.*

[1] See Professor Spurgeon's article in *Review of English Studies*, VI, pp. 262–4. The whole article should be consulted.
[2] In *Suggestions: Literary Essays*, Cambridge, 1923.
[3] *Macbeth*, II, iv, 6.

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in 'the 147 lines' as to

> lead the majesty of law in liom
> *To slip him like a hound.*

The officers of Corioli, the officers of Henry VIII, are to do only what their master (Titus Lartius or the London mob) allows. Surely the parallel is exact; and it is emphasised by the image which Professor Spurgeon quotes from *The Taming of the Shrew* (v, ii, 52):

> O sir, Lucentio slipped me like his greyhound,
> Which runs himself, and catches for his master.

But I think enough has been said to show that there is some connexion between 'the 147 lines' and Shakespeare. And indeed Schücking does not deny that there *is*.

If so, are we to attribute it to unity of authorship, or to D imitating Shakespeare? We cannot date exactly D's addition, yet of the three plays most closely linked to it, one, *Troilus and Cressida*, is probably later, and another, *Coriolanus*, is pretty certainly later. It is surely a striking fact that the Shakespearean echoes in D range from plays as early as *Henry VI, Part II* (say 1590–91) to *The Winter's Tale* (say 1610–11). Many of these plays were not published at all till the Folio, and where they were, as in the case of the Jack Cade scenes, some of the striking parallels (such as the *argo*) do not appear in the Quarto *Contention*. Not till the Folio was published in 1623 is it easy to imagine how any man can have had all these echoes ringing in his head together.

A theory of imitation would lead us to suppose, on any reasonable system of chronology, that D imitated Shakespeare's earlier plays, and that Shakespeare, when writing some of his later plays, imitated D. It is simpler to suppose D and Shakespeare the same person.

Besides, the assumption of imitation leaves unexplained the remarkable similarity between the handwriting and spelling of D and the handwriting and spelling of Shakespeare. An explanation which explains only one portion of the phenomena cannot be acceptable as against an explanation which accounts adequately for all.

We must therefore take into account the palæographical evidence, the more so because it helps to illustrate in another way the literary argument. For, in the palæographical as in the literary evidence, the point lies in the *combination*. In his final and authoritative summing up of the evidence Dr Greg tells us that 'Of *e*, *h*, and *p* two clearly marked varieties occur in Shakespeare's signatures, and the same occur in D, while of *a* and *k* three varieties can be distinguished.' 'Such multiple agreement

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acquires considerable significance, even though the individual forms may be common[1].'

But the individual forms are not all common. Of the three *a*'s found in Shakespeare's signatures and in D, one is extraordinarily uncommon. Sir Edward Maunde Thompson drew attention to it in 1916: in 1923 he said that both he and Mr J. P. Gilson of the British Museum had been looking out for a parallel, but had, as yet, found none. That was eight years ago. Since then almost everybody interested has been on the look-out for this particular kind of 'spurred a'; but with no success. I thought I had found a parallel in the hand of George Chapman, and I wrote to the *Times Literary Supplement* to point it out, because I did not think it right that we should continue to claim as a unique feature what I believed I had found occurring elsewhere[2]. But the more skilled eyes of Sir Edward Maunde Thompson and of Dr W. W. Greg could see that, though it was the closest parallel so far found, 'the parallel, though striking, is not perfect[3],' and further examination shows that this is the case. 'I think, therefore,' says Dr Greg, 'that in its full peculiarity the resemblance between Shakespeare's signature and D in this instance remains unchallenged and unparalleled.'

But suppose that an exact parallel should turn up to-morrow from some unknown source. How great must be the rarity of a phenomenon of which only one example is found in eight years, when we consider the number of people engaged upon examining Elizabethan MSS., many of them on the look-out for this peculiarity.

Think, for instance, of the amount of writing that may pass under your eyes in an hour's work at the Record Office. Professor Sisson tells me that during the past six years he has spent something like three thousand hours reading MSS. at the Record Office and the British Museum, and that he has always kept an eye open for this particular form of 'the spurred a.' He has not found a single example. Then think of the number of other people who have also been on the look-out for 'the spurred a' since Sir Edward Maunde Thompson and Mr Gilson began the search about fifteen years ago. After some nine years, Sir Edward wrote that the quest seemed to have prospect of a career *ad infinitum*. It is a testimony to the acumen of Sir Edward as a palæographer that he pitched upon a feature which all further search has proved to be so highly exceptional.

[1] *Times Literary Supplement*, XXVI, 1927, p. 871.
[2] *Times Literary Supplement*, XXIV, 1925, p. 557.
[3] Dr Greg, *ibid.*, XXVI, 1927, p. 908. Compare Sir E. M. Thompson, *ibid.*, XXIV, 1925, p. 600.

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But, further, it is not merely this odd form of 'the spurred a' but the combination of 'the spurred a' with two other *a*'s, which constitutes the peculiar link between D and Shakespeare. And the combination of this with three forms of *k*, and with two forms of *e*, *h*, and *p* has to be added.

Then there is the long fine upstroke to certain initial letters. This is common; the argument lies in a *combination* of this upstroke with a downstroke, found once in a signature of Shakespeare's will and in D, the pen touching the paper in descent, before the upstroke was begun, and so making an 'elongated needle eye' loop. How far this feature is exceptional has been disputed; Sir Edward suggested 'a personal peculiarity'; Dr Greg more cautiously says, 'The resemblance here is very striking, and must be allowed due weight, though it would be an exaggeration to regard it as constituting by itself a proof of identity.'

Then there is again the combination in both hands of the English letters with an Italian long *ſ*. The fact that this is not as common in D as Sir Edward thought does not alter the undoubted fact that it *is* there. It is the only non-English letter in Shakespeare's signatures, and, except for an Italian *r*, the only non-English letter in 'the 147 lines[1].'

So we have the combination, in Shakespeare's hand and in D, of seven distinct combinations, one at least of which is, so far as is known at present, unparalleled.

Some people speak as if all this could be put aside if it could once be shown that Sir Edward Maunde Thompson had ever made a mistake. What Sir Edward did was to call the attention of palæographers to a number of facts which, could they *all* have been shown to be unique, would have proved the Shakespearean authorship of 'the 147 lines' without any necessity of considering the literary parallels at all. Dr Greg has shown that, of the characteristics claimed by Sir Edward as individual to D and to Shakespeare, two must be abandoned, and the other two are not quite as strong as Sir Edward thought, but still stand. We must never forget the handicap which Sir Edward Maunde Thompson voluntarily incurred by his self-denying ordinance in making his study strictly palæographical, eschewing any literary considerations whatsoever. He treated 'the 147 lines' exactly as he might have treated some quite colourless document: one that a hundred thousand Elizabethan Englishmen might have written. On purely palæographical grounds, he claimed it as a holograph MS. of Shakespeare. But we are entitled to remember that, in fact, it is a dramatic fragment. There were only a few

[1] Dr Tannenbaum was the first to note the Italian *r*, but denies it and the *ſ* to hand D.

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dozen people then writing for the stage, and the number of these can be much reduced by subtracting those whose handwritings are known, and are quite incompatible with that of D. In view of the very limited numbers among whom the choice must rest, the large numbers of exceptional features common to D's hand and Shakespeare's establish, if not a certainty, still a probability of identity. It has been objected that these peculiarities, common to Shakespeare and to D, might be tricks of writing taught in a certain school or town. And, if we were trying to identify, with Shakespeare's hand, a scrap of writing which might be the work of any Elizabethan who could write, this caution would be necessary. But we are dealing only with people writing for the stage about 1590 to 1600. And, that being so, if we could say 'Someone taught to write in the same school or town as Shakespeare,' we should, in effect, have said 'Shakespeare.'

Of course there are also differences between the two hands; and there are features which occur in one of them, but not in the other. But in the nature of the case this must be so. For D made his addition to *Sir Thomas More* ten, fifteen, or twenty years before the date when Shakespeare made the signatures, and we cannot suppose that such scanty evidence gives us complete information, even of what the writer's hand was like at the date of writing. Shakespeare's signatures vary very much from each other. Indeed, as Dr Greg has emphasised, if we had not documentary evidence to show these signatures to be those of one man, we should (judging by the mere formation of the letters) find less reason to suppose them to be written by the same hand than there is, granting this identity, to suppose that the hand of the signatures also wrote 'the 147 lines.' This is curiously parallel to the literary problem. On the one hand, Shakespeare's respect for authority, his hatred of mob rule, and on the other his belief in the real goodness of heart of humble folk, have led critics to the most diverse judgments, according as they emphasised the one side or the other. In 'the 147 lines' we can see these two views combined in a way which no one can deny. Similarly, a study of the handwriting of 'the 147 lines' helps us to see how the writer of the 'Record Office' signature could have been the writer of the 'British Museum' signature: a thing not easily comprehensible at the outset, at any rate to one who is not a palæographical expert.

It is difficult to see how the most cautious can dispute the verdict of Dr Greg that, on the purely palæographical evidence, the balance of probability inclines in favour of the identification of the hand of Shakespeare's signatures with that of D.

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Now throw into the scales the evidence of the spelling. And here again the fact needs to be emphasised—a fact which people are amazingly slow to see—that it is a question of *combinations*. Professor Dover Wilson has had to reiterate that the argument 'depends rather upon the agreement of a large number of forms than upon the rarity of any one of them[1].'

Nevertheless, some rare spellings are common to D and to Shakespeare. In the 1600 Quarto of *Henry IV, Part I* (First issue), the name of Mr Justice Silence is spelt *Scilens* some eighteen times. Yet it is an extraordinarily rare spelling. The spelling *silens*, although not common, is found; for example it occurs in Addition II to *Sir Thomas More*[2]. The spelling *scilence* is also found. A young Danish scholar, Miss Grethe Hjort, drew attention to an example[3], and three further examples have also been brought to the notice of Professor Dover Wilson[4]. Which shows that people are on the look-out. But no one has reported a *scilens*. Professor Sisson tells me that he has kept a constant look-out, so far without effect; and so have many other people. Especially has this been the case since Mr J. C. Squire gave notoriety to the argument by his story of the poor man who made millions by noticing a scrap of paper on which was written *The rest is scilens*. And it is not only workers at MSS., but any readers of early printed books, accurately reprinted, who may be in the quest for *scilens*.

Scilence, then, and *silens* are both exceptional spellings, but have been found. But the combination of them both, *scilens*, is so far only found in the Quarto of *Henry IV, Part II* and in 'the 147 lines.' Now, when we find a spelling so extraordinarily rare occurring eighteen times in one play as the name of a character, it seems only reasonable to attribute that spelling to the author. For the name of a character would be less likely to be altered by the compositor than ordinary words; and a compositor is extraordinarily unlikely to have used repeatedly so exceptional a spelling, unless he found it in his copy. This is not mere theory. Dr Greg, after a comparison of Harington's fragmentary MS. of his translation of *Orlando Furioso* with the book printed from it[5], allows that it confirms the belief 'that a number of Shakespeare's actual

[1] *London Mercury*, XI, p. 187.
[2] Ed. Greg, p. 69, l. 10.
[3] *London Mercury*, XI, p. 80.
[4] One in the MS. of *The Second Maiden's Tragedy* (see *London Mercury*, XI, p. 187). Professor Dover Wilson writes to me that Mr Dugdale Sykes has pointed out to him two *scilences*, in *Richard II or Thomas of Woodstock*, Malone Society Reprint, l. 1460, and in *The Two Merry Milk Maids*, 1620, p. 3 verso.
[5] *An Elizabethan Printer and his Copy*, by W. W. Greg, in *The Library*, Fourth Series, IV, 1924, pp. 102–18.

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spellings are preserved in the printed editions of his plays, and consequently that unusual spellings there found may legitimately be used to support his authorship of other writing in which they occur.'

Of all these unusual spellings *scilens* is the most striking. Those who believe it to be by mere coincidence that it also is found in D's '147 lines' and, so far, *nowhere else*, must possess a more robustious faith than I. And it is merely the most spectacular of a very large number of parallels pointed out by Professor Dover Wilson between the exceptional spellings of the Quartos and of 'the 147 lines.'

But if, on the score of handwriting taken by itself, there is a balance, on the whole, in favour of identification, then the occurrence of these peculiarities of spelling must surely incline the balance *heavily* in favour of identification.

Now let us return to the parallels of thought with which this paper is concerned. What must be our judgment regarding them, in view of the conclusion (which I think we cannot evade) that, on the score of handwriting and spelling alone, the balance inclines heavily in favour of D being Shakespeare?

Perhaps the real basis of the objection to the Shakespearean authorship lies in a rooted feeling that the discovery, at this time of day, of three pages in Shakespeare's autograph, is too good to be true. Many people feel, very rightly, that they must not allow themselves to be fooled by their hopes, and instinctively take sides against the bias of their inclinations.

Professor Schücking is the most determined of all the opponents of the Shakespearean authorship. Yet he feels that some of the literary parallels are too close to be attributed to accident. It is indeed to him that the credit belongs of having noted, before any of us, the close parallels between 'the 147 lines' and *Julius Caesar*. He attributed this to D having imitated *Julius Caesar*. And that theory was plausible, until it was discovered that there were so many other parallels to Shakespeare, some of them to plays written after the date to which Schücking attributed D's addition.

In the earlier parallels Schücking sees signs of D imitating Shakespeare; in the later parallels, especially those from *Coriolanus*, he sees only accident. But in *Coriolanus* these parallels are numerous.

The mere fact that the phrase 'would prey on one another' comes in 'the 147 lines' and also in *Coriolanus* proves nothing. What matters is that, in each case, it occupies the same position as the conclusion to the

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same train of thought. Schücking suggests that both Shakespeare and the writer of 'the 147 lines' *may* be basing their thought upon some current association of ideas now lost, some commonplace which

> may have existed in the thinking of many contemporaries in those unruly times, and been usually couched in the same words, although by chance other examples of it are now wanting[1].

In any single case this is remotely conceivable. What is not reasonable is the number of these remotely conceivable hypotheses which we are entreated to make, rather than draw the conclusion that Shakespeare wrote 'the 147 lines.'

As a proof that the parallels are due, not to Shakespeare's authorship of 'the 147 lines' but to another man imitating Shakespeare, Schücking quotes from 'the 147 lines' sixteen words and phrases which do not occur in Shakespeare. Now as to phrases we cannot argue, because we have no statistics of the number of unparalleled phrases which might reasonably be expected in any passage of Shakespeare. It is obvious that every page of Shakespeare must contain phrases not found elsewhere in Shakespeare. Schücking tells us that 'it were no error, if' does not occur in Shakespeare's works. Why should it? Putting aside phrases, eight *words* are left which occur in 'the 147 lines,' but do not occur in Shakespeare. As to words, we are, thanks to Schmidt's *Lexicon*, in a position to get reliable statistics. Professor Sisson was good enough to make a rapid calculation for me of the number of words not occurring elsewhere in Shakespeare that we might expect to find *in any passage of his works*. He spent much of a week-end and gave the following figures. There are approximately 110,000 lines in Shakespeare, and in Schmidt's *Lexicon* are from 5000 to 6000 words only occurring once: such words occur, then, on an average, once in every 20 lines, and in 'the 147 lines' we should consequently expect to find seven or eight. There was no collusion. Professor Sisson, when he made this calculation, did not know that eight was the number of words occurring in 'the 147 lines' but not occurring in Shakespeare, in virtue of which Schücking disputes the Shakespearean authorship[2].

Dr Tannenbaum admits that my parallels between Shakespeare and 'the 147 lines' are 'illuminating.' But he says these arguments are

[1] *Review of English Studies*, I, p. 42.

[2] Exact figures cannot be reached without agreement on many principles; for example, how far we should count proper names, or words involving them, and what to do with compounds. Among the eight 'words' which I counted in Schücking's list are 'Harry groat,' 'Troy weight'; perhaps these should not have been counted as 'words.' The proportion of *hapax legomena* in different passages of Shakespeare varies greatly. I took down *Hamlet*, opened it at the long speech of the Ghost, and found a dozen words, not used elsewhere by Shakespeare, in fifty lines.

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'completely counterbalanced by Professor L. L. Schücking's keenly analytical Essay.' Now it is essential to Tannenbaum's views that 'the 147 lines' must have been written *before* May 12, 1593. And it is essential to Schücking's case that they have been written after *Julius Caesar*. For Schücking agrees that the likenesses to *Julius Caesar* go beyond mere accident, and therefore it is vital to his argument that they must be due to copying. A chronology which would make a borrowing from *Julius Caesar* possible before May 1593 is incompatible with everything we know about the date of that play.

This is a very good example of the mutual antagonism of the objections raised against the Shakespearean authorship of 'the 147 lines.' To a quite remarkable extent, they cancel out. Yet tribute ought to be paid to the acumen of both Schücking and Tannenbaum. The first discovery of a quite undeniable link between 'the 147 lines' and Shakespeare was made by Schücking; and Dr Tannenbaum, though he does not accept the identification of the Shakespeare signatures and D's hand, has nevertheless called attention to likenesses between them which had escaped even the acute scrutiny of Sir Edward Maunde Thompson. Others will rate these discoveries of Dr Tannenbaum more highly than he does himself. And his services in other ways, such as the identification of Hand A in *Sir Thomas More* with that of Chettle, are very noteworthy.

It seems to me that this feeling of 'too good to be true' has resulted in a bias (an honourable bias, but a bias nevertheless) against the belief that D is Shakespeare. Otherwise, one would think, people must have seen that the resemblances of thought and wording are not of the kind which can fairly be accounted for by borrowing. In *Richard II* the king is called 'the figure of God's majesty.' A borrower might well have transferred this phrase to More's speech. Instead we find a new phrase:

> And to add ampler majesty to this
> God hath not only lent the king his figure....

This is not like the work of a plagiarist. It is the same thought transfused by the poet's imagination. If we take the resemblances enumerated above we do, indeed, find many exact verbal echoes. But they are swamped in a much larger parallelism of thought. Taken as a whole, the resemblances are like those which we find between one of Shakespeare's plays and another.

Between sending this paper to the printer, and correcting the proof, I had the advantage of hearing Professor Spurgeon's lecture before the British Academy, on *Shakespeare's Iterative Imagery*. Professor Spurgeon did not deal with the *More*-problem, but it was impossible to listen to

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her enumeration of repetitions of thought in different plays of Shakespeare, without seeing that it is precisely the same kind of repetition which we find in 'the 147 lines'; not mere verbal echoes, but the same thought.

So it is, as I shall try to show in a later paper, with the problem of the A-, B- and (in some measure) C-texts of *Piers Plowman*. There are verbal echoes, but these prove little or nothing. Immense industry and ingenuity have been wasted in arguing as to the authorship of alliterative poems from phrases which were the common property of all alliterative poets. The clue lies in the *thought*.

R. W. CHAMBERS.

LONDON.

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'THE JEW'

In his study of usurer plays in Elizabethan drama, A. B. Stonex[1] passes lightly over the old play mentioned by Stephen Gosson[2]. He makes no attempt to estimate it in the growth of the usurer plays, probably because he saw no way of determining its structure by positive evidence. He comments on *The Jew* as follows: 'Unless the main outlines of it have been preserved in *The Merchant of Venice*, we can know nothing of the nature of *The Jew*, which was being acted at The Bull in 1579, beyond Stephen Gosson's description of it[3].' A study of certain secondary sources, prevailing conventions, and textual alterations made in revising the original form of *The Merchant* will show good indications of the nature of *The Jew*. Such a study will warrant one in classifying it as a transitional type of play inspired by the Italian fiction of the day and having enough classical influence to give technical cohesion to its various kinds of material. Although it is impossible to try to work out in detail any particular scenes from *The Jew*, the value of thus knowing its classification as a whole is that it makes us fairly certain that Shakespeare here found most of his material, if not all, for the composition of his *Merchant*.

Critics always speak reservedly about the play, usually mentioning Gosson's description of it as 'representing the greediness of worldly chusers, and the bloody minds of usurers[4],' but failing to reason about this comment and certainly not trying to place the play in its true position. One critic[5], to be sure, rightly observes that the expression '*bloody* minds' applies to Shakespeare's Shylock and not to usurers at large, indicating, thereby, that *The Jew* was the direct source for *The Merchant*; but he hesitates to give the unknown author credit for the device of the caskets by stating it as a supposition coming from Knight[6]. Another[7], not wishing to depreciate Shakespeare's genius for combining plots, thinks that no such combination of plots could occur in plays written about 1579. No one can say that the plots in *The Jew* were ingeniously combined, but they could occur together in a crude fashion. The probable date of the play, 1579, places it in the great expanding

[1] 'The Usurer in Elizabethan Drama,' *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc. of America*, xxxi, p. 194n.
[2] *Schoole of Abuse*, ed. Arber, p. 40.
[3] Stonex, *op. cit.*, p. 194n.
[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 40.
[5] C. K. Pooler, *The Merchant of Venice*, London, 1916, p. xix.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. xxx.
[7] Parrott, *The Merchant of Venice*, p. xxiii.

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moment of English drama, when large crude plays like Whetstone's *Promos and Cassandra* (1578) were being written and *Campaspe* (1583) was about to be shaped by Lyly. Though interludes and academic plays continued to be written, the dissolution of traditional types was rapidly taking place. Mixed forms and the assimilation of Italian material bulked large in the productions of the day. But these loose forms were not free entirely from classical influence, just as the interlude had its low-comedy matter to supply to the new forms[1]. The popularity of the Senecan dramas is attested by the publication of a collected edition of Senecan translations by Thomas Newton in 1581. In our particular play, *The Jew*, there could not have been any material of a ribald nature, as Gosson's main interest in the writing of his *Schoole of Abuse* was the denunciation of the immorally suggestive scenes in the drama of his day. It is probable that the play was broadly didactic. Our problem, then, is to find indications that will help us to determine the structural nature of *The Jew*[2].

A comparative study of the three versions[3] of the Jew story with *The Merchant of Venice* indicates that Act I, Sc. iii and the first half of Act IV go back to *The Jew*. All parallel ideas fall within these places. In *The Three Ladies of London*, (1) the altercation between the Jew and the Christian about the debt, and (2) the time limit of three months; in the *Ballad of Gernutus*, (1) the mention of a bond, (2) the remark that the bond is made in a 'merry jest,' and (3) the fact that the merchant's ships are at sea; in *The Jew of Malta*, (1) the mention of the shrugging of the shoulders, (2) the remark that sufferance breeds ease, (3) the naming of the argosies, (4) the mention of Abraham's happiness, and (5) the utterance, 'What, bring you scripture to confirm your wrongs?' all are reproduced in Act I, Sc. iii of *The Merchant of Venice* where the Jew, Shylock, and the Christian, Antonio, take part in a long conversation about the loan. In the first part of Act IV (the trial scene) of *The Merchant of Venice* many ideas are likewise paralleled in these three plays: in *The Three Ladies of London*, (1) the judge is called a learned

[1] Gosson in *Playes Confuted* (c. 1581) tells us of the great number of plays written for the playhouses in London. Cf. C. W. Wallace, *The Evolution of the English Drama*, Berlin. 1912, p. 170, n. 1.

[2] We can reject the identity of *The Jew* with the *Interlude of the Cruell Detter* or with R. W.'s *Three Ladies of London* on the basis of their not containing the right mixture of material. W. W. Greg arrives at the same conclusion on different grounds in the case of the *Interlude* (*Malone Society Publications*, 'Collections,' Parts IV and V, 1911, p. 316), and E. K. Chambers on different grounds in the case of *The Three Ladies* (*The Elizabethan Stage*, 1923, II, p. 380).

[3] For proof of the dependence of *The Three Ladies of London* and the *Ballad of Gernutus* on *The Jew*, see Sir Sidney Lee, *The Academy*, 31, pp. 344 and 380. *The Jew of Malta* is also based on *The Jew* and no doubt influenced Shakespeare in the writing of *The Merchant of Venice*; see A. W. Ward, *A History of Dramatic Literature*, I, p. 190.

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judge, and (2) he is suddenly stopped by the Jew as he asks for the principal; in the *Ballad of Gernutus*, (1) the Jew refuses large sums at court, (2) he whets his blade, (3) the judge warns against shedding a drop of blood, (4) the judge says the Jew must not take more or less than a pound, (5) the Jew offers to take money but the judge allows not even a penny, and (6) the judge orders him to take the flesh or to cancel the bond; in *The Jew of Malta*, (1) the Jew cries out: 'Let me have law,' and (2) later he is forced to become a Christian. These two large scenes, one near the beginning and the other near the end of Shakespeare's treatment of Shylock, give us the basic material for a reconstruction of the lost play.

These two scenes bring out the racial and personal hatred that existed between the Christian and the Jew. This, then, represents the basic emotion on which the old play was founded. The idea of revenge, which is the regular Senecan motive, is but a step further, and in the play the Jew is the antagonist with this idea in his heart. That the Jew in the old play was a usurer can hardly be questioned, because in the history of European drama, usurer plays reach back as far as the early Roman comedy where we meet the Plautine money-lender[1]. He was also a miser, as the complicated figure of Barabbas in *The Jew of Malta* combines this quality with that of the usurer. Shakespeare marks Shylock with this stain; yet he curtails his source as much as possible in this respect, so that we can hardly accuse Shylock of really being a miser. Shakespeare had no practical use for it when first drafting the play[2] as there is nothing in the Lopez affair that points in this direction. In constructing his play Shakespeare had to narrow the character of the Jew down to a simple type, not only to put emphasis on his emotion of hate but also to keep to his ultimate plan of making *The Merchant* a romantic love comedy. Instead of bringing him on the stage to utter his rage at the loss of his ducats, he shrinks the incident to a few lines which he puts in the mouth of the glib-tongued Salanio[3]. But not only is the incident reported; it is laughed off by Salanio in such a way that, far from thinking of the Jew's miserly nature, we rather feel for him in his loss. Similarly, the throwing down of the casket to Lorenzo is done amid a scene of youthful frivolity,

[1] Stonex traces their growth in the Elizabethan drama and finds seventy-one plays—from *Respublica* (1553) to the time of Richard Brome's *The Damoiselle* (1637)—in each of which a usurer appears (*op. cit.*, p. 190).

[2] J. Dover Wilson, who revives the Lopez-Shylock discussion, believes that the first draft of *The Merchant of Venice* was made by Shakespeare in 1594, just after the trial of the Jewish physician, and slightly revised a few months later (June, 1594) after the execution. This editor is convinced also that *The Jew* was Shakespeare's immediate major source in the making of his play (*The Merchant of Venice*, Cambridge, 1926, pp. 112–19).

[3] II, viii, 12–22.

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in which these young lovers never say a word against the miserly side of Shylock's nature. Though Shakespeare minimises the part played by Shylock, the miser, in thus reducing material that was used by the author of *The Jew*, nevertheless he leaves us without a doubt that he is marked with this stain[1].

Dependence on convention[2] and tradition as an aid in filling in a gap in literary history is the usual recourse where positive evidence is lacking. There are several ideas in *The Merchant of Venice* which can in this way be referred to *The Jew*. Excepting the revenge of Shylock, the most prominent idea in *The Merchant* is the Platonic conception of love, brought out in the somewhat sentimental speeches of Bassanio and Portia. The idea is stressed several times in the casket scenes[3]; and, later, in a passage that is probably taken over from the old play[4], Jessica conveys the idea that Bassanio should appreciate and return Portia's love. The stress put on earthly love in the casket scenes, together with the inappropriateness of putting a speech that mingles earthly and heavenly love in the mouth of Jessica, furnishes enough reason for assigning it to the old play. From Gosson we learn that there were 'worldly chusers' in the old play. It is fairly reasonable to understand this as being some stage device by which the lady in the play chooses her husband and as something that corresponds to the main casket scene in *The Merchant*[5]. The indications are that this scene in *The Jew* contained several long speeches based on the mediæval conception of love in its purest form, whether earthly or heavenly. And this, no doubt, is the type of love-making that would please the moralist, Gosson.

In *The Jew* the lady, corresponding to Portia, must have been wealthy and noble-hearted. Noble womanhood is a fixed convention in sixteenth-century romance. This feature is much exaggerated in *The Merchant of Venice*. Portia rarely appears without displaying her wealth and showing the kindness of her heart. The imaginary letter, which mysteriously gets into her hands at the end of the play, is the last effort of the dramatist to impress upon the audience the romantic nature of the over-gracious lady. From Gosson's description of *The Jew*, we know that one of the

[1] The words, 'For I did dream of money bags to-night' (II, v, 18), and his cruel remark about his daughter (III, i, 91–2) indicate a miserly nature.

[2] Alwin Thaler objects to over-emphasis on 'conventions' in the study of Shakespeare's plays, but he recognises their importance when he says 'that Shakespeare was strongly influenced by the current dramatic conventions, modes, and fashions.' ('The Unhappy Happy Ending,' *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc. of America*, XLII, p. 738.)

[3] Cf. C. R. Baskerville, 'Bassanio as an Ideal Lover,' *Manly Anniversary Studies in Language and Literature*, Chicago, 1923.

[4] III, v, 78–88.

[5] *The Merchant of Venice*, Cambridge, 1926, p. 113.

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principal characters was a wealthy lady, who was sought after by the 'chusers.' In our conception of this lady, we can safely assume her generous and gracious nature, which is emphasised in *The Merchant*[1].

There are two additional points about Shylock which we feel certain existed in the old play. The citing of scripture by Shylock in Act I, Sc. iii shows the keenness of his intellect, a characteristic also attached to Barabbas in *The Jew of Malta*. The other point is also found in *The Jew of Malta*. Shylock at the end of the trial scene is made to become a Christian. Enforced conversion of Jews was a common practice in mediæval and Renaissance times[2], so it can readily be referred to the old play.

In *The Merchant*, the 'sadness' of Antonio is so artificial that its purpose is nothing more than to serve as a means of manipulating the plot[3]. Antonio's melancholy is extended over the whole play, but its cause is vague. It appears that Shakespeare did not wish to use the same reason as that given in the old play. His reason may be the loss of Antonio's ships which miraculously come safely to harbour at the end of the play, or it may be the marriage and departure of Bassanio. In *The Jew*, the cause for the sadness, whatever it was, was stated plainly in the dialogue of the play. This is indicated by a textual flaw occurring at line five at the very beginning of the play. 'I am to learn' is a broken line where a 'cut' took place when the play was transcribed[4]. The gap in thought here left out probably contained the reason for Antonio's sadness in *The Jew*.

An irregularity in *The Merchant*, which indicates a good deal to us, is the phrase, 'your noble kinsman[5].' In the *Il Pecorone* story, Ansaldo and Gianetto (corresponding to Antonio and Bassanio in Shakespeare's play) are related, the latter being an adopted son. Shakespeare emphasises the friendship, which naturally occurred between these two men, without making them related. The phrase is, therefore, not relevant to Shakespeare's story and must have come from the old play which used both elements of relationship and friendship. Another slight discrepancy seems to indicate that in the old play Antonio and Bassanio were one and the same man[6]. If it were so, this would make the hero a highly complicated personage.

[1] III, ii, 309–11; III, iv, 1–3; III, iv, 19–20; III, v, 78–88.
[2] E. E. Stoll, *Journ. of Engl. and Germ. Phil.*, X, p. 257.
[3] See my discussion of this question, *Shaksperean Character Interpretation, The Merchant of Venice*, Baltimore, 1927, p. 74.
[4] *The Merchant of Venice*, Cambridge, 1926, p. 109.
[5] I, i, 57.
[6] Shylock calls Antonio a 'prodigal' (III, i, 46).

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Another place in *The Merchant of Venice* where matters have been 'cut' or condensed is to be found in the story of Jessica. If one traces her part in the play, one can infer that there was no attempt on the part of the dramatist to make of her a full character. Shakespeare put the girl into his play for one dramatic purpose. Her elopement with Lorenzo serves to increase the revengefulness of Shylock. Most of the story of the two lovers, however, is a blank, so intent was the dramatist on cutting out things unessential to his dramatic purpose. From the time the lovers leave Shylock's house to their appearance at Belmont, we hear nothing of them except Tubal's statement that they spent the night in Genoa[1]. Connected with the Lorenzo-Jessica story is the question of the missing supper which is present in the minds of several characters[2] who are looking forward to this event. A close study of the text indicates that the original text of the play and probably the old play, called *The Jew*, contained a supper-scene, which probably occurred just before the entrance of Antonio in Act II, Sc. vi[3]. But the proposed supper in *The Merchant of Venice* seems to be part of a general masque in which Lorenzo and Jessica were to be the central figures[4]. The supper and masque, then, can be assigned to *The Jew* as well as to Shakespeare's early draft of 1594.

In a few places certain textual alterations of a minor character were made in *The Merchant of Venice* during its life as the property of the company of actors. In the Heyes Quarto, Launcelot's first speech[5] contains the name 'Iobbe' several times in the dialogue, but this is consistently written as 'Gobbo' in the speech headings that follow. Whether Shakespeare himself originally used *Iobbe* for Launcelot's surname cannot be definitely determined, but being a pure Italian word[6] and occurring within the dialogue the name may be a survival of *The Jew*. Some bits of ribald conversation were introduced into the play[7]. These should be regarded as later additions[8]; certainly such matter, which would have disturbed Gosson's moral sense, could not have occurred in the old play.

Though nothing certain can be said of the structure of *The Jew*, the probable nature of the play can be indicated here from the material given in this paper. The conclusion I wish to arrive at is a proper classification

[1] III, i, 113–14.
[2] Bassanio, II, ii, 180; Jessica, II, iii, 5; Lorenzo, II, iv, 1; Launcelot, II, iv, 18; Shylock, II, v, 11.
[3] *The Merchant of Venice*, Cambridge, 1926, p. 111.
[4] II, ii, 214–15; II, iii, 5–6; II, iv, 1–3; II, vi, 48.
[5] II, ii, 1–26.
[6] Meaning *Job*.
[7] III, ii, 214–18; III, v, 40–7.
[8] *The Merchant of Venice*, Cambridge, 1926, p. 107.

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of our play. This will clear up the vagueness as to its place in the history of the sixteenth-century drama, and will make more plausible its eligibility as the source of Shakespeare's *Merchant*. *The Jew* contained a great variety of material and several lines of plot construction. The prodigal with his easy friendships and liberal purse stood in contrast to the usurer who felt in his heart the racial antagonism between Jew and Christian. The Senecan keynote of revenge must have often rung on his lips. The author was under the influence of the Italian romances with their variety of theatrical effects. The lovely lady in the casket scenes, the banquet of the prodigal and the Jew where the bond was signed, the Jew's daughter and her light-hearted lover partaking in a masque with their friends, and the trial scene, all made for striking stage effects. As for comic relief, there was a figure in the play like Launcelot, displaying a type of clownery that was innocent enough in the eyes of Gosson. Seneca was felt in the style of the play; besides a deep note of hate and revenge coming from the Jew, long speeches punctuated with moral sayings, and violent altercations between opposing parties must have occurred. There are enough indications to place *The Jew* with that popular variety of play which held the stage in the latter half of the seventies. It was the kind of play that George Whetstone defined in 1578, one year before the probable production of *The Jew*, in his well-known *Epistle* prefixed to *Promos and Cassandra*:

> For to work a Comedie kindly, grave olde men should instruct: yonge men should showe the imperfections of youth: Strumpets should be lascivious: Boyes unhappy: and Clownes should be disorderly: entermingling all these actions, in suche sorte, as the grave matter may instruct, and the pleasant delight: for without this chaunge, the attention would be small, and the likinge, lesse[1].

S. A. SMALL.

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND.

[1] E. K. Chambers, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 202. F. S. Boas summarises Whetstone's opinions by saying that 'he pleads for an intermediate dramatic species' (*Shakespeare and his Predecessors*, p. 28). Cf. Wilhelm Creizenach, *The English Drama in the Age of Shakespeare*, London, 1916, pp. 13–14, and Tucker Brooke, *The Tudor Drama*, New York, 1911, p. 360 n.

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LAMARTINE'S 'MÉDITATIONS POÉTIQUES'

On March 13, 1820, there was published at Paris a thin octavo volume entitled *Méditations Poétiques*. It was anonymous, but it was widely known that the author was a young man, named Alphonse de Lamartine, who for the last two years had been made much of in Paris society, and, though he had published nothing, had acquired a considerable reputation as a poet. The success of the little volume was astonishing. Statesmen and fine ladies were enthusiastic in their welcome. Talleyrand, that cynical and disillusioned veteran, wrote to the Princesse de Talmont that, being unable to sleep, he had read the volume (which she had lent him) till four o'clock in the morning and had found there 'a man.' The first edition was sold out in a few days, the second, of 1500 copies, was exhausted before April 28, and before the end of the year it had reached a sixth. This success may be compared to that of the first two cantos of *Childe Harold*, which appeared almost exactly eight years before the *Méditations* (March 1, 1812), with the result that Byron 'awoke one morning and found himself famous.' But Byron was a more conspicuous figure in society than Lamartine, and his *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers* had already brought him into notice as a writer. Another triumphant success of these days was *Waverley*, which was published on July 7, 1814, went into a second edition before the end of August, and reached a fifth by the following January. *Waverley*, like the *Méditations*, was anonymous and the secret of its authorship was known to only a few, but it was a novel and a novel attracts many more readers than poetry.

The success of Lamartine's volume was helped by favourable criticisms. In the chorus of approbation there was hardly a dissentient note. Of the twenty-four poems there were only two, the lyrics from *Saül* and *Hymne au Soleil*, that did not receive a word of praise—praise, however, that as a rule missed the real masterpieces. The poems which were best received were those of a religious and philosophical character—*L'Homme*, *La Foi* (one of the least good), *L'Immortalité* (the best of this class), and *Dieu*. This, perhaps, was to be expected considering the royalist and religious sympathies of the critics. Indeed, the only non-religious poems cited by young Victor Hugo in the *Conservateur littéraire* were *Souvenir* and *Invocation*, perhaps because, as M. Lanson suggests, they reminded him of Adèle Foucher[1]. But the most astonishing instance of wrongly directed

[1] Hugo says that, after re-reading the volume, he was tempted to say to the author, 'Courage, jeune homme.' He was eighteen and Lamartine twenty-nine.

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admiration is the praise given by Charles Loyson, himself a poet—'un intermédiaire entre Millevoye et Lamartine' (Sainte-Beuve)—to *La Gloire*, which he finds 'irréprochable' and cites in entirety, but which is a mere academic exercise.

When, however, these critics come to consider the volume as a whole and the reason for its success, they are much happier. They recognise that in a prosaic age there had appeared a real poet who was not only a maker of verses, but one whose poetry was the outpouring of his soul, one who spoke of things that touch a responsive chord in the souls of others —of man's destiny and aspirations, and of passionate, virtuous, and unhappy love. Thus the little volume appealed both to the sentimental melancholy of the age and to that dormant love of true poetry which in all ages lies ready to be awakened at the touch of the magician.

And the magician's wand was in this case all-powerful, because it made use of language and rhythm which attracted by their brilliance, yet did not offend or perplex by their novelty or unfamiliarity. For Lamartine was no revolutionary. He neither launched a manifesto nor presided over a *cénacle* of admiring disciples. He served a long apprenticeship, treading respectfully, but with discrimination, the well-worn paths of his predecessors. Gradually, under the guidance of a fundamental sincerity, an inborn love of nature, and an unfailing poetic instinct, he rose to higher things. Finally a strong passion and a great sorrow impelled him to write poetry of a kind hitherto unknown in France—poetry sincere, lofty, spiritual, passionate.

It is of peculiar interest to trace the evolution of a great poet, and in tracing that of Lamartine we have an opportunity that is exceptionally favourable. In the first place we have his letters[1], in which he not only tells his friends—his chief friend was the Comte de Virieu, a young man of about his own age[2]—what books he was reading, but he transcribes from time to time some poem that he had recently written. The earlier poems were never published and the later ones were nearly always revised before publication. Secondly, we have his note-books, in which he preserved rough drafts of his poems with numerous alterations and erasures. All this precious material has been fully utilised by M. Lanson in his edition of the *Méditations Poétiques*[3], and the following pages are based very largely on his admirable work with its copious textual and illustrative notes.

[1] *Correspondance*, 6 vols., 1873–1875; 4 vols., 1882 (more complete, but still incomplete). My references are to the first edition.
[2] See Lamartine's *Commentaire* on *Le Passé* in the *Nouvelles Méditations*.
[3] Two vols., Hachette, 1922 (*Les Grands Écrivains de la France*).

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Lamartine's first model was Parny, who is only known now by his little poem *Sur la mort d'une jeune fille*, but who in Lamartine's day had a great reputation—Chateaubriand, writing in 1821, says that he still knew Parny's elegies by heart[1], and Lamartine could certainly have said the same thing. In October, 1818, soon after his eighteenth birthday, he sent to a friend a poem in the manner of Parny and he felt his influence for the next two years. But a stronger and weightier influence was that of Voltaire, whom he not only imitated, but from whom he learnt useful lessons in technique. Under his influence he wrote sometimes elegant *galanteries*, sometimes verse epistles in a colloquial style, as for instance a long discourse on *Friendship*[2], and an impromptu (without an erasure) of over a hundred lines on *La Sagesse humaine*[3].

Besides writing, he read widely. He came, as was inevitable, under the spell of J. J. Rousseau, first of *Émile*, and then of *La Nouvelle Héloïse* ('Grands dieux! quel livre!'); he was transported by *Corinne*; he could not read *René* without tears and he greatly admired the rest of *Le Génie du Christianisme*. He was enthusiastic over English literature, though at first he could only read it in translations. Milton, Pope, Addison's *Cato*, Gray's *Elegy*, Young's *Night Thoughts* and, above all, Ossian, 'l'Homère de mes premières années[4],' all greatly appealed to him. In the spring of 1810 he made friends with an English family at Lyons and began to learn English. In September he talks of translating the *Night Thoughts* and *Cato* into 'vile prose[5]' and in the same letter he describes how he burnt his early verses, preserving only from the flames some elegies in the manner of Bertin.

In the autumn of 1811 he visited Italy, returning in the spring of 1812. Two years earlier he had begun to study Italian. He read Alfieri, and in the following year Petrarch, who, as the lover of Laura, was to have a special attraction for him. Italy herself, with her brilliant and varied scenery, her noble buildings rich with historical associations, her ruined monuments, witnesses to her past grandeur, made a deep and lasting impression upon him, and later became for him a second country. It does not appear that he knew German, but in 1809 and 1810 he was reading

[1] *Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe*, ed. Biré, I, p. 221. For Parny (1753–1814) see Sainte-Beuve, *Causeries du Lundi*, XV, who says that the first elegy of his *Poèmes érotiques* (1778) is 'the a.b.c. of lovers,' and H. Potez, *L'Élégie en France avant le Romantisme*, 1898, chap. II.

[2] *Correspondance*, I, pp. 119, 124, 128.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 226–9.

[4] Le Tourneur's prose version of Ossian appeared in 1777 under the title of *Poésies Galliques*. In 1801 Baour-Lormian, who did not know English, used this version; for a rendering in verse see P. Van Tieghem, *Ossian en France*, 2 vols., Paris, 1917.

[5] *Correspondance*, I, p. 272.

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Werther, of which there were several translations. It was thoroughly in accord with the pessimism and melancholy of the age[1].

During the years 1811 and 1812 his letters contain no poems, but his poetical education was being moulded by new influences. His models were no longer Voltaire and Parny and Bertin, but men nearer his own time, the poets of the First Empire—Fontanes, whom Chateaubriand proclaimed to be the last of the great school of Molière and Racine and Boileau; his friend, Chênedollé[2], the unhappy lover of Lucile de Chateaubriand, 'le plus distingué des poètes qui ont failli être Lamartine avant Lamartine,' to whose best known poem, *Le Génie de l'Homme*, Lamartine owed not a little; and Millevoye, the author of *La Chute des Feuilles*, 'the most perfect expression of the fashionable melancholy of the day.' It was this melancholy, with its accompanying pre-occupation with the idea of death, which now became so pronounced a note in Lamartine's poetry. It was accentuated by his study of English poetry, especially of the *Night Thoughts* and Ossian[3]. In January, 1813, he sent to Virieu a long epistle entitled *Les Sépultures*—evidently inspired by Hervey's *Meditations among the tombs*—which he was going to read to the Academy of Mâcon[4]. In December of the same year he transcribed for another friend a poem called *Souvenir*, full of regret for the happy past[5]. There is a similar note in some verses of August, 1814:

> Coulez, jours fortunés, coulez plus lentement,
> Pressez moins votre course, heures délicieuses,
> Laissez-moi savourer ce bonheur d'un moment,
> Il est si peu d'heures heureuses[6],

which is a foretaste of the well-known stanza in *Le Lac*. He also wrote *Le Saule Pleureur*, 'arbre chéri de la mélancolie'—another well-worn theme[7].

In December, 1814, Parny died and Lamartine commemorated his death in a sentimental poem, in which he spoke of him as the French Tibullus and acknowledged his debt to him both as a poet and as a lover[8]. It was read, he says, at the Mâcon Academy soon after Parny's death, but it is first recorded in the correspondence in May, 1815. This brings us to the earliest poems of *Les Imitations*, to those which were written before *Le Lac*. In *Le Golfe de Baya*, one of the very earliest, which Lamartine says

[1] *Werther* was first translated into French in 1776. There were sixteen translations and reprints from then till 1797. See F. Baldensperger, *Goethe en France*, 2nd ed., 1920, 1re *partie*, pp. 9–71.

[2] See Mme Paul de Samie, *A l'Aube du Romantisme: Chênedollé*, Caen, 1922.

[3] See generally for Lamartine's debt to Ossian, P. Van Tieghem, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 305–28: 'Je lui dois une partie de la mélancolie de mes pinceaux' (*Préface des Méditations*), and there follows an account of the nature of his influence.

[4] *Correspondance*, II, p. 3. [5] *Ibid.*, pp. 24–8. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 47.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 51. [8] *Ibid.*, pp. 64–70.

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was written at Naples in 1813[1], but which M. Lanson assigns to 1814 or 1815, Melancholy is represented as sitting 'pensive et recueillie' on the silent shore, meditating on the ruined palace and deserted temples on the slope of the hills. It is, says M. Lanson, like a 'first proof' of *Le Lac* and it ends on the familiar note of

> Ainsi tout change, ainsi tout passe;
> Ainsi nous-mêmes nous passons.

It is also interesting for its references to Horace, Propertius and Tibullus, showing that the Latin elegiac poets had taken the place of Parny.

There is no reason to question Lamartine's date of 1815 for *L'Adieu*, written just after a visit to Colonel de Maistre, younger brother of Joseph de Maistre. It has evident reminiscences of Horace's *Beatus ille* (*Epod.* II), the source of inspiration of so many poems, and

> Mes lèvres à peine ont goûté
> Le calice amer de la vie

recalls André Chénier's

> Un instant seulement mes lèvres ont pressé
> La coupe en mes mains encore pleine[2].

A noticeable feature of this 'familiar epistle' is the love of nature and country life:

> Adieu, vallons; adieu, bocages;
> Lac azuré, rochers sauvages,
> Bois touffus, tranquille séjour,
> Séjour des heureux et des sages,
> Je vous ai quitté sans retour.

With these lines may be compared a letter to Virieu, written on the last day of November of the preceding year (1814), which M. Lanson notes as indicating an important turning point in Lamartine's poetical development. Here, again in the spirit of 'O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint, agricolas,' he dwells on the felicity of *la retraite des champs*, on the charm of the harmonious winds which whistle through the leafless trees, on the thoughts and feelings of the days when the two friends communed with 'admirable, adorable nature[3].'

We find a similar expression of the love of nature in *Hymne au Soleil*, which according to Lamartine was begun as early as 1808, but which was certainly not completed till 1816 or 1817. It was read before the Académie

[1] Lamartine left Naples early in 1812, but the poem is reminiscent of his sojourn there. He is never to be relied on for dates.
[2] *La Jeune Captive* was published separately in 1795.
[3] *Correspondance*, II, pp. 56–60.

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de Mâcon in March, 1818. The theme is a hackneyed one. It was used by Chênedollé in the First Canto of his *Génie de l'Homme*, two lines of which,

> Et ton front, toujours calme, éclaire les tombeaux
> Des peuples dont tu vis se lever les berceaux.

are echoed in:

> Et sous la main du temps ton front n'a point pâli.

Another poem that was read before the Académie de Mâcon is *La Gloire* (read December 19, 1817). It is dedicated to and inspired by the poetry of Manoel da Nascimento, a Portuguese poet, who, having been denounced by the Inquisition, lived in exile in France. It contains some fine passages, but, like the *Hymne au Soleil*, is little more than an academic exercise. The same may be said of *L'Enthousiasme*, also read before the Mâcon Academy (December 9, 1819) and also inspired by Dom Manoel. The first two stanzas, which, judging from the rough drafts in Lamartine's note-book, seem to have given him a good deal of trouble, were written in 1817. They develop an elaborate comparison between enthusiasm and an eagle which, as Brunetière says, might have been the work of J. B. Rousseau. M. Lanson, in fact, shows that some of the lines are echoes of Rousseau's *Ode au Comte du Luc*, one of his most admired poems.

On June 28, 1816, Lamartine writes to Virieu that he proposes to publish a little collection of elegies in four books, but, when they were ready for the press, he re-read them with 'profound self-contempt and flung them into the fire.' He realised that they did not 'come from the heart[1].' The first poem, in which there is a sincere personal note, is *Invocation*—probably to be identified with the poem to which he refers in *Raphaël* as written at Aix in 1816 in the presence of Julie and his friend Louis Vignet, and of which he speaks as 'les premiers vers qui fussent sortis de mon cœur et non de mon imagination[2].' M. Lanson, who accepts Lamartine's statement as to the occasion of the poem, regards it as only a 'banale galanterie spiritualiste.' But it is surely more than this. It at any rate expresses in a classical form—M. Lanson rightly cites from Virgil: 'O, quam te memorem, virgo?'—the poet's warm admiration for a beautiful woman—admiration ready at any moment to become something deeper. Possibly it belongs to an earlier stage of Lamartine's acquaintance with Julie than he assigns to it, but it certainly comes from his heart.

Le Temple was apparently written either in 1816 between Lamartine's departure from Aix and his arrival in Paris near the end of the year, or

[1] *Correspondance*, II, p. 97.

[2] *Préface des Méditations.*

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(less probably) in the summer of 1817, when after leaving Paris he was staying with an aunt in the country near Mâcon[1]. It contains faint echoes of Gray, Ossian, Fontanes, and Chateaubriand with one or two reminiscences of *La Nouvelle Héloïse*. The last thirteen lines have real beauty and feeling. The mention of Elvire, the name that Lamartine gave originally to the Neapolitan girl Graziella, will be noted. From this time onward it stands for Mme Charles.

Mme Charles (Julie Bouchaud des Hérettes), the inspirer of these two poems, was born at Paris, and spent the first eight years of her life, not at St Domingo as we are told in *Raphaël*, but with her mother and two sisters in the Convent of the Filles du Calvaire[2]. On July 25, 1804, she married Jacques Charles, a distinguished physicist and a bold and successful aeronaut[3]. He was fifty-seven and she was just twenty. We know very little about her. In the *Méditations* Lamartine tells us nothing except that she had 'tresses d'ébène.' Though she pervades the whole volume with her presence, it is not with a bodily presence. She is pure spirit. In *Raphaël*, indeed, we have a full-length portrait of her, which is artistically satisfying, but, according to Lamartine himself, *Raphaël* is 'half-true and half-false,' or rather, as he often said to Émile Ollivier, not true at all[4]. We have therefore to content ourselves with scraps of contemporary information. She was pale and delicate-looking, but, judging from a miniature belonging to M. Léon Séché, she was a beautiful woman, who presided over her husband's salon at the Institute with grace and distinction. He was a man of kindly charm, and, if she was not in love with him, she at any rate regarded him with affectionate gratitude. We get a glimpse of her during the Hundred Days. Early in May she went to Ghent, where Louis XVIII had taken up his abode, in order to further the interests of a favourite nephew. She had friends there in Baron Mounier, the future Head of the Police, and Lally Tollendal, 'le plus gras des sensibles' (as Mme de Staël called him), well known as an orator and writer, and as an admirer of the fair sex, but Chateaubriand's reference to her and Lally in the *Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe* (III, p. 498) may be dismissed as ill-natured gossip. She was evidently a woman of considerable charm, well dressed, anxious to please, and perhaps a coquette[5].

[1] M. des Cognets assigns it to 1812 or 1813.

[2] L. Babonneix in *Rev. d'hist. litt.*, XXXVII (1930), pp. 419 ff.

[3] His first ascent was made in 1783. 'Most of the fittings of the modern hydrogen balloon...were devised by Charles' (W. Raleigh, *The War in the Air*, I, p. 33).

[4] In particular his statement that she was the wife only in name of a very old man.

[5] See L. Babonneix, 'Madame Charles pendant les Cent-Jours,' *Rev. d'hist. litt.*, XXXIV, pp. 161 ff.

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In July, 1816, her health having become worse—she was consumptive—she was sent to Aix-les-Bains, where in October Lamartine also went for his health. As he was only there a month[1] they cannot have been long in one another's company. According to his account in *Raphaël* they left at the same time, travelling together as far as Mâcon, where Lamartine remained till near the end of the year. On Christmas Day he presented himself in the salon of the Institute, and for the next four and a half months he saw her constantly. For these months, except for the letters, which do not go beyond January 2, we have nothing but the *autobiographie romancée* of *Raphaël*.

In the middle of May his funds being exhausted, Lamartine had to leave Paris for the country. On August 20 we find him at Chambéry on his way to Aix, which he probably reached the next day. He hoped to find Julie there or that she would shortly join him. He is still there on September 16[2], but a week later he is staying with Virieu at Le Grand Lemps. Julie had never come to Aix. She had never in fact intended to come, for she knew that she was dying.

Such was the situation when Lamartine wrote his famous poem *Le Lac*, or *Le Lac de B****, as it is called in the original edition of the *Méditations*. In his note-book he gives the date as September, 1817, but he has added in pencil the following notes: 'Sitting on the rock of the fountain August 29, 1817, and thinking of thee—Abbey of Hautecombe astride the lake,' and 'Passed the day of the 29th in the woods of Hautecombe on the lake of B.[3]' We may therefore date the conception and composition of the poem as from August 29 to the time of his departure from Aix between the 16th and the 23rd of September. It will be noticed that the description of the lake is in purely general terms, which, as M. Lanson points out, recall Rousseau's famous description of the Lac de Bienne in the Fifth Promenade of his *Rêveries* and Chênedollé's description of the Lake of Geneva in the Second Canto of the *Génie de l'Homme*, with its conventional epithets and phrases such as 'mollement,' 'croissant argenté,' 'zéphyr volage,' and 'lac aux bords riants[4].' In fact the last stanza but one of *Le Lac*, with its 'zéphyr qui frémit,' 'astre au bord d'argent,' and 'molles clartés,' is almost entirely composed of these *clichés*. In the fourth stanza Lamartine seems to have been aware of this weakness, for in his

[1] On December 12, 1816, Lamartine writes to Virieu from Mâcon: 'Je suis ici depuis un mois' and 'J'ai passé un mois à Aix.' Lamartine is never accurate in his dates, but even allowing for this he can hardly have spent much more than the month of October at Aix.

[2] *Correspondance*, II, pp. 107–17.

[3] The Abbey is a long low building on a promontory running out into the lake. For an illustration see E. Granger, *Les Merveilles de la France*, p. 299.

[4] *Op. cit.*, pp. 170–1.

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draft he has scratched out 'Sur le sein de tes flots par la lune argentés' and 'De la reine des nuits le char mélancolique.' M. Zyromski also notes echoes of Léonard and Lebrun[1].

The most interesting disclosure, however, of the note-book is the draft of two stanzas which were meant to come between the present ninth and tenth, but which were suppressed before publication. They run as follows:

> Elle se tut: nos cœurs, nos yeux se rencontrèrent;
> Des mots entrecoupés se perdoient dans les airs;
> Et dans un long transport nos âmes s'envolèrent
> Dans un autre univers.
>
> Nous ne pûmes parler: nos âmes affoiblies
> Succomboient sous le poids de leur félicité;
> Nos cœurs battoient ensemble, et nos bouches unies
> Disoient: Éternité.

I agree with M. Lanson that the reason for the suppression of these passionate stanzas was that they are out of harmony with the spiritual character, not only of *Le Lac*, but of the whole volume.

The four stanzas put in the mouth of Elvire are composed of two well-worn themes, a prayer to time to suspend its course, and an invitation to enjoy happiness while you can. Besides the classical parallels from Catullus and Horace and Parny's *A mes amis*, M. Lanson cites a passage from *La Nouvelle Héloïse*. This is worth noting because *La Nouvelle Héloïse* and *Les Confessions* had a morbid influence not only on Lamartine, but also on Mme Charles. It was under this influence that Lamartine wrote the account, doubtless imaginary, of the visit which the lovers paid to Les Charmettes on their return from Aix. It is, however, to Lamartine's credit that he recognises, as many admirers of Rousseau fail to do, that 'the pages on his benefactress are odious,' but whether his excuse for him, that he wrote them when he was a 'pauvre insensé,' is a valid one is another matter.

A captious critic may object, first, that *Le Lac* only deals with the old commonplaces—love, death, the communion of man with nature, the transitoriness of the one, the permanence of the other—and, secondly, that the language contains an undue proportion of stock phrases and epithets. But the answer to the first objection is that the great commonplaces are the staple of poetry and the great masters are able to invest them with perennially fresh interest. The stock phrases and epithets, or *clichés*, are less easy to defend. They are partly reminiscences of Lamartine's wide reading, partly borrowings from the current poetical coinage of his day.

[1] *Lamartine, Poète lyrique*, 1897, pp. 263–5.

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But genius can make what it appropriates its own—'il prend son bien où il le trouve'—and whatever borrowings there may be in *Le Lac* they have left no traces of patchwork, except perhaps in the last stanza but one.

Lamartine 'never makes a plan,' says Faguet, but he adds that the movement of his thought is sometimes so rapid that the poem seems like the inspiration of a single breath, and he gives as examples *L'Isolement*, *Le Vallon*, and, above all, *Le Lac*. Faguet may be right about *Le Lac*, but to me it has the appearance of having been constructed according to a preconceived plan. It is like a musical composition. There is a short overture (stanza 1) followed by four movements—the poet sitting on the shore of the lake and meditating on his past happiness (stanzas 2–5), the voice of the loved one (stanzas 6–9), the poet's response (stanzas 10–12), the appeal to the lake to preserve the memory of their love (stanzas 13–16). Each movement has a special character of its own, and in the second there is a slight variation in the metre.

The same instinct for artistic effect appears in the details. They appeal alike to the eye and the ear. We see in imagination the lake with its girdle of hills and the boat moving across it in the moonlight, we hear in imagination the measured beat of the oars, the murmur of the wind, the sighing of the reeds, and the plaint of a woman's chant. M. Doumic, who regards the poem as 'one of the masterpieces of literature of all time,' has some admirable comments on it. Particularly noteworthy is his remark that 'nature and man are associated without the human element being crushed by its setting[1].' Another feature is the quasi-dramatic character of the poem. The poet, the loved one, and the lake, all play a part, and the use of what may be called rhetorical interrogation—a favourite device with Lamartine—helps to keep alert the reader's interest and to increase the dramatic effect.

Lastly there is the charm of the versification. Lamartine is not a profound craftsman like Ronsard or La Fontaine or Victor Hugo. He has neither the learning nor the patience to select the sounds and rhythms that are best fitted to express his meaning. But he has a remarkable facility, partly innate and partly acquired by long practice, for writing harmonious verse, which flows now like a rippling brook, now like a stately river. It is true that sometimes, from negligence or carelessness, his rhythm stumbles and his rhymes are at fault. But from these defects *Le Lac* is entirely free. What can be more perfect in their different harmonies than the following stanzas?

[1] *Lamartine* (in *Les Grands Écrivains Français*), 1912, pp. 119–23.

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Un soir, t'en souvient-il? nous voguions en silence;
On n'entendoit au loin, sur l'onde et sur les cieux,
Que le bruit des rameurs qui frappaient en cadence
Tes flots harmonieux.

. . . . . .

Éternité, néant, passé, sombres abîmes,
Que faites-vous des jours que vous engloutissez?
Parlez: nous rendrez-vous ces extases sublimes
Que vous nous ravissez?

No wonder the youth of Lamartine's day knew by heart

ce chant, des amants adoré,
Qu'un soir au bord d'un lac tu nous as soupiré[1].

L'Immortalité was written at Milly in the first week of November, 1817, under the influence of increasingly bad news about Mme Charles. On October 24 Lamartine wrote to his friend Mlle de Canonge that 'the person he loved best in the world had been struggling for seven weeks in the horrors of frightful agony[2].' On November 2 he heard from her doctor that she had been in a critical condition for some days[3]. On November 8 he wrote to Mlle de Canonge that 'her death would be a blessing for both of them[4].' But before he wrote this there had been a slight improvement, and on November 10 she was able to write to him herself[5]. In her letter, which was her last, she underlines the words 'pour expier,' which shows that Lamartine had sent her a first draft of *L'Immortalité* as it is preserved in one of his note-books and entitled, *Méditation à Julie*[6], and which differs from the poem in the *Méditations*.

Melancholy and pre-occupation with the idea of death are naturally intensified in *L'Immortalité*. It resembles *Le Lac* in its quasi-dramatic character; the poet, death, the soul, the followers of Epicurus, the scientific researcher with his scalpel, Elvire, all in turn appear on the stage, and three of these are speakers in a dialogue. There is the same movement, the same variety, that we noted in *Le Lac*. 'Je te salue, ô mort!' and 'Toi qu'en vain que j'interroge, esprit, hôte inconnu,' cries the poet. The men of science, the 'sages de la terre,' put their point of view, and the poet answers them. Then he appeals to his beloved one with 'Tu t'en souviens' and quotes her answer, 'Dieu caché, disais-tu, la nature est ton temple.' The poem, which is in alexandrine couplets throughout, reveals Lamartine's mastery of the long poetical phrase, and his ability to keep up a sustained flight without dropping into prose. The long sentence from 'Pour moi, quand je verrais' to 'je t'attendrais encore' (ll. 81–94)

[1] A. de Musset, *Lettre à Lamartine*.
[2] *Correspondance*, II, p. 125.
[3] *Lettres d'Elvire à Lamartine*, ed. R. Doumic, 1905. The letter is dated October 29, but the postmark (presumably of Paris) is November 1.
[4] *Correspondance*, II, p. 128.
[5] *Lettres d'Elvire*, pp. 61–5.
[6] Printed in *Poésies inédites*. See L. Séché, *Lamartine de 1816–30*, 1895, pp. 118–24.

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is a fine example of this power, and it is followed by the particularly beautiful lines in which he reminds Elvire of their happy wanderings by the Lac de Bourget.

> Les ombres à long plis descendant des montagnes,
> Un moment à nos yeux dérobaient les campagnes;
> Mais bientôt, s'avançant sans éclat et sans bruit,
> Le chœur mystérieux des astres de la nuit
> Nous rendant les objets voilés à notre vue,
> De ses molles lueurs revêtait l'étendue.

M. Lanson calls attention to many reminiscences in the poem, the most numerous being those of Young's *Night Thoughts*, the First Night of which is entitled *Of Life, Death, and Immortality*. There are also reminiscences of Ossian, of Voltaire's translation of Cato's monologue in Addison's *Cato*, and of Louis Racine's *La Religion*, a poem never read now, but which went through sixty-two editions and was translated into four languages. Here too again the influence of Rousseau—*Le Vicaire Savoyard* and *La Nouvelle Héloïse*—is apparent. There are some interesting changes from the first draft of the poem. Lines 9 and 10 take the place of two lines which must have been inspired by the Gravediggers' scene in *Hamlet*. Lines 53–6 are a decided improvement, and the concluding eight lines are a happy substitution for a much longer passage.

Mme Charles died on December 18, 1817. Lamartine was ill in body as well as in mind, and his friend Virieu came to Mâcon to be with him in his trouble. Before long he found some measure of forgetfulness in work and on January 23, 1818, he writes to Virieu that he has finished an act of *Saül*. This must be the second act, the first having been written at Vichy in June of the preceding year. It should be noticed that the close study which Lamartine made of Racine for the purpose of his drama was of decided advantage to his style. The lyrics which were detached from the play and included in the *Méditations* are all in the fifth scene of the third act, being sung by Michal before Saul, to distract him from the influence of his evil spirit. They are professedly imitations of the Psalms and are evidently influenced by the translation which the Abbé de Genoude, the friend of Lamennais, had just published. Psalm XVIII makes the largest contribution, and the two beautiful Psalms XXIX and CXIV are both represented in ll. 28–31.

In a letter to Virieu dated August 8, 1818, Lamartine cites the last twelve lines of *La Foi*, so that we may fairly assume that it was complete at this date. In the same letter he speaks with enthusiasm of Lamennais's *Essai sur l'Indifférence en matière de religion*, which he had just read: 'It is magnificent; the thought is worthy of M. de Maistre, the style

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of Rousseau[1].' *La Foi* shows traces of its influence and we find once more reminiscences of Louis Racine and Young. There are some good examples of rhetorical poetry (ll. 13–32 and 89–100). Particularly fine are the lines on the ruins of Rome (ll. 61–72), which represent the impression made on Lamartine by his visit to Italy in 1812. But the poem is not altogether a success, partly perhaps because it is founded on the poetical fiction that the poet was dying, whereas he tells us in his commentary that it was written 'in that state of convalescence which follows violent convulsions and great spiritual grief.' It may be noted as an instance of Lamartine's carelessness that the word *flambeau* occurs seven times and the word *tombeau* six and that in three places they rhyme with one another.

In a letter to Virieu of August 28, 1818, Lamartine transcribed the complete draft of a poem, which he afterwards entitled *L'Isolement*. Whether or not it is his masterpiece, superior even to *Le Lac*, as I think it is, at any rate he regarded it himself with peculiar affection. In the following April he had printed by Didot a few copies of it with *La Semaine Sainte* and, when his volume finally appeared, he gave it the first place. Besides the version in the letter to Virieu there is another in his notebook, which, except in one or two places, is nearer to the printed text. As we shall see, the comparison between these three texts is extremely instructive.

The composition of the poem is no less artistic than that of *Le Lac*. It consists of three themes or motives: (1) the poet meditating in the evening on the scene before him (stanzas 1–4), (2) the emptiness of the world in the absence of the beloved one (stanzas 5–9), (3) the aspiration towards an ideal happiness. All three themes are hallowed by antiquity. The first, as M. Lanson notes, is to be found in a fine passage of the celebrated letter which the great jurist, Servius Sulpicius Rufus, wrote to Cicero to condole with him on the death of his daughter[2]. It was imitated by St Ambrose and it is referred to by Byron in *Childe Harold* (IV, 44–5). The second and third themes both go back to Petrarch. The second has been echoed by Rousseau and Mme de Staël and Chateaubriand, but it has never been more tersely or more imaginatively expressed than in the famous line of Racine's *Bérénice*:

Dans l'Orient désert quel devint mon ennui!

or in the equally famous line of Lamartine's poem:

Un seul être vous manque, et tout est dépeuplé.

For the third theme M. Lanson quotes a passage from Mme de Staël's *De l'Allemagne*, which begins with 'Le sentiment de l'infini est le véritable

[1] *Correspondance*, II, pp. 213–21.

[2] Cicero, *Fam.* IV, 5.

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attribut de l'âme,' but the rest of the passage bears only a vague resemblance to Lamartine. Young, Ossian, Parny, Chênedollé, and Millevoye are all cited in M. Lanson's notes, and for the image of the fallen leaf he refers to Arnault's *Feuille*, which everyone knew by heart:

> De la tige détachée,
> Pauvre feuille desséchée,
> Où vas-tu?[1]

But in an article in the *French Quarterly*[2] Mr F. Page rightly insists that Lamartine's chief debt is to Chateaubriand. He quotes, with some omissions, three passages. The first is a well-known passage, of great beauty, from Part II, book iv, chapter 1 of *Le Génie du Christianisme*; the second is the description of a scene near Niagara, taken from a chapter of the same work entitled *Deux Perspectives de la Nature* (I, v, 12); the third is from René's account of his meditations in a *faubourg* of Paris. The first passage, especially the sentence 'Le voyageur s'assied sur le tronc d'un chêne pour attendre le jour: il regarde tour à tour l'astre des nuits, les ténèbres, la fleuve,' gives the note of the first theme, and reminiscences of the second passage—'la reine des nuits, course azurée, montagnes couronnées, flocons d'écume'—may well have suggested the corresponding phrases in ll. 5–12. In the third passage quoted by Mr Page there is mention of a 'cathédrale gothique,' and the fourth stanza generally seems inspired by an earlier passage from *René*: 'J'ai souvent entendu... les sons de la cloche lointaine, qui appelait au temple l'homme de champs,' the last words being represented by 'laboureur' of the original draft, for which 'voyageur' was afterwards substituted. M. Lanson sees in this stanza the influence of Gray's *Elegy*, but it is certainly closer to Chateaubriand. The long passage from *René* is no doubt the immediate source of Lamartine's third theme. 'Est-ce ma faute,' says René, 'si je trouve partout des bornes, si ce qui est fini n'a pour moi aucune valeur?[3]' and he speaks of 'une feuille séchée que le vent chassait devant moi,' an idea which Chateaubriand may have borrowed from Le Tourneur's version of Ossian—'Le vent fait voler et tourner dans les airs les feuilles desséchées.' Finally, the last line:

> Emportez-moi comme elle, orageux aquilons!

is clearly a reminiscence of the 'Levez-vous, orages désirés, qui devez

[1] The whole poem, which has only fourteen lines, is quoted by Faguet, *Hist. de la Litt. Française*, II, p. 319.

[2] *Note sur l'Isolement de Lamartine*, I, pp. 104–12.

[3] Readers of De Bellay will recall his famous sonnet, 'Si notre vie est moins qu'une journée' (imitated from an Italian sonnet), but Lamartine, as M. Lanson says, certainly did not know it.

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emporter René,' which itself seems like an echo of Ossian's 'Levez-vous, ô vents orageux d'Erin.'

We may now consider the various changes that Lamartine made in his poem, as revealed by his correspondence and his note-books. They will be found, I think, to point to two general conclusions. The first is that in the early part of his poetical career, at any rate, Lamartine was much more of a conscious artist than he was willing to admit later[1]. In fact, he worked as hard at poetry as he afterwards worked at oratory. The second is that his corrections were often made with a view to giving a more universal, or otherwise a more classical, character to his poetry. As regards the first point, it is enough to say that the corrections, which often only deal with a single word, refute Faguet's statement that Lamartine 'did not retouch but rewrote; that he substituted a second inspiration for the first.' The second point demands a closer examination. The question has been raised as to what landscape Lamartine means to represent in *L'Isolement*. It was written at Milly, but he is clearly also thinking of the Lac de Bourget, the spot consecrated for him by the memories of Julie. Is it then a combination of both places? Is 'the mountain' Le Craz, the mountain west of Milly with its little wood of oaks on the summit? 'The river' which 'gronde aux vagues écumantes,' and 'serpente,' cannot be the placid Saône, which here runs a straight course. Is it then the Rhône, as seen from the Mont du Chat above the Lac de Bourget? 'Le lac' is presumably the Lac de Bourget, but this is not visible from Le Craz and it lies to the east of it. Further there is no 'flèche antique,' as M. Reyssié, who tries hard to identify the scene with Lamartine's home, admits, at Milly, nor are there 'palaces,' or 'isles' (the original reading). Surely, the true explanation is that of M. Lanson and Mr Page, that Lamartine is not trying to describe any particular landscape, but that under the combined influence of sentiment and memory and literary reminiscences, especially of Chateaubriand, he is portraying a purely imaginary scene. His corrections—'serpente' for 'blanchit,' 'où' for 'et,' 'doux' for 'grands,' 'palais' for 'îles'—all point to this. Especially we should note the change in l. 40. First he wrote 'pleuré,' then 'cherché,' and finally 'rêvé.' Was not his reason that he regarded 'pleuré' as a too particular allusion to his own experience and so altered it to 'cherché' and then to the far more impressive 'rêvé,' in order to make the line of more general application? In other words was not his aim throughout to give a more classical character to his poem?

[1] 'Créer, c'est beau, mais corriger, gâter est pauvre et plat, c'est l'œuvre des maçons et non pas des artistes. Au reste, je me moque de l'art et des arts' (Nov. 12, 1818, *Correspondance*, II, p. 259).

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There is yet a third point to notice with regard to the alterations. Four of them at least—'je parcours tous les points' for 'je fixe chaque point,' 'serpente' for 'blanchit,' 's'élancer' for 'arriver,' and 'tombe dans' for 'a jonché'—all add to the sense of movement. And this indeed is one of the poem's most admirable features. Lamartine, like Lessing, was fully alive to the advantage that poetry has over painting in portraying movement and all the phenomena of ever-changing nature. Thus the panorama that he describes is a moving one. This is shown not only by the alterations, noted above, but by the words 'le tableau changeant,' by the whole of the sixth and the eighth stanzas and especially by the last stanza—the falling leaves, the rising wind which sweeps them away, and the magnificent conclusion 'emportez-moi comme elle.' Nor is the movement confined to visible objects. You can hear in imagination the murmuring of the river in 'ici gronde la fleuve,' and the ringing of the Angelus[1].

The original draft has two stanzas which were omitted in the printed text. One of these, between stanzas 6 and 7, was no doubt dropped because it merely repeats what is said more forcibly and more poetically in the next stanza. But the other missing stanza is of considerable beauty:

> Au-dessus des hameaux, la rustique fumée
> Ou s'élève en colonne, ou plane sur les toits;
> Plus loin, dans la chaumière une flamme allumée
> Semble un astre nouveau se levant sur les bois.

The last line was corrected to:

> Rassemble aux feux trompeurs qui tremblent dans les bois.

This is, I think, an improvement, but the whole stanza was suppressed, the reason, I suggest, being that it was too reminiscent of the landscape at Milly and therefore at variance with the classical character which Lamartine wished to impart to his poem.

In July, 1818, Lamartine wrote to Virieu that an idea had come into his head for an ode entitled *Le Malheur*[2]. But it was not till the following December that he transcribed it for his friend, with the omission of three stanzas and with the inclusion of two stanzas which do not appear in the *Méditations*, where the title is changed to *Le Désespoir*. The reason for the change is that the poem was not intended to be an arraignment of Providence for the existence of evil—the old problem which has troubled and perplexed so many souls—but an expression of the despair of a single individual, 'un blasphème d'un bout à l'autre[3].' It owes a good deal to

[1] Readers will recall the destination of the labourer listening to the Angelus in *Jocelyn*, of which Millet's picture is so perfect an illustration.
[2] *Correspondance*, II, p. 211.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 278 ff., where Lamartine says that 'he believes firmly in Providence.'

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Young's *Night Thoughts*, something to Voltaire's version of Cato's monologue, and something to *Paradise Lost*, but, though it has some fine passages and its versification and general movement reveal the skilled craftsman, it belongs to the more declamatory and less interesting section of the *Méditations*. It is immediately followed by *La Providence à l'Homme* which was written at Montculot in May, 1819[1], as an answer to it. 'This meditation,' says Lamartine in his Commentary, 'is inferior to the preceding one,' and we may accept his judgment.

At the beginning of the next year (1819) Lamartine's state of depression was made worse by ill-health. 'For the last three weeks,' he writes to Virieu from Milly on January 18, 'I have lived in darkness and desolation of the spirit[2].' In February he went to Paris where he found consolation in the society of sympathetic friends. The Marquise de Raigecourt, who had been a friend of Mme Elisabeth, mothered him, and the Marquise de Sainte-Aulaire[3], wife of the distinguished writer and diplomatist, and stepmother-in-law of Decazes, the trusted friend of Louis XVIII, made him at home in her salon. Among his men friends were the Vicomte de Bonald, that austere political thinker and writer, to whom as the friend of Mme Charles he had dedicated a poem entitled *Le Génie* (written in 1817 but not included in the first edition of the *Méditations*)[4]; the Duc de Rohan-Chabot, who three years later took Orders and before long became a bishop and a cardinal; Mathieu de Montmorency, minister and diplomatist, but best known for the goodness of his heart and his long and faithful attachment to Mme Récamier; Joseph Rocher; Eugène Genoude, the translator of the Bible; and the Abbé de Lamennais.

In this charming society of the Faubourg Saint-Germain Lamartine was, as he says, drawn out of himself and forgot his bodily and moral troubles[5]. He was petted and fêted at many houses, he was invited to give readings of *Saül* and his 'meditations,' and under the influence of his Catholic friends he composed some new meditations, which, without advancing theologically beyond the theism of the *Vicaire Savoyard*, show much sympathy with Christian thought and worship. The earliest and at the same time the one which makes the nearest approach to an acceptance of the Christian faith is *La Semaine Sainte*, written at La Roche-Guyon, the Norman home of his friend, the Duc de Rohan, where he spent the

[1] Lamartine's statement that it was written to please his mother (*Commentaire*) is therefore incorrect.

[2] *Correspondance*, II, p. 299.

[3] Lamartine with his habitual inaccuracy speaks of her as the mother of M. Decazes.

[4] For Bonald see Sainte-Beuve, *Causeries du Lundi*, IV, and Faguet, *Politiques et Moralistes*, I.

[5] See a letter to Mlle de Canonge, dated March 4 (*Correspondance*, II, p. 309).

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greater part of Holy Week and Easter Sunday[1]. It is a beautiful little poem and a sincere expression of Lamartine's feelings, but these feelings are prompted rather by sympathy with his friends than by his own conviction:

Que ma raison se taise et que mon cœur adore!
La croix à mes regards révèle un nouveau jour;
Aux pieds d'un Dieu puis-je douter encore!
Non: l'amour m'explique l'amour.

M. Lanson shows that the language throughout is inspired partly by the Offices of the Church for Holy Week and partly by the *Imitation*.

His enjoyment, however, of this peaceful week was hindered by a return of heart trouble, which gave him much pain. Thirty years later he says in his Commentary that he had 'a long and dangerous illness,' and elsewhere he says that 'women of the highest rank transformed themselves into grey sisters in order to sit with him and take care of him.' But he has evidently exaggerated both the length and the severity of his illness. For he writes that on April 18 he is due to dine with the Duc de Rohan, and on April 22 he talks of leaving Paris in a week. But on April 25 his departure was postponed for five or six days, and it was not till May 4 that we find him at Montculot, or Urcy, as it was also called, between Semur and Dijon, where his uncle, the Abbé de Lamartine, had a large estate in wooded country adjoining the forest of Morvan[2]. To this period M. Lanson assigns *Le Chrétien mourant*, a fine little poem of five stanzas, of which the three middle ones are imitated from Pope's *The dying Christian to his Soul*, but I am inclined to agree with M. Séché in giving it a later date and connecting it with Lamartine's illness in December, 1819.

La poésie sacrée was certainly written in the spring of 1819—early in April, if we may believe Lamartine. Just as he had used the Offices of the Church and Pope for his two preceding poems, so he uses for his new poem his friend Genoude's translation of the Bible of which the Psalms, Job, and Isaiah had already appeared. There is an introduction taken from Genesis, and then Job, Isaiah, Ezekiel, and Jeremiah in turn pour forth their impassioned accents, each in a different metre[3], for a great variety of metre is an accepted rule of the 'dithyramb,' as the poem is called. It

[1] He went there probably on Tuesday, April 6, and returned on Easter Monday. The date of his letter to Virieu, written the day before his departure, should probably be Monday, April 5, not April 8, much less April 11 (*Correspondance*, II, pp. 324 f.).

[2] For a description see Lamartine's *Commentaire* on *La source dans les bois* (*Harmonies Poétiques*, pp. 124–5).

[3] Isaiah's song is in four different metres. The third of these, ll. 131–60, inspired by passages from Isaiah, cc. v and xxiii, is in the same octosyllabic metre of ten lines as J. B. Rousseau's paraphrase of Hezekiah's prayer. Ezekiel's song is a version of the famous passage about the dry bones in c. xxx and that of Jeremiah is from the Lamentations.

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makes apparent Lamartine's command of language and versification. The poem lacks the personal note which gives interest to *La Semaine Sainte* and *Le Chrétien mourant*, but M. Lanson rightly remarks on the effect that this assimilation of great Hebrew poetry had on Lamartine's style.

The poem entitled *Dieu* was finished during his journey on horseback from Paris to Montculot[1], where, as we have seen, he was installed by May 4. Dedicated to Lamennais as a mark of admiration for his *Essai sur l'Indifférence*, it is not so much a reasoned argument as a hymn of fervent adoration to an infinite Being who is just, good, and all-powerful. Christ is mentioned once, but only as the revealer of God to man. *La Prière*, which is closely connected with it, though written later—apparently in September or October—is also a 'hymn of rational adoration' (Lamartine's own term). It is more interesting because it is more personal. On the other hand, it owes more to Lamartine's reminiscences of those writers—Louis Racine, Young, Ossian, Chênedollé, J. J. Rousseau, Chateaubriand—who were most in his thoughts. And we may add to these Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's *Études de la Nature* and *Harmonies* and Pope's *Universal Prayer*. But we must bear in mind what M. Lanson says in commenting on the fine lines: 'Et ces nuages purs...que la nature adore' (ll. 21–6), that 'in order to realise Lamartine's originality we must pay as much attention to what he has left out as to what he has taken from his predecessors.' The first draft of the poem is to be found in a letter to Virieu of December 8, 1819[2]. It differs very little from the printed text, except that it contains four lines, immediately preceding those referred to above, which were omitted in the original edition and only appear in the second and third editions. They are worth quoting:

> Brillant seul au milieu du sombre sanctuaire,
> L'astre des nuits jetant son éclat sur la terre,
> Balancé devant Dieu comme un vaste encensoir,
> Fait monter jusqu'à lui les saints parfums du soir.

The longest poem in the volume, and perhaps for that reason printed next after *L'Isolement*, is entitled *L'Homme*[3] and addressed to Lord Byron. We first hear of it in a letter to Virieu of September 16, 1819. By October 20 it was completed and he sent his friend long passages from it. The whole poem, he said, had 350 lines, so that he must have cut out 64 lines before it was printed[4]. We may accept M. Lanson's opinion that in spite of three assertions by Lamartine—which do not agree with one another—that he had seen Byron, he had as a matter of fact never set eyes on him;

[1] *Correspondance*, II, p. 356.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 446–8.
[3] *Ibid.*, II, p. 412.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 425 ff.

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further, that his first acquaintance with his writings was made while he was at Paris in September and October, 1818, but that it was not till his return to Paris in February, 1819, when Byron was the talk of the salons, that he became really interested in him. Even when he wrote his poem he knew him chiefly as the author of *Manfred*, though he might possibly have read *The Corsair* and *Lara* and perhaps *Childe Harold*, the last canto of which was published in 1818. Only the opening 30 lines of *L'Homme*, which are full of reminiscences of *Manfred*, and the concluding 34 have to do with Byron. The rest of the poem is occupied with the old theme, which had been so favourite a topic in the eighteenth century, of the destiny of man and his place in the universe. Pascal, *Paradise Lost* (in Chateaubriand's translation), Pope's *Essay on Man* and Lamennais's *Essai sur l'Indifférence*, all contribute to Lamartine's handling of the subject. The famous couplet,

> Borné dans sa nature, infini dans ses vœux,
> L'homme est un dieu tombé qui se souvient des cieux,

takes us back to Pascal, but the same idea, points out M. Lanson, is to be found in Louis Racine and in Mme de Staël's *Delphine*. This long 'hymn of reason' which Lamartine represents himself as singing to the Almighty (ll. 149–250) is saved from being mere rhetoric by its tone of intense conviction and by Lamartine's ever-present sense of poetic values. It has the qualities which made him later a great and impressive orator. But the lines that most move the reader are those which refer to his lost Julie:

> Gloire à toi! L'innocence est coupable à tes yeux:
> Un seul être, du moins, me restait sous les cieux;
> Toi-même de nos jours avais mêlé la trame,
> Sa vie était ma vie, et son âme mon âme;
> Comme un fruit encor vert du rameau détaché,
> Je l'ai vu de mon sein avant l'âge arraché.

The fact that *Dieu*, *La Prière*, and *L'Homme* are closely connected by a common theme—the glorification of God and the vindication of his dealings with man—has led me to desert the chronological sequence of the *Méditations*. I must now go back to *Souvenir* and *Le Soir*, both of which were probably written at Montculot during the months of May and June, 1819[1], both in octosyllabic quatrains (*a*, *b*, *b*, *a*), and both inspired by the same theme, the effect of evening in evoking memories and images of the past. The theme is a common one in Ossian, but it has also been used by Petrarch, and, among Lamartine's immediate predecessors, by Parny and

[1] *Souvenir*, according to Lamartine, was written at Urcy (otherwise Montculot) by a spring known as 'La fontaine du Hêtre' and in *Le Soir* he refers to 'ce hêtre au feuillage sombre.'

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Fontanes and Millevoye. *Souvenir*, thinks M. Lanson, is the earlier of the two, because it is 'nearer to Elvire.' Every stanza in fact is directly inspired by her image, as for instance:

Tes yeux, où s'éteignait ta vie,
Rayonnent d'immortalité!

and:

C'est toi que j'entends, que je vois
Dans le désert, dans le nuage;
L'onde réfléchit ton image;
Le zéphyr m'apporte ta voix.

The result is an exceedingly moving poem, remarkable alike for its simplicity and its sincerity. In *Le Soir* the general theme is much more prominent, and the reference to Elvire is generalised into

Je songe à ceux qui ne sont plus,

and

Ah! si c'est vous, ombres chéries!

The result is a poem that is less personal and therefore less moving than *Souvenir*. As regards the priority of the two poems, it is quite possible that the difference in their attitude towards Elvire is merely accidental, the result of Lamartine's thought and feeling at the moment when the inspiration came to him.

Le Vallon was probably begun at Le Grand Lemps, where he stayed with his friend Virieu from the middle of June to the end of July, and completed at Mâcon early in August. The valley in question is almost certainly the Vallée Férouillat, which formed part of his friend's estate and therefore, when Lamartine speaks of 'vallons de mon enfance,' he is putting himself in the place of his friend[1]. A first draft with numerous alterations was discovered by M. des Cognets[2]. It apparently belongs to the summer of 1817 when he was alone at Aix, but only one stanza of this draft, the one beginning 'Mon cœur est en repos,' was incorporated in the poem as printed. Echoes of Job and the Psalms from Genoude's translation, which for some days was read aloud to the guests at Le Grand Lemps[3], and a few other reminiscences, are duly noted by M. Lanson, who points out that the poem as a whole is an expression of the melancholy and lassitude which were characteristic of the age. But this sentimental theme had never before been expressed with such surety of touch or such true poetic feeling. Underlying the whole poem and occasionally finding direct expression is another theme, more personal to Lamartine—the consoling power of nature. It appears in the beautiful lines:

Comme un enfant bercé par un chant monotone,
Mon âme s'assoupit au murmure des eaux,

[1] Lanson, I, p. 76.
[2] *Rev. d'hist. litt.*, XX, 1913, pp. 158–60.
[3] *Correspondance*, II, p. 375 (letter to Genoude).

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and in the equally beautiful stanza:

> Repose-toi, mon âme, en ce dernier asile,
> Ainsi qu'un voyageur qui, le cœur plein d'espoir,
> S'assied avant d'entrer aux portes de la ville,
> Et respire un moment l'air embaumé de soir,

and especially in the stanza:

> Mais la nature est là qui t'invite et qui t'aime,
> Plonge-toi dans son sein qu'elle t'ouvre toujours;
> Quand tout change pour toi, la nature est la même,
> Et le même soleil se lève tous les jours.

Lamartine spent the last four months of the year 1819 at his home, partly at Milly and partly at Mâcon. In December he fell ill again and under the influence of his illness he composed the latest, or the latest but one, if *Le Chrétien mourant* is later, of the meditations in the original volume. Though written in December, the poem looks back on the last days of October (*Commentaire*) and is entitled *L'Automne*. It is founded on the idea which came into fashion in French poetry in the last third of the eighteenth century, that autumn is a melancholy season, suggesting thoughts of sadness and death. The poem, which is one of the most musical that Lamartine ever wrote, shows the same feeling for nature as *Le Vallon*, but here the poet represents himself as dying and bidding a last farewell to the woods and valleys that he loved so well:

> Terre, soleil, vallons, belle et douce nature,
> Je vous dois une larme, aux bords de mon tombeau!
> L'air est si parfumé! la lumière est si pure!
> Aux regards d'un mourant le soleil est si beau!

'These verses,' Lamartine says in his *Commentaire*, express 'the struggle between the instinct of sadness which makes death acceptable and the instinct of happiness which causes regret for life,' and he adds that 'they contain an allusion to the serious attachment which the poet had conceived for a young English woman, who afterwards became the companion of his life.' Lamartine had made acquaintance with Marianne Birch in the summer of 1819[1], and after some difficulties and delays they were married at Chambéry on June 6, 1820. She was a noble woman and a most loyal wife. After the marriage Lamartine took up the post of attaché to the French embassy at Naples, to which he had been nominated in March soon after the astonishing success of the *Méditations*. The first chapter of his life had closed.

In the above pages I have considered in order the twenty-four

[1] Both M. Doumic and M. Reyssié make the meeting take place at Aix, where Lamartine went on July 30. But in letters to Mme de Raigecourt and Mlle de Canonge, both dated August 29, he says that he became acquainted with her *some months* before (see *Correspondance*, II, pp. 406 and 409).

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meditations that make up the volume. But, in judging of it as a whole, several of them may be left out of account—the two earliest, *Le Golfe de Baia*, and *Adieu*, the three academic exercises *Hymne au Soleil*, *La Gloire*, and *L'Enthousiasme*, the lyrics from *Saül* and *La poésie sacrée*, both of which lack the personal element. We may also omit the philosophical rhapsodies in alexandrine couplets—*Dieu*, *La Prière*, *La Foi*, *L'Homme*—which, though they contain some fine passages, are not among the poems for which we now value the volume, and for the same reason the two similar meditations in lyrical measures, *Le Désespoir* and *La Providence à l'Homme*. This leaves us with eleven poems, of which two, *La Semaine Sainte* and *Le Chrétien mourant*, though of considerable beauty and pathos, are merely graceful paraphrases. The remaining nine are all inspired by Lamartine's love for Elvire, the great passion and the great sorrow which revealed to the world his characteristic genius. In the two earliest, *Invocation* and *Le Temple*, he has hardly developed his full powers. The masterpieces, the poems by which he must be judged, are *Le Lac*, *L'Immortalité*, *L'Isolement*, *Souvenir*, *Le Soir*, *Le Vallon*, and *L'Automne*.

Critics are pretty well agreed in insisting on the classicism of his poetry[1], and I have pointed out that, in *Le Lac* and *L'Isolement*, this is largely due to the general character which he has deliberately given to them. Similarly in *Le Vallon* and *L'Automne*, though they are inspired by particular landscapes, the description is purely general. The valley of *Le Vallon* may be any valley and the two streams any streams; the woods of *L'Automne* with their 'feuillages jaunissants' may be any woods. In *Le Soir*, indeed, mention is made of a well-known beech at Montculot, but there is no attempt to describe it or to distinguish it from other beeches. As with the landscape which forms the setting of the meditation, so with the loved object to which it is directed. Much of *L'Immortalité* takes the form of a dialogue with Elvire and in the last line she is mentioned by name, but she remains throughout a voice and a spirit. In that touching poem, *Souvenir*, except for her 'tresses d'ébène' she is equally a spirit—a heavenly spirit with eyes which 'rayonnent d'immortalité,' with breath which mingles with the breeze-wafted perfume of flowers[2], with hands which dry the poet's tears, and with wings which rest on him as he sleeps.

If Lamartine is classical in his avoidance of the particular, he is also classical in his sober restraint, his serene equipoise and the high level at

[1] See, for example, L. Séché, *op. cit.*, pp. 155–6.
[2] A stanza interpolated after the 2nd edition.

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which he maintains his flight. He is also classical in his language and rhythm. 'His speech was that of the State before '89.' His words were

> nobles, hantant les Phèdres, les Iocastes,
> Les Méropes, ayant le decorum pour loi,
> Et montant à Versailles aux carrosses du roi,

not

> Les autres, tas de queux, drôles patibulaires[1].

His gentle wind is always 'zéphyr' (or 'zéphire'), his violent wind 'aquilon.' He does not use 'mots rustres' because he does not speak of common things, of the petty details of life. But he is far from being a Lebrun or a Delille, for he rarely employs a periphrasis. The one exception is the moon which, so far as I remember, is never 'la lune' but 'le char de la nuit,' or 'le char vaporeux de la reine des ombres,' or 'l'astre au front d'argent.'

Lamartine's chief model for his alexandrines was Racine, whom he equals in the music of his verse. But he is more monotonous than his model. He never, as Racine not unfrequently does—in his tragedies as well as in *Les Plaideurs*—varies the monotony of the alexandrine by placing the cæsura elsewhere than at the *hémistiche* or even by the use of *enjambement*[2]. André Chénier indeed used these methods more freely than Racine, but his poetry was not published till a few months before *Les Méditations*, too late for Lamartine to come under his influence, as he did later, though not as regards versification[3]. What I have said applies chiefly to his long poems in alexandrine couplets. In *L'Isolement*, *Le Vallon* and *L'Automne*, in which he uses a stanza of alexandrines with alternate rhymes, and in *Le Lac*, in which three alexandrines are followed by a line of six syllables, he occasionally varies the place of the cæsura. In *Le Soir* and *Souvenir*, both written in octosyllables, the metre itself more or less determines the harmony.

Lamartine's ear for sound is as true as his ear for rhythm. But it is true by instinct and not by science. He has not, like Hugo, studied the musical value of vowels and consonants; he is unaware of the power of certain combinations of sound to produce certain effects, or in other words to suit the sound to the sense. But he sometimes achieves this instinctively, as in the stanza of *Le Lac*, quoted above:

> Éternité, néant, passé, sombres abîmes,
> Que faites-vous des jours que vous engloutissez?

[1] V. Hugo, *Réponse à un acte d'accusation* (*Les Contemplations*, I).

[2] See, for instance, *Esther*, which is regarded as Racine's masterpiece, for style and versification, and especially Esther's speech in Act III, Sc. iv, which is quoted by Voltaire as a model of harmony. V. Hugo's boast that he had 'disloqué ce grand niais d'alexandrin' is not only badly expressed, but it is not true.

[3] See C. Kramer, *Lamartine et André Chénier*, in *Rev. d'hist. litt.*, XXXVII, pp. 321 ff. (1930).

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If Lamartine differs from the true romanticists alike in his manner of handling his themes and in his vocabulary and versification, he is at one with them in going to his heart for his inspiration. At an early age he came under the spell of J. J. Rousseau and Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, of Mme de Staël and Chateaubriand, especially of the first and the last, and we have seen how without any idea of imitation he lets reminiscences and echoes of them appear in his verse. But it is just these four writers who are universally recognised as the progenitors of the romantic movement, and to these we may add Ossian, by whom Lamartine was greatly influenced in his early youth, and Byron, whom he greatly admired, without however being much influenced by him, at a later date. Ossian perhaps was losing ground when the romantic poets began to write, but Byron's name had an irresistible charm, at any rate for Vigny and Musset. Thus in the struggle 'between those who wish to believe sometimes in their heart and those who, believing only in their reason or their memory, trust in nothing but routes already traced in the domain of the imagination—the struggle, one might say between the eighteenth and the nineteenth century[1],' Lamartine was whole-heartedly on the side of the romanticists. When he burnt his volume of elegies in the manner of Bertin, he turned his back on the eighteenth century, and three months later he produced his first great poem, *Le Lac*.

From this time his poems were largely a record of his inward life—not of course a complete record, but a record of its intenser moments when the depth and strength of his emotions kindled his imagination into creative activity. And by reason of his facility in writing verse and of his power of concentrating his thoughts on his subject he expressed these moments with perfect sincerity. But, when he speaks of having written a poem at a single sitting[2] or with unusual rapidity, we must not understand him too literally. He may be thinking of the first draft of the poem, or sometimes only of the shape which it first took in his mind. He is called, and rightly, a spontaneous poet, but, at any rate in his first *Méditations*, he was an artist as well as a poet. We know this from the rough drafts with their numerous alterations, even in small details, which are preserved in his note-books or by comparing his poems as they appear in his correspondence with the text that was finally printed[3]. Moreover, though his

[1] A. Guiraud, *Nos Doctrines* in *La Muse française* for January, 1824. (See edition by Jules Marsan in *Textes Français Modernes*, vol. II, 1909.)

[2] For instance he says that he wrote *Novissima verba* (*Harmonies Poétiques*), a poem of over 500 lines, in 16 hours.

[3] See P.-M. Masson, *Rev. d'hist. litt.*, XII (1905), pp. 51 ff. (*'Le Passé' d'après les MSS. et la correspondance*).

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long poems suffer from want of plan, he could, as we have seen, give a really artistic form to short poems like *Le Lac* or *L'Isolement*. After his first success he grew more careless. In a short preface to the *Harmonies Poétiques* he apologises for imperfections of style, 'Ce que l'on sent fortement s'écrit vite. Il n'appartient qu'au génie d'unir deux qualités qui s'excluent: la correction et l'inspiration.' But in his first volume, though critics noticed certain negligences of language and rhyme, he did to a large extent unite both qualities. He was not always correct, but he added the critical judgment of an artist to the inspiration of a poet.

M. Lanson quotes a passage from a letter written on May 21, 1819, which, he says, marks a date in the history of Lamartine's poetical development. It relates to his attitude towards nature. 'In *Le Lac* and even in *L'Isolement*,' continues M. Lanson, 'nature provides a setting or an introduction to the sentiment.' But in *Le Soir* and *Souvenir*, both written, like the letter, at Montculot, 'the landscape and the emotion inseparably mingle.' But is not the landscape in the two earlier poems something more than a setting? Does not Lamartine directly associate it with his emotion? It is true, however, that in *Le Soir* and *Souvenir*, especially in *Le Soir*, landscape and emotion are associated more intimately, and that whereas in *Le Lac* and *L'Isolement* he describes the landscape, though in purely general terms, in these he feels the landscape rather than describes it. As Lemaître says, he is steeped in nature ('il y baigne')[1]. He loves her in her large aspects, in her lakes and mountains and rivers, in her clouds and shadows, in her sunrises and sunsets, in her changing seasons.

Closely bound with his love of nature is his love of home and the familiar scenes of his childhood—'Je suis né parmi les pasteurs.' But in *Les Méditations* this is implied rather than expressed; it is only in the later volumes that full expression is given to it, as in *Les Préludes* (*Nouvelles Méditations*), from which the above words are quoted, in *La source dans les bois D**** and *Milly ou la terre natale* (*Harmonies*), in *La cloche du village* (*Recueillements*), and especially in *La Vigne et la maison* (1857). It would have been out of keeping with the classical character of his first volume if Lamartine had concerned himself with specific details of animate nature, with beasts or birds or flowers. But even in his later pieces such as *Le moulin de Milly* and *Poésie ou Paysage dans le golfe de Gênes* (*Harmonies*), the episode of *Jocelyn* called *Les Laboureurs*, and the pieces noted above, he does not show himself to be a close observer of nature, such as was, for instance, his contemporary, John Clare, the Northamptonshire peasant. His attitude towards nature is exactly ex-

[1] *Les Contemporains*, VI, pp. 108–9.

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pressed in the title of his poem, *Poésie ou Paysage dans le golfe de Gênes.* Poetry and nature are in perpetual intercommunion; both are hymns of adoration offered to God. But, as he says in the letter referred to above, 'there is more poetry in the smallest corner of one of nature's pictures than in the whole of human poetry.' He did not, like Rousseau, regard nature chiefly as a background for lovers' vows, or as a refuge from the injustice of man. She was part and parcel of his being; he had grown up with her. To read a book in some favourite haunt had been one of the joys of his childhood and in later life it was his habit to meditate or to compose with the panorama of nature spread out before him. In this familiarity with nature he resembles Wordsworth, but he does not, like Wordsworth, invest her with life or regard her as a moral teacher. On the other hand, he would have subscribed to every word in the passage from Wordsworth's *Lines composed above Tintern Abbey* beginning ''Tis her privilege through all the years of this our life,' and he would have echoed our poet's 'There is a spirit in the wood' (*Nutting*). 'Il spiritualise la matière,' says M. de Pomairols of him[1], and in almost identical terms Wordsworth says of himself as contrasted with Tennyson, 'He is not much in sympathy with what I should myself most value in my attempts, viz. the spirituality with which I have endeavoured to invest the material universe[2].' But to discuss the many points of similarity and difference between Lamartine and Wordsworth lies far beyond the scope of this essay. It is sufficient to note here that these two poets, who were in a sense contemporaries, though Wordsworth was the senior by twenty years, by their spiritual outlook and their lofty conception of life were alike in raising the poetry of their respective countries to a higher plane than it had reached for many years.

A. Tilley.

Cambridge.

[1] Lamartine, 1889, and see the whole chapter entitled *La Spiritualité.*
Note. I only read M. Jean des Cognets' important volume, *La Vie intérieure de Lamartine*, 3rd ed., 1913, after the above article had been sent to the press. I think he underestimates the influence of Mme Charles both on Lamartine's life and his poetry. Also, whatever their relations really were, it is clear that in his poetry he regarded them as purely spiritual.

[2] Quoted by W. Raleigh in his *Wordsworth*, p. 3. For Wordsworth and Nature see chap. IV of this remarkable book.

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ITHER VON GAHEVIEZ

It is from the more fragmentary and loosely joined sections of Wolfram's *Parzival* that we catch an occasional glimpse of literary sources which, lost to us now, were concrete realities then. So, for example, the story of Ilinot and Florie, the theme of which, as summarised by Wolfram, tallies so strikingly with that of his own tale of Schionatulander and Sigune as to suggest, possibly, one of the threads out of which that tale was woven.

Further, an episode of Gawan's youth, in Wolfram's relation a fragment of thirteen lines which, despite its brevity, calls up a picture surprisingly alive and real of a boy's desperate love and of how his lady, 'roin Ingûse von Bahtarliez,' saved his forfeited life at risk of her own.

Then also, a story of Kardeiz fiz Tampunteire, brother of Condwiramurs, about whom all we know is that he was one of Love's victims[1]. The suddenness with which he is introduced, his isolation from all that has previously been told of Condwiramurs' family history, seems a clear proof of independent existence. There is no mention of Kardeiz in Book IV, where Condwiramurs is shown in relation to certain uncles and cousins and as her father's heiress, while nothing is said of a brother alive or dead. From this it appears likely that Wolfram first utilised the story of Kardeiz fiz Tampunteire at one point only, taking from it the father's name because it rhymed so suitably with Pelrapeire, and omitting the son entirely. Later on, in Book VI, the tirade against Frou Minne supplied a reason for mentioning Kardeiz also. And finally, at long last, the earlier history of Condwiramurs was slightly revised (in *Titurel*, 28), so as to make room for Kardeiz, who in this new account succeeds his father.

> Eine kefsen Parzivâl dâ vant.
> ein gemâlet sper dâ bî dâ lent.
> der einsidel hiez Trevrizent. (268$^{28-30}$)

This allusion to Trevrizent is extremely casual and gives not a hint of any personal relation with Parzival, past, present, or to come. The hermit remains, metaphorically speaking, hidden in his cell. It looks as though the name denoted, not Parzival's uncle, but at this stage of the story a mere lay figure, some stray newcomer whose presence is not urgently needed, while his name just happens to yield a convenient rhyme. Perhaps his own story had something to do with the knight called Taurian,

[1] *Parz.* 293$^{11-12}$.

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and contained the Trojan spear, which Taurian left and Parzival found and took away with him[1].

If this be so, and we have here a first impersonal mention of Trevrizent by name, then Sigune's reference to him as brother of Anfortas must be chronologically later. It is interesting to find that Elisabeth Karg-Gasterstädt, in her investigation of the different stages in Wolfram's work, does actually assign vv. 268^{30} to the first, vv. 251^{15} to the second working out of Book v. The evidence can only be judged by those who have passed through the same school of training and are able to examine the methods on which these and similar results are based. Meanwhile the point is worth noting.

'Der wilde Tauriân, Dodines bruoder' may originally have been the same as Taulas de la Deserte (mentioned in v. 5864 of Crestien's *Chevalier de la Charrette*), here fittingly coupled with Dodines li Sauvages on account of the epithet they have in common.

But these surmises are hardly strong enough to take us beyond the pleasant debatable land of speculation. A more fruitful result can be gained from the episode of the Red Knight, Ither von Gaheviez, perhaps the most bafflingly ambiguous of Wolfram's figures. Baffling, because the act of creation is incomplete. In Ither we see an imperfect attempt to combine the Red Knight of Crestien's *Perceval* with another character, one who is the flower of chivalrous breeding and the delight of women's eyes.

Crestien's Red Knight is quite consistent. He is the avowed enemy of King Arthur, and has openly threatened to possess himself of his kingdom by force of arms[2]. His motive for seizing the cup of gold is too self-evident to require explanation; and the spilling of the wine on the Queen, 'honte laide et vilaine,' is likewise a token of crude violence, in keeping with his rough, bold nature. The Queen, we are told, has killed herself for very shame; the King surmises that soon his turn will come. Altogether, the Red Knight here is the reverse of courteous, a turbulent and dangerous man. The news of his death is hailed with joy by King Arthur and the knights of the Round Table, in whose eyes the youthful slayer at once becomes a hero of no small fame, gratefully esteemed for the service he

[1] Cf. *Parz.* 460^{19-21}.

[2] The King says to Perceval:

D'ire respondre ne vos poi,
que le pire annemis que j'aie,
qui plus me het e plus m'esmaie
m'a si ma terre contredite
e tant est fos que tote quite
dit qu'il l'avra ou vuelle ou non. (922–7)

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has done them in ridding them of their worst foe. Crestien here reproduces the spirit of a more barbarous age than he has depicted elsewhere. The war with King Rion des Iles, which has cost King Arthur the best of his knights, forms a suitable background to the Red Knight's aggression and to Keie's beating of the damsel who laughed. This is not the ideal court of King Arthur, as shown in *Erec* and in *Ivain*, a home of fine manners and of pleasant friendly intercourse, where even the lewdness of Keie does no great harm. Instead we get the rude atmosphere of a pre-courtly earlier stage in the Arthurian romance of knighthood, akin to that of the French feudal epic, an atmosphere charged with hostility and discord. Nothing could be further removed from the picture of Arthur's court in the first section of *Ivain*, for instance. Clearly, Crestien, instead of going his own way and giving us something in his own manner, has kept fairly close to his source.

It is equally clear that no trace of that source is visible in Wolfram's account. So far as this episode is concerned, Crestien and Crestien's source can be separated from Wolfram, or, if there were any need for him here, Wolfram's Kyot. But, in fact, there is no room for Kyot.

The main lines of the episode are the same as Crestien's, but Wolfram gives his own picture of Arthur's court, filling it with a larger movement of life than either Crestien or Hartmann had had power to generate. Its careless nobility, its genial warmth, are of the great world. Added to this, a touch of fairy-tale *naïveté*, which just takes off the edge of the more barbarous strokes. So Keie's beating of Cunneware and Antanor loses its utter realism in Wolfram's hands, and is presented with a note of grotesque exaggeration which makes it palatable to *us*, while, on the other hand, young Parzival, to whose immaturity the theme is suited, is touched to the quick of his excitable child's nature. Orilus and Lähelin, had these been present, the story must have taken a different turn! But they were not: for what they might have done we have the lovable anger and grief of this young boy. All through this episode, indeed throughout the greater part of Book III, we feel the live impact of the child's personality transforming the facts of the story into its likeness. It is a marvellous feat of imagination, to show us at one and the same time life-size reality and, blending with it, the other, more fantastical reality of a child's world. The two meet and harmonise and are at one. No other treatment could have given the theme that strong semblance of life.

It is this also which lessens the bitterness of Ither's death. Here, the circumstance is no whit different from that of Crestien's poem, indeed, the barbarity of the act shows out more nakedly, because of the knightly

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environment which is its foil. But we are not suffered to dwell on it long. The horse and the pony—'daz ors und daz pfärdelin'—neigh and divert our attention to the spectacle of 'Parzivâl in tumber nôt' trying to possess himself of the dead man's armour. And that alters the point of view. The prize, the red armour, that is the real thing, the slain inanimate form is of no great interest. It is a boy's adventure with a boy's characteristic scale of values. Wolfram gives it scope, then adds his excuse and comment:

> sît dô er sich baz versan,
> ungerne hete erz dô getân. (161$^{7-8}$)

With this we come to the consideration of our main problem, the personality of the Red Knight, Ither von Gaheviez. It is no simple matter. Ither is seen in fact from three different angles, not merely two. First, with the eyes of King Arthur and his knights, as a noble but highly redoubtable foe, whose life is a menace to them. Then with the eyes of Parzival, as wearer of the glorious red armour on which his heart is set. Last, with the eyes of Queen Gynover and the rest of her sex, as a paragon of knightly virtue, whose death is an irretrievable and moving loss, 'wan Ithers tôt tet wîben wê' (311^{3}).

The second and third points of view are reconciled in young Iwanet, whose boyish nature adapts itself to the mood of his inexperienced comrade with friendly ease, then, when he has done his part by the living and bidden him farewell, assumes the gravity of the decently bred mourner. Reverently he scatters flowers on the dead man to cover him, and drives a splinter of wood through the point of the javelot to form a cross. The character is well imagined: in Iwanet may be seen the makings of a good courtier, not fickle, just ready to help either side with the same good will, and instinctively obeying the need of the moment.

It is the relation in which Ither stands to King Arthur which remains obscure:

> ouch sprach der selbe wîgant
> erbeschaft ze Bertâne ûf daz lant. (145$^{13-14}$)

This agrees, superficially at least, with Crestien's statement that the Red Knight claimed Britain for his own. But there is nothing in the sequel to confirm this. Ither is king in his own right of Kukumerland (Cumberland); so much is plain. That the disputed heritage was Arthur's kingdom must be understood, in the light of the one preliminary statement, but this is never brought out with unequivocal clearness in the speeches of either King Arthur or Ither. Both tend to gloss over, to

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muffle up in words which express a good deal less, the precise extent of the hostile relation between them. Thus Ither, speaking in his own defence:

Ine hânz ouch niht durch roup getân:
des hât mîn krône mich erlân. (146[29–30])

And Arthur:

Ich muoz doch sus mit mit kumber leben,
âne alle mîne schulde.
sît ich darbe sîner hulde. (150[6–8])

Some unexplained grievance appears to lurk at the back of Ither's mind: at least, it is difficult to interpret otherwise the covert irony of his last words:

Der künec von Kukûmerlant
sprach 'hât Artûses hant
dir mîn harnas gegeben,
deiswâr, daz tæte er ouch mîn leben,
möhtestu mirz an gewinnen.
sus kan er vriunde minnen.' (154[11–16])

As though implying: 'I was his friend once. I know his way.' That former relation is more exactly shown in Gynover's recollection of the past: 'er was doch massenîe hie,' and in the fact of Ither's earlier rearing under the guardianship of Utepandragun.

For the rest, his relation to Arthur is crossed and blurred by the opposite, friendly relation in which he stands to Queen Gynover. Hence he is at pains to explain, not the seizing of the golden goblet, but the wine spilt on the Queen: this at least was an accident, for which he craves to be excused. Hence, also, the news of his death is hailed not with joy but with sorrow. King Arthur's part is suppressed to make way for the lamenting Queen. It is she who determines the situation, whereupon both sexes share in the general grief: Iwanet's tidings were of such sad import,

des manec wîp verzagte
und manec ritter weinde
der klagende triuwe erscheinde. (159[21–3])

Crestien's view, that the slaying of the Red Knight was no cause for lament, being the riddance of a serious menace, is echoed elsewhere. Kingrun, who together with Clamide, with the brothers Orilus and Lähelin, represents a force antagonistic to King Arthur and the knights of the Round Table, sees in the overthrow of Ither the exaltation of their mutual foe:

Die Berteneise ir lobes rîs
wænent nu hôch gestôzen hân:
ân ir arbeit ist getân
daz tôt hin wider wart gesant
der künec von Kukûmerlant
und daz mîn hêrre im siges jach. (221[26]–222[1])

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To this may be added the testimony of vv. 280^{9-15}, telling how Arthur and his household set out in quest of

> den der sich der riter rôt
> nante und im solh êre bôt
> daz er in schiet von kumber grôz
> dô er den künec Ithêren schôz
> und Klâmîden und Kingrûn
> ouch sante gein den Bertûn
> in sînen hof besunder.

So the death of Ither is shown from two radically different points of view. And the difference is unexplained. There is no sign of any breach between King and Queen because the enemy of the one was the friend of the other. No comment is made. We have to accept as best we can that what in Arthur's eyes was a signal service appeared to Gynover in the light of a deeply wounding wrong, which might ultimately be forgiven but never praised. Her reconciliation with Parzival takes place as follows:

> ein lützel gein im si dô gienc.
> diu künegîn in mit küsse enpfienc.
> 'nu verkiuse ich hie mit triuwen'
> sprach si, 'daz ir mit riuwen
> mich liezet: die hetet ir mir gegeben,
> dô ir rois Ithêr nâmt sîn leben.'
> von der suone wurden naz
> der künegîn ougen umbe daz,
> wan Ithêrs tôt tet wîben wê. (310^{25}–311^{3})

We find, too, that the Queen regarded her friend's death not only as a grief to herself, but also, where the King is concerned, as a blot on his honour:

> Artus werdekeit enzwei
> sol brechen noch diz wunder,
> der ob der tavelrunder
> den hœhsten prîs solde tragen,
> daz der vor Nantes lît erslagen. (160^{4-8})

In all this there is no triangular situation. Ither is not the Queen's lover: he is the ideal figure of a peerless and chivalrous knight, the thought of whom moves her womanly heart to adoration. The relation between the sexes is here the very opposite of that depicted in the Provençal troubadour lyric and in the German *Minnesang* of the courtlier kind—is more nearly akin to that of the Old French *chansons de toile*. But more than this lies behind. Even if there were less to corroborate it, the idea of Ither as Gynover's lover would still suggest itself to the mind as probable and fitting. Gynover's love for Ither would then fall into a place intermediate between the earlier, grosser tale of her 'unhallowed union' with Mordred and the later famous romance which links her name with Lance-

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lot's. There is evidence that this was so. An allusion in the Berne MS. of the *Folie Tristan* points plainly in that direction. Here Tristan declares the strength of his love for Isolt, telling her:

> Onques Yder qui ocit l'ors
> N'ot tant ne poires ne dehors
> Por Genievre la fame Artur,
> Con je por vos, car je en mur. (234–7)

The reference is to Yder fil Nuc, hero of a thirteenth-century French verse romance in which the original story has been corrupted and overlaid. Gelzer, the editor of the text[1], has furnished this with an excellent introduction, dealing ably and lucidly with the problem of the earlier source. The identification of Wolfram's Ither with Yder fil Nuc is not envisaged by him, yet follows naturally from his exposition. The text is comparatively late, an expansion and overworking of an older version in which Yder was Genievre's lover. Certain passages suggest that clearly. So in vv. 51–63 we read without prelude of Arthur's unreasoning jealousy, of how one day he sought to entrap the Queen by putting to her the invidious question, whom would she choose in his place if he were dead. She finally admits that, if forced to marry, her choice would fall on Yder: 'C'est cil dant meins me deplaireit.' This lukewarm confession goads the King to think and to plan his worst: he straightway sets a plot for Yder's death, in which Keie is his chief abettor. There is also a former occasion when Yder, treacherously wounded by Keie in battle, is believed to be dead. Later on comes the news of his recovery; the Queen urges Gawain to visit him in the monastery where he is being tended; the King, who has hitherto joined in the general sorrow for Yder's supposed death, is displeased by her interest in him:

> Li reis Artur fist un ris faint
> que fu alques de felonie
> par racine de gelosie.
> vers la reine out le cuer gros
> pou ço qu'ele en feisoit tel los. (3170–4)

But the rôle of the jealous husband is merely indicated, and is nowhere consistently carried out. Arthur's attitude to Yder varies curiously, now hostile, now indifferent or forgetful, and again, friendly. The Queen, on the other hand, takes a lively interest throughout in Yder's welfare; of actual love on her part there is no sign, but her interest is unabated. Yder himself is deeply in love with another lady, Gwenloie, a heroine of conventional type, whom we may assume to have stepped into the place of

[1] *Gesellschaft für Romanische Literatur*, Band xxxi, Dresden, 1913.

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Genievre as mistress of his affections[1]. In this way the older love tale became submerged. What remains of it is, as Gelzer says, merely the pale reflection of a love so intense that Tristan, in speaking of it, could make it the measure of his love for Isolt.

The slaying of the bear, which is alluded to in that passage of the *Folie Tristan*, does also occur in *Yder*, as an isolated adventure of no great consequence. Originally it must have had more weight and value. The atmosphere of the later poem is too civilised to give it its due, and the same is true of another adventure, the slaying of two giants, which we know to be one of the oldest elements in the tale of Yder.

That knowledge is supplied by a passage in William of Malmesbury's *De antiquitatis Glastoniensis ecclesiae* under the heading of *De illustri Arturo*. Here Ider (Yder) is found in the company of King Arthur, engaged in the same adventure, an attack on three formidable giants. He outstrips his companions, fights with the giants and kills them single-handed, then, overcome by the stress of that terrible combat, falls into a swoon of exhaustion and is lamented by his friends as dead. 'Dictos gigantes fortiter aggressus, mira caede trucidavit. Quibus peremptis Arturus adveniens dictum Ider nimio labore deficientem et sui omnino impotem, in extasi collapsum inveniens eundem quasi defunctum cum suis lamentabatur.'

In the corresponding passage of *Yder* the three giants of William of Malmesbury are reduced to two. This, however, is not a material difference; more important it is to note the almost complete effacement of the adventure at the hands of an author unable to do it justice. Further, a change of context: one which, from its nature, we may certainly ascribe to the preceding version, in which the triangular situation was made clear. For the adventure has become a corollary to Arthur's ignoble suspicions about the Queen and Yder, whence the latter is sent forth alone to slay the giants, the King hoping to be rid of him for ever. Contrary to all expectation, he performs his task easily, and is discovered sound in body and limb, after which, in the same night, he falls a victim to the machinations of Keie, who poisons him almost to death. This is the second occasion on which Yder is all but killed by his enemy Keie; the first is related in fuller detail and is more important. We may dismiss the

[1] Cf. on this point R. S. Loomis, *Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance*, p. 8: 'The author of *Yder* was attempting to reconcile two stories, one of which gave as the name of Yder's beloved Guenievre, and the other Gwenloie. But that these were one and the same person there can hardly be a doubt.' This requires some qualification. We may accept the conclusion that both names, Guenievre and Gwenloie belonged originally to Arthur's Queen. But the transference of one of those names to a newly created figure is a process different in kind from that of 'attempting to reconcile two stories.'

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poisoning case as a late and rather weak attempt to reclothe the same motive.

A battle, in which Yder fights on the side of King Talac of Rougemont against King Arthur, forms the *milieu* of the first mishap. Here Yder, treacherously attacked by Keie, who comes behind him and deals him an all but mortal wound in the side, is taken from his horse in a state of collapse, apparently dead. At this there is great sorrow. Gawain, of late his adversary, pours out a lament for the death of one so brave. Lugein, his squire, is unmanned and almost beside himself for grief.

Yder wounded in battle, Yder wounded in a fight with giants, and in either case brought so near to death that he is lamented as dead—it is hard to tell which of these two accounts may be the older. The Modena sculpture, representing an attack on a fortress in which Isternus (Yder) is shown sinking backward in his saddle, suggests the former.

But, leaving that problem unsolved, we may claim that the evidence brought to light, fragmentary though it is, justifies our identifying Ither von Gaheviez, or part of him, with Yder fil Nuc. I hasten to add that this has been done already. The resemblances have all been observed and recorded by Singer[1], and in approaching the subject a second time and from a different angle, I find nothing to add, something however to subtract. 'Ider dient als Knappe, hier dem Artus, dort dem Trevrezent, und erwirbt nach Erlangung der Ritterwürde eine Königin, hier Lammire, dort Gwenloie.' That is going too far. The parallels here are of much too general a character to have any real value, and must be set aside as mere coincidences. All else confirms the identification: Keie's murderous stroke has its counterpart in the unknightly javelot stroke dealt by young Parzival. Gawain's lament for Yder recalls Gynover's lament for Ither, and it may be that in the earlier text of the French romance the Queen, in her stronger rôle as Yder's mistress, was the chief mourner. A further significant point is that both heroes hail from Cumberland: Yder's birthplace is Cardoil (Carlisle), and Ither, in addition to his unexplained title 'von Gaheviez,' is 'künec von Kukûmerlant.' The name 'Rougemont' may, as Singer thinks, have formed the first link in the chain connecting Yder fil Nuc with the Red Knight; it may equally well have served just to strengthen the chain.

In all this Singer, of course, sees only the hand of his ubiquitous Kyot. His assumption is that Kyot, not Wolfram, combined the character of the Red Knight with that of Yder, and that Wolfram mechanically reproduced what he found in his source.

[1] S. Singer, *Wolframs Stil und der Stoff des Parzival*, pp. 14–15.

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But mechanical reproduction is the very thing of which we can say with certainty that this was not Wolfram's way. And for that if for no other reason it is unlikely that he would have taken over another man's imperfectly joined structure without troubling to fuse it into a more satisfying form. If, on the other hand, he himself had been the first to combine the two characters, we can then understand how the process remained incomplete. The first, experimental stage of creation has not been carried forward sufficiently far to smooth out the difference between Crestien's Red Knight and Yder. The rôle of the Red Knight remains at certain points out of keeping with the character of Yder, although this is the dominant factor.

This line of reasoning may appear subjective; if so, I must content myself with the thought that most readers of Wolfram will instinctively feel the same. Indeed, the fact that both Golther[1] and Weber[2] entirely ignore the romance of *Yder* in connexion with Wolfram's Red Knight shows to what extent Singer's mode of interpretation has caused the actual concrete value of his findings to be overlooked. I must admit that I had forgotten them, and rediscovered them only after I had trodden the same path independently, starting from the allusion in the *Folie Tristan* and passing thence to a first acquaintance with *Yder*.

Assuming then that the story of Yder was known to Wolfram, the question arises, in what way did he come to know it? There is a tendency among scholars at the present time to regard Wolfram as a man of wide and multiform reading, possessed of an immense store of book knowledge, French, Provençal and Latin. This is the very reverse of the formerly accepted view that Wolfram, to use his own words, knew 'not a single letter.' The truth lies rather in a mean between those two extremes. Of the passages on which the older view was grounded, one, *Parz.* 115^{27}, is undoubtedly ironic in tone, the other, *Wh.* 2^{19-20}, has still a certain weight. 'Swaz in den buochen stêt geschriben, des bin ich künstelôs gebliben,' however we may interpret them, these words, though they need not betoken a man completely illiterate, do not come to us with the voice of a man steeped in book-lore. Further, it must be remembered that Wolfram never once uses the phrase 'als ich las,' which surely must have escaped him once or twice, that or some similar phrase, if the truth had been so. It is always 'man sagte mir,' 'sus hôrte ich sagen,' 'diz mære giht,' and so on, never a reference to what he himself had read. Of Willehalm he says, 'landgrâf von Dürgen Herman tet mir diz mære von

[1] Golther, *Parzival und der Gral.* Stuttgart, 1925.
[2] G. Weber, *Wolfram von Eschenbach.* Frankfurt, 1928.

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im bekant,' and so it is with every tale he mentions: always something that he has heard, and with no single exception to prove otherwise. Again, we may take this as certain: that Wolfram, born to knighthood, had served his apprenticeship as page and squire, an education which, while it left little time for the study of books, sharpened the senses and trained the memory by contact with the life of men. Whatever learning he gained in after years must have furnished a very small part of the knowledge which came to him more naturally, more easily, with the quick ear and marvellously receptive memory which were his from boyhood.

And among the many tales which he had heard read aloud or told, one cannot say which, was the tale of Yder. Into this we may now go further.

Gelzer, on p. lxxviii of his introduction, draws attention to the original local background of the romance of Yder:

> Der Schauplatz des Romans ist localisiert im östlichen Teil von Wales, der Grafschaft Monmouth, und reicht hinüber in die Grafschaften Gloucester und Worcester, ist also das alte, ursprüngliche Artusland. Yder selbst stammt aus dem Norden, aus Cardoil, Carlisle in Cumberland. Wenn diese Stadt bei Chrestien eine Residenz des König Artus ist, so hat sich dessen Reich schon weit über seine ursprünglichen Grenzen ausgedehnt, er ist dann auch König von England. Das würde uns auf eine Vorlage für den Yderroman führen, die auf einer älteren Überlieferung als bei Chrestien beruht. Dazu stimmt die consequente Anwendung des Namens des Königs, nämlich Artur statt Artus.

That Yder's domain lay outside the boundaries of an earlier and lesser Britain and was therefore independent of Arthur's is confirmed by the attitude of Wolfram's Ither. As king of Cumberland—'künec von Kukumerlant'—Ither possesses an uncontested realm of his own. In addition, he lays claim to Arthur's kingdom, why, we are not expressly told, we only know that his demand was not, like that of Crestien's Red Knight, a robber's demonstration of force, but the assertion of a real hereditary claim.

> Ouch sprach der selbe wîgant
> erbeschaft ze Bertâne ûfez lant. (145$^{14-15}$)
> Sîns erbeteils er gerte,
> dâ man in sterbens werte. (160$^{9-10}$)

He is introduced as 'Artûses basen sun,' is nephew therefore to Utepandragun on his mother's side. If so, the right he claims to succeed his uncle (and guardian) must mean some flaw in the succession of Utepandragun's son; whence we may readily infer that the story of Yder, which Wolfram knew, contained the traditional premise of Arthur's obscure birth and disputed heirship. Wolfram need not have realised the tale in full, in any case, the details did not concern him. The interest of Yder's

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claim lay in its partial resemblance to that of Crestien's Red Knight, the opportunity it gave for uniting his rôle with that of a more sympathetic and chivalrous figure. The resemblance is evident, so likewise the essential difference. The seizing of the gold cup and the spilling of the wine on the Queen are natural acts of Crestien's aggressive Red Knight, which Ither von Gaheviez has to explain, making the one a symbol, not of violence, but of a true legal right, the other an accidental result of clumsy haste. In the self-vindication of Ither there rings a note of protest, as of one who scornfully denies an unfounded charge:

> ine hânz ouch niht durch roup getân:
> des hât mîn krône mich erlân. (146$^{29-30}$)

That is to say: 'I am here to maintain my own just right,—not that I am in need of plunder! The kingdom of Cumberland is mine already.'

Ither's other title, 'von Gaheviez,' remains a puzzle, to which there is no satisfactory clue. Perhaps the MS. reading of Hartmann's *Erec* v. 1657, *Iher gaheries*, with the single emendation *Ither* for *Iher*, is as good as any. The form 'Gaheviez' may have been originally due to a misreading of 'Gaheries' and not *vice versa*, the identity *Ider Gaheries* arising previous to this from some unknown parallel between those two kinsmen of Arthur, each closely related, the one as first cousin, the other as nephew, on the maternal side. In that case, *Ider Gaheries* was originally a double name which Wolfram, mistaking the second part for a place-name, reconstructed as 'Ither von Gaheviez.'

We have next to consider Yder's relation to Genievre (Guenevere, Gynover). From the testimony of the later French text it appears that (side by side with the territorial dispute) there was a second cause of enmity, King Arthur's jealousy as a husband of Yder's intimate relation to his Queen. That would naturally go back to the time when Yder was an inmate of Arthur's court, a knight of the Round Table, before he became king of his own realm, Cumberland. An interesting situation.

Neither Wolfram nor the author of the later French text indicates Yder's love for the Queen; the affection and admiration are on her side only. Perhaps in the earlier version also it was she, the woman, who gave the larger share, and that is why her side of the relation has left its trace, while Yder's has faded. If so, the older romance of her love for Yder was different from that of her love for Lancelot in so far as it showed a lesser development of the *Amor cortois*. This is not to minimise Yder's part: the allusion in the *Folie Tristan* bears witness to the strength of his passion, and to this Wolfram adds his more general witness, when he includes Ither

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von Gaheviez among the subjects of 'Frou Minne,' addressing her thus:

Ithêr von Gaheviez
iuwer insigel truoc:
swâ man vor wîben sîn gewuoc,
des wolte sich ir keiniu schamen,
swâ man nante sînen namen,
ob si der minne ir krefte jach. (585$^{20-5}$)

All that remains is to notice Wolfram's own personal treatment of Ither's character, the inferences he drew from it. He has shown him as a valiant and gentle knight, whose life was stainless. And first, how fitting it is, that he, the beloved of women, hails young Parzival as one predestined to receive the same gift of women's love, what irony of fate that he should fall, and die a shamed unknightly death, at the hand of his heir!

der was doch tôt so minneclîch:
lebende was er sælden rîch.
wær ritterschaft sîn endes wer,
zer tjost durch schilt mit einem sper,
wer klagte denne die wunders nôt?
er starp von einem gabylôt. (159$^{7-12}$)

To Gurnemanz, 'houbetman der wâren zuht,' the tragedy of that death is patent. Two short and simple lines give the pith of his sorrow:

der wirt erkande den ritter rôt.
er dersiufte, in derbarmte sîn nôt. (170$^{4-5}$)

From time to time the name and the thought of Ither recur, unforgotten, insistent. The memory of his perfection adds a flash of ironic scorn to Cundrie's denunciation of him who has been honoured with the dead man's name:

ir nennet in den ritter rôt,
nâch dem der lac vor Nantes tôt.
unglîch der zweier leben was,
wan munt von riter nie gelas,
der pflac so ganzer werdekeit. (315$^{11-15}$)

But the deepest chord is struck when Parzival, in converse with Trevrizent, recalls and in words direct and plain confesses the unatoned sin of his youth:

genam ich ie den rêroup,
so was ich an den witzen toup.
Ithêrn von Kukûmerlant,
den sluoc mîn sündebæriu hant.
ich leite in tôten ûfez gras
und nam, waz dâ ze nemen was. (475$^{9-12}$)

Here is one of those stark, clear statements in which Wolfram excels, with a ring of absolute truth in every word and in every line. Through it we see the mind of Parzival, steadfast and pure, facing the ghost of his

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past crime with unflinching eyes. Now at last the dead man's personality becomes most real to him. It is a far cry from that childish moment when the red armour was all in all.

Then Trevrizent takes up the word and tells him how, in slaying Ither, he had slain his own flesh and blood, for they two were of one kin. This idea of kinship appears as an afterthought, and is never clearly explained. When we consider it, the actual family relationship is not near. Ither is Arthur's cousin: hence he is Gahmuret's cousin also, though farther removed, in the parallel line of descent from Mazadan. We hear later on that he was related by marriage as well: Lammire, the daughter of Gandin, sister to Gahmuret and Galoes, was given him to wife. But, indeed, the relationship serves only to set a seal upon the affinity which sprang to light when Ither, the splendid and shining, met and greeted as a younger brother him whom he called 'der wâren minne blic'—Love's Ray.

Ither once recalled is not soon forgotten. Trevrizent, when he has spoken of other things, has expounded the mysteries of the Gral and told of his own wanderings by land and sea, tells how he and Gahmuret met once in Seville, and the latter, before he passed eastward to fight his last with the Baruc, left in his charge young Ither to be his squire. That was long ago, and the last he heard had been of the young man's thriving and wiving. And now, his heart aches at the memory: 'nu riwet mich mîn knappe rôt.'

So in the fullness of time, the sins of Parzival come home to roost. In each case wrong has been done to one of his own kith and kin. To his mother first, when he rode away and left her; to Ither von Gaheviez next; last, and with retribution following hard after, to Anfortas, the Wounded King, when, 'ein tumber man,' he held his tongue and forbare to question, 'herre, wie stêt iuwer nôt?' They are all three errors of one kind, sins of a growing boy who knew no better.

Ither's name is last mentioned in the account of Parzival's combat with Feirefiz, which is the final test of the hero's prowess, a contrast and a parallel to that irregular encounter which was the first. It is a fight to the death between two equally matched combatants, a fair and honourable trial of knightly strength. But once more, without knowing it, the two are near of kin, so near that the fall of the one must be the reproach of the other. And now for the first time the sword which Parzival took from Ither, 'als sîner tumpheit dô gezam,' fails and, ringing against the Saracen's helmet, breaks suddenly. God, we are told, willed not that Parzival should slay his next of kin (744$^{10-18}$). The breaking of the sword

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of Gaheviez is a sign of His mercy, a proof that the hero's ordeal is over and the end in sight.

Thus significantly, and as marking the close of an epoch, the name of Ither is mentioned for the last time.

In conclusion, a few words on a subject of minor importance. The study of 'Yder fil Nuc' opens up another by-path: it does not lead far, and I do not know whether it has been explored already. The suggestion came to me indirectly from Gelzer's discussion of the later romance of *Yder*, in which he notices the influence of Crestien's *Erec*. It occurred to me that *Erec* in turn might owe something to an earlier version of *Yder*. There is one adventure which points that way. Erec engages in a fight with two giants and kills them, after which, like Yder in similar case, he loses consciousness and is bewailed as dead. The circumstances of course are different, yet I do not think the coincidence is due to chance. At all events, the creator of *Erec* (that is, of the version antecedent to Crestien's) knew of 'Yder fil Nuc' and boldly transferred his name to another and quite different character. So different that Crestien, it seems, not identifying the Yder of tradition with the new part which bore his name, introduced him afresh in his own proper setting as an inmate of Arthur's court:

> Au consoil granz partie cort
> des meillors barons de la cort.
> Li rois Yders y est alez,
> qui premiers i fut apelez. (311–14)

MARGARET F. RICHEY.

ENGLEFIELD GREEN.

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MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

Þeodric in 'Widsith' and the Rök Inscription.

According to various Scandinavian authorities the Hreithgoths (O.N. *Hreið-*, *Reiðgotar*, O.E. *Hrædas*, *Hreðgotan*) in the fifth and sixth centuries occupied the district now covered by north-east Germany and Poland, which agrees with the traditional geography of *Widsith*; they were apparently a remnant of the Goths who had moved south-eastwards in the great folk-wandering. Their kings are named in *Hervarar Saga* and some of them in *Widsith*, l. 116 (*Heaþoric* = O.N. *Heiðrekr*, *Sifeca* = O.N. *Sifke*, a woman, *Hliþe* = O.N. *Hlǫðr* and *Incgenþeow* = O.N. *Angantýr*). In the previous line in *Widsith* we have mention of *Seafola* and *þeodric* coupled with these Hreithgothic heroes. And the famous Swedish Rök-stone inscription[1] (of the ninth century) tells amongst other things of the king 'who nine generations ago [i.e. early sixth century] was born amongst the Hreithgoths and afterwards perished amongst them through his overweening pride; Þiaurikr the brave of heart, lord of sea-rovers, ruled over the shore of the Gothic sea (*strǫntu hraiþmaraR*). Now he sits ready on his Gothic steed (*ą guta sinum*), a shield hung round his neck, lord of the Mærings.' Þeodric in *Widsith* and Þiaurikr on the Rök-stone are generally identified with Theodric the Great, the famous ruler of the East-Goths (*c.* 468–526)[2]. But in a recently published paper[3] Dr Birger Nerman on the evidence offered by the sagas as to the localisation of the Hreithgoths on the south-eastern shores of the Baltic concludes that Þiaurikr (definitely stated on the Rök-stone to have lived and perished amongst the Hreithgoths) was not Theodric the Great but an otherwise unrecorded king of the Hreithgoths of the Baltic area; he follows this up with a suggestion that because of the close parallels between the names of the Hreithgothic heroes in the O.N. sagas and in *Widsith* the Þeodric of *Widsith*, l. 115, was identical with Þiaurikr and Þeodric therefore was not Theodric the Great.

But whilst the localisation of the Hreithgoths in Poland and Prussia must be admitted, the Rök-stone's statement that Þiaurikr was a Hreithgoth should not be literally trusted; the Hreithgoths would be better

[1] A convenient edition of the text is in E. V. Gordon, *Introduction to Old Norse*, p. 168.
[2] R. W. Chambers, *Widsith*, pp. 40ff.; E. Brate, *Sveriges Runinskrifter*, 1928, p. 35; S. Bugge, *Der Runenstein von Rök*, p. 40, etc.
[3] *Försök till datering av Reidgoternas konungaätt* (in *Sagastudier af Festskrift til Finnur Jónsson*, Copenhagen, 1928, pp. 206f.).

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remembered in Sweden in the ninth century[1] than the East-Goths and the term Hreithgoth may well have been applied to any Goth, especially in view of the traditions preserved in Scandinavian saga; in any case, whatever the origin of the first element of the name, it is clear that it must have been understood as O.E. *hreð* 'glory' (*Hreðgotan*) and it was applied to any Goths in the same way as the Danes were called *Beorht-Dene* or the Scyldings *Ar-Scyldingas* 'the honour-Scyldings' (in *Beowulf*)[2]. This at any rate would account for the association of the genuine Hreithgothic heroes in *Widsith*, ll. 115–16, with Þeodric the East-Goth.

Nor should we overlook the fact that Þiaurikr of the Rök inscription besides having lived and died amongst the Hreithgoths was also 'lord of the Mærings' (*skati marika*). From *Deor's Lament* we learn that 'Ðeodric ahte þrittig wintra Mæringa burg; þæt wæs monegum cuð.' This Theodric is clearly the same man as Þiaurikr and if he is to be identified with anybody it is with Theodric the Great; for one thing the reference, though allusive[3], could only be to Theodric the Great; for another, this allusion in *Deor* to 'lord of the city of the Mærings for thirty winters' should also apply to Þiaurikr and if, as Nerman (211) suggests, Þiaurikr flourished as a Hreithgoth lord on the Baltic shores in the first half of the sixth century there must have been a peculiar gap in Angantýr III's reign (which Nerman also puts at *c.* 525–55); if Þiaurikr were a mere under-chieftain living at peace with his lord, Angantýr, he could hardly have achieved fame enough to be remembered as 'lord of the Mærings' in a ninth-century inscription and in an Old English poem. Again there is no real reason why the Mærings should not be identical with the East-Goths, for they were probably so called from the names of Theodric's relatives, his father *Þiudmers* and his brothers *Widamers* and *Walamers*[4].

Two final points may be considered. On the Rök inscription Þiaurikr is described as now 'sitting ready on his Gothic steed, a shield hung round his neck.' Bugge (*op. cit.*, p. 57) in allusion to this passage pointed

[1] Just as apparently the East-Goths were better remembered in England. Widsith's knowledge of Gothic story was wide but confused and the allusion to the fight between the *Hræda here* and the Huns as *ymb Wistlawudu* (the struggle was between the Danube and the Sea of Azof) shows that by *Hrædas* the poet was thinking of the East-Goths, not the Hreithgoths, who according to Scandinavian tradition still occupied the south-eastern shores of the Baltic.

[2] E. V. Gordon (*op. cit.*, p. 242), following S. Bugge (*op. cit.*, pp. 44–5), takes *HraiþmarR* to be the Adriatic; of Theodric the Great the poem of Walafrid Strabo says *Tetricus Italicis quondam regnator in oris* (line 30).

[3] R. W. Chambers (*op. cit.*, p. 42). Perhaps *Mæringa burg* refers rather to Ravenna or Verona, where he ruled for thirty-three years, than to the home of his fathers.

[4] E. V. Gordon, *loc. cit.*, and Bugge note the parallel of O.H.G. *Thuringi* (O.E. *þyringas*) from the tribal name *Hermunduri*.

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out that Agnellus (*Liber Ecclesiae Ravennaticae*, cap. 94, written *c.* 839) tells of a huge equestrian statue of Theodric the Great which had been in Ravenna; it had a shield over the left shoulder and a spear in the right hand and in 801 Charlemagne caused it to be moved to Aachen. It is extraordinary, if it is a coincidence, that the Rök-stone's description is so apposite. Lastly, in *Widsith* the poet couples Þeodric with Seofola and Chambers (*op. cit.*, pp. 43–4) has shown that he is probably Sabene of Ravenna, a retainer of Theodric the Great; the association would be strange if Þeodric were a Hreithgothic king of the Baltic area.

I do not think, therefore, that Dr Nerman is right in rejecting the identification of Þeodric of *Widsith* and Þiaurikr of the Rök-stone inscription with Theodric the Great. But it should be pointed out that this does not affect the main argument in Dr Nerman's chronology of the Hreithgothic kings except in so far as he uses this identification as corroborative evidence.

A. H. Smith.

London.

Cleopatra's Death in Chaucer's 'Legende of Gode Wommen.'

In determining Chaucer's authority for the details in his description of Cleopatra's death in *Legende of Gode Wommen*, ll. 671–80, 696–700, commentators generally have been content to follow the lead of Bech, who (*Anglia*, v, pp. 316–18) endeavoured to trace all these to Florus's account in his *Epitome Rerum Romanarum* (iv, 11). Florus writes:

> (Prior ferrum occupavit Antonius; regina...) incautiorem nacta custodiam in Mausoleum se (sepulcra regum sic vocant) recipit. Ibi maximos, ut solebat, induta cultus, in differto odoribus solio, iuxta suum se collocavit Antonium: admotisque ad venas serpentibus, sic morte, quasi somno, soluta est.

In Chaucer's narrative, Cleopatra, the day after Antony's death, set 'subtil workmen' to make a 'shryne,' decorated with rubies and precious stones; and when it was made, she filled it with 'spycerie,' and 'shette' in it the 'embaumed' body of her lover. She then had a 'pit' dug 'next the shryne,' and into this 'grave,' filled with all manner of deadly serpents, she leapt, 'naked, with ful good herte,' to 'receyve' her death.

Let us compare the two accounts in their details. The 'shryne,' filled with 'spycerie,' is, in Bech's opinion, the 'solium' of Florus, 'differtum odoribus,' as it is described. Noticing, however, that in Chaucer, the 'shryne' holds the corpse of Antony, whereas in Florus, it is Cleopatra who meets her death 'in solio.' Bech seeks to bring the supposed original

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into line with Chaucer's statement, by hypothetically supplying him with a phantom text of Florus, which read *suum* and *se* transposed in the expression, 'iuxta suum se collocavit Antonium.' It is even suggested that Chaucer construed the Latin all wrong—'es ist nicht unwahrscheinlich,' says Bech—by taking 'maximos, ut solebat, induta cultus' in connexion with 'solio,' and that this misconstruction led him to set forth the decorations of the 'shryne' (672–74). All this is a desperate attempt to establish a weak case. Chaucer might not have had Latin enough to make out what an average schoolboy could, but we must allow him to know his English. 'Shryne' would be an unusual word for a coffin, if this was indeed what *solium* meant[1]; and the use of the phrase 'next the shryne' to mark locality, would be absurdity itself, if 'shryne' did not signify a building. The spurious *Cronycle made by Chaucier*, of unknown authorship, uses, as a synonym for Chaucer's 'shryne,' the cautious word, 'sepulture' (l. 5), while reproducing the substance of this passage in *Legende of Gode Wommen* (Furnivall's *Odd Texts of Chaucer's Minor Poems*, App. VI). There can be little doubt that the word used by Chaucer translates 'mausoleum' (Florus; Hugh of Fleury *apud* Vincent of Beauvais) or 'monumentum' (Orosius); it recalls to our mind the ἠριόν of Dio Cassius (LI, 10) or the θήκη, or τάφος of Plutarch (*Ant.*, LXXIV; LXXVI: ed. Bekker), which, according to some, Cleopatra had built as a refuge and tomb. It might be contended that the 'shryne,' if it was the mausoleum, could not have risen in such an incredibly short time, like Aladdin's palace. But what could not an imperious queen accomplish, having an army of 'subtil workmen' at her command? Besides such concessions are due to poetry. Another objection might be raised to this view because of the word 'shette,' which would seem to lend support to Bech's opinion, but 'shette' need not imply more than 'securely placed.'

The account of the 'shryne' being filled with 'spycerie' may be illustrated from Plutarch (*Ant.*, LXXIV) and from Vincent of Beauvais, who quotes the following from Hugh of Fleury: '(Cleopatra) in mausoleum odoribus refertum suum se collocavit Antonium. Deinde admotis sibi serpentibus morte sopita est' (cited by G. C. Macaulay, Gower's *Works*, III, 547). Plutarch probably was not accessible to Chaucer—there is nothing to show that he was influenced by him—but he was familiar with the encyclopædic work of Vincent. It may be noted that the part of this work relevant to our topic, *Speculum Historiale*, is definitely

[1] Is it not possible that Florus meant a throne or chair of state? This is the primary sense of *solium*. This interpretation, suggested by Professor Thomas privately, reduces Florus's account to the simple statement that Cleopatra took her seat on a perfumed throne near the body of Antony placed in the mausoleum.

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mentioned as *Storial Mirour* in the Prologue (A-text, 307) to *Legende of Gode Wommen* itself, as a trustworthy record of 'trewe wyves.' After this there is no reason why we should bind down Chaucer to the use of Florus alone. 'Je prends mon bien où je le trouve' has been the principle of every literary artist, before and since Molière's time.

The next point to which attention is due, is Chaucer's representation of Cleopatra leaping 'naked' into the serpent-pit. This has no authority either in Florus or in other classical writers, most of whom are, on the contrary, explicit in stating that she met her doom, 'arrayed in a royal state' (Plutarch), 'maximos, ut induta cultus,' as Florus says. We are all familiar with the splendid use Shakespeare makes of this point; but Chaucer has chosen to represent it otherwise. Bech, as we have seen, charges him with having possibly perpetrated a misconstruction of Florus's phrase; and Skeat, who has no higher opinion of our poet's Latin scholarship, believes that he has mistranslated 'induta,' as if it meant 'not clothed.' But has not this alteration been deliberately made? Cleopatra, in our story, meets her death in a pit crawling with snakes, not in a stately mausoleum as the historians say. The usual classical account of her mental and physical state at the time is hardly congruous with this novel idea. A Cleopatra dressed in her 'best attires,' with all the emblems of royalty about her and making a luxury of death, would be a strange occupant of a serpent-pit. Imagination boggles at the mere suggestion. Chaucer's Cleopatra, moreover, is a 'martir of love,' sick at last of frippery, and she impatiently makes it easier and quicker for the serpents to do their deadly work on her, by leaping in naked. It is not bad Latin but good artistic sense that has led Chaucer to depart so from the accepted story.

Now comes the crux of the passage. What authority had Chaucer for saying that Cleopatra had a 'grave' dug for herself and that she had it filled with serpents? Gower also, in his brief reference to the incident in *Confessio Amantis* (III, 2573–75), says that Cleopatra buried herself alive 'in a cave with serpents,' evidently meaning by 'cave' a burial vault. But he is generally believed to have got his notion from Chaucer. The same may be said of the already mentioned *Cronycle made by Chaucier*, which repeats almost his very words. These references therefore do not help us in fixing Chaucer's debt. No classical writer mentions this blood-curdling incident. In his perplexity, which he shares with others, Professor John S. P. Tatlock has with commendable learning gathered together (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, pp. 99–100) a number of references to serpent-pits used as places for torture and punishment, in Dante

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(*Inf.*, XXIV), in mediæval eschatological and homiletic treatises, in early Norse tradition; and in conclusion, following upon a suggestion made by Bugge in another connexion, he hazards what he himself calls 'a risky guess,' suggesting that Chaucer might have given a realistic contemporary touch to his account of this Egyptian queen's death, by utilising what he might have heard of serpent-pits in northern Africa, which were possibly in his time, as they were certainly in later, made use of by the ruling chiefs to extort confessions from obdurate criminals—a practice instanced as far down as 1881 in Tunis. Professor Carleton Brown, writing on the same subject two months later (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXIX, pp. 198–9), adds to this formidable array of references yet another from the legends of the Miracles of Our Lady, recording the terrific vision of a 'puteus plenus serpentibus,' seen on one occasion by a young man from Germany on a visit to Clairvaux, and on another by a nun who was on the point of renouncing the veil. This list of interesting examples might be lengthened further, if one chose, from folklore and nursery tales. For instance, in Perrault's story of the Sleeping Beauty, we find 'une grande cuve' filled with toads and snakes, into which the ogress ultimately flung herself. The Wicked Stepmother in the German folk-tale, as Bech reminds us, was placed in a similar tub.

But these at best only illustrate the gruesome detail in Chaucer's narrative without explaining from where he got it. Florus-ridden Bech would trace it to the explanatory 'sepulcra' tagged[1] to 'Mausoleum,' which suggested to our poet, first the idea of a grave, while the phrase 'admotisque ad venas serpentibus' did the rest by helping his imagination to fill the grave with snakes. This is barely plausible, but there seems to be no more satisfactory solution.

One minor detail, however, of the desiderated explanation may be illustrated by a passage in Alfred's *Orosius*. It is that of the digging of the grave at Cleopatra's orders, for which no 'source' has yet been indicated. In describing the end of Antony and Cleopatra, Orosius says:

Deinde imminente Caesare turbataque civitate idem Antonius sese ferro transverberavit, ac semianimis ad Cleopatram in monumentum, in quod se illa mori condederat, perlatus est. Cleopatra postquam ad triumphum se servari intellexit, voluntariam mortem petens serpentibus (ut putatur morsu) in sinistro tacta brachio, exanimis inventa est (*Hist.*, VI, 19).

A part of Alfred's free and amplified version, introducing new details from some source unknown to us, runs thus:

Hio þa Cleopatra het adelfan hiere byrgenne ond þaeroninnan eode. Þa heo þæron gelegen wæs þa het niman ipnalis þa nædran ond don to hiere earme þæt hio hie abite (Alfred's *Orosius*, Early English Text Society, p. 246).

[1] Salmasius suspects the parenthetical *sepulcra regum sic vocant* to be an interpolated gloss.

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The parallelism is interesting, but it would be risky to suggest that Chaucer knew this passage in Alfred's *Orosius*. If he did, he could hardly have missed the attractive reference to the 'ipnalis.' But it is doubtful if he could read the Old English *Orosius* or was likely to have it at his command. Was it a 'gloss' or the text itself of *Orosius* according to some particular manuscript unknown to us that gave this detail to both Alfred and Chaucer?

P. C. Ghosh.

Calcutta.

'Din' and 'Doom' in 'Piers Plowman,' A, ii, 183.

In writing on the revisions of *Piers Plowman* in 1928, though I knew that the lack of the forthcoming A-text was a great handicap, I thought that even without it certain passages might yield results. Among these I would include A ii, 183:

> Dreede at the dore stood and the dune herde,

my use of which Professors Chambers and Grattan criticise on pp. 29–35 of the current volume of the *Modern Language Review*. Being very pressed for space, I had only said that the correct reading was pretty certainly 'dome,' leaving the reader to look up the context in the parallel versions. I would now like to discuss the passage a little more fully.

The king has passed sentence of death on False, Favel, etc., and orders a Constable to arrest them. The passage preceding this line in the A-text (ll. 167–82) is as follows:

> 'Now be Crist,' quod the kyng, 'ȝif I mihte chacche
> Fals othur Fauwel or eny of his feeres,
> I wolde be wreken on this wrecches that worchen so ille,
> And don hem hongen bi the hals, and al that hem meyntenen;
> Schal neuer mon vppon molde meyntene the leste,
> But riht as the lawe loketh, let fallen of hem alle.'
> And comaunde the cunstable, that com at the furste,
> To a-tache the traytours for eny tresour:
> 'Ich hote ȝe fetere Fals faste, for eny kunnes ȝiftus,
> And gurdeth of Gyles hed, let him go no forther,
> And bringeth Meede to me, maugre hem alle.
> Symonye and Siuile, I seende hem to warne
> That holichirche for hem worth harmet for euere;
> And ȝif ȝe chacche Lyȝere, let him not a-skape
> To ben set on the pillori for eny preyere.
> I bydde thee awayte hem wele, let non of hem ascape.'

Of the variants 'dome' and 'dune,' which is the original word? It seems to me that the picture of Dread, skulking in obscurity at the door of the court, in order that he may hear the doom without being seen,

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and be off at a moment's notice, gives an admirably vivid picture in the manner of A. But Professors Chambers and Grattan, from the evidence of the MSS.[1], say that the original is 'dune,' that the poet wrote it also in B and C, and that it refers to the noise caused by the assembling of the punitive expedition consequent on the king's order in ll. 173 ff., which Dread hears as he stands by some unspecified door. I hope to show that B and C do not agree with them in this interpretation; but grant that this is the right reading, and turn to the continuation of the passage in B:

> Drede atte dore stode, and the dome herde,
> And how the kynge comaunded constables and seriantz
> Falsenesse and his felawschip to fettren an to bynden.

Here I think it is clear that the first line refers to the king's sentence in ll. 167–72 of the A-text, and the two following lines summarise ll. 173–82, the ordering of the expedition. 'Din,' in the sense which Professors Chambers and Grattan assign to it, is therefore impossible here; and if it was in the original A-version used by B, then 'dome' is not a scribal error, but a deliberate alteration by the reviser. The passage in C reads:

> Drede stod at the dore and al that duene herde,
> What the kynges wil was.

Here again the 'din' is not the punitive expedition; it is the sound of the king's voice. This is an extraordinary use of the word, and has no parallel in *N.E.D.* In the only other examples of it in Skeat's glossary to *Piers Plowman* it is used by B and C of the noise of the earthquake at the death of Christ. I therefore suggested that C, following the sense of the B-text, took it (I do not profess to know why) on the authority of the A-text.

Hence finally, if A used 'din' for the noise of the expedition, neither B nor C followed him in that use of the word. If B used 'din' at all, he must have used it with the exact meaning of 'doom,' and this is very difficult to believe. C used it for the king's speech, and again it is very difficult to believe that A, who uses it without any qualification, could have meant it in this sense. In spite of the MS. evidence, I still maintain that 'doom' was the original, that the meaning in A and B was the

[1] From the obscurity of a footnote, I would venture to suggest that, great as is the authority of the comparative study of the MSS., the context must have its weight. In 1918, Professors Chambers and Grattan gave permission to Mrs Blackman to include in her article in the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* some specimens of their provisional A-text. Here A i, 147–8 reads:

> þat he was miȝtful *and* mek . and mercy gan *grau*nte
> To hem *þat* hongide hi*m* by . *and* his herte þirlide,

where in place of Vernon's 'heiȝe,' 'by' is substituted from MSS. TH_2DU. But it is surely clear from the context (to say nothing of the alliteration) that Vernon is right here.

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same, and that the clumsy expression in C is due to the combination of a corrupted A-text with B.

MABEL DAY.

LONDON.

CERTAIN OF SIR THOMAS MORE'S EPIGRAMS TRANSLATED BY STANIHURST.

The name of Richard Stanihurst is now associated chiefly with the translation in English hexameters of the first four books of the *Aeneid*. His translation of Virgil is followed by a few miscellaneous pieces, also in classical metres, the most interesting of which are versions in hexameters of certain of Sir Thomas More's Latin Epigrams. The *Epigrammata* were first published at Basle in December, 1520, by Frobenius. Stanihurst follows the Latin text fairly closely, expanding the original a little in some cases. The first epigram given below occurs on page 63 of the Basle edition, and is there 14 lines in length; the second on page 72, 16 lines; the third on page 99, 8 lines; the fourth on page 77, 8 lines; the fifth on page 103, 6 lines; the Latin epitaph on page 68, with slightly different punctuation. More wrote two versions of this epitaph, which is on Henry Abyngdon, the 'singing-man,'—one with internal rime, and one without. It is the rimed version which Stanihurst translates. The fact that the epitaph existed in these two forms was used by Thomas Campion to support his remarks in favour of 'classical metres,' in *Observations in the Art of English Poesie* (1602):

> For the establishing of this argument (viz. that rime is 'barbarous'), what better confirmation can be had then that of Sir Thomas Moore in his booke of Epigrams, where he makes two sundry Epitaphs upon the death of a singing-man at Westminster, the one in learned numbers and dislik't, the other in rude rime and highly extold: so that he concludes, 'tales lactucas talia labra petunt,' like lips, like lettuce (Chapter II).

Stanihurst's *Aeneid* was reprinted, with the miscellaneous pieces, by Professor Arber in *The English Scholar's Library*, in 1880, but this is not now very easily accessible, and it may be well to make these verses more readily available for study. Arber's reprint followed the text of the very rare Leyden edition (1582). The text given here exactly follows that of the edition of Henry Bynneman, published in London in 1583. The differences between this and the Leyden version are purely orthographic.

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OF A CRAKING CVTTER,

extracted out of Syr *Thomas Moore*,
his Latin Epigrams.

Linckt was in wedlock a loftye Thrasonical huf snuffe:
In gate al on typstau's stalcking, in phisnomye daring.
This cutter valiant in warfar sought his aventure.
Thee whilst his minion, with carnal wantones itching,
Chooste for a freēd secret no woorse thā a coūtrye lob heerd swaine.
A pray for a paragon: but what? thee knurry knob oake tree,
Though craggy in griping, in strength surpasseth a smooth slip.
When *Thraso* from bickrings, not bluddie, returned is homeward,
Of this hap advertisde, with frantick iellosye taynted,
Hee seeks in thee fields, with swift enquirye, the riual.
Stay vagabund raskal (so he spake when he spide ỹ lob heerd hyne)
Thee clowne stout standeth with a leshe of bulleted hard stoans;
Then *Thraso* with naked flatchet, with thunderus owterie
Sayd: thow scuruye peasaunt, my wiefe th'hast, villen, abused.
My bed defiled: like a breakloove mak'bat adultrer.
Al this I deny not, quoa[1] the clowne: and what then: I pray thee?
Doost thow confesse it? *Thraso* sayd: bye the blessed asemblye
Of the hev'nly sociats, hadst thow thy knau'rye reneaged,
This mye blade in thy body should bee with speedines hafted. (p. 95.)

OF A TEMPEST QUAYLING

certeyn passengers borowed of the same
Syr *Thomas Moore*.

Theare rose in sayling a rough tempestuus owtrage,
With watrye plash bouncing, thee ribs of giddie ship hitting.
Thee mariners fearing, al hoap eeke of salfty reiecting,
Said: that a bad liuing eke a bad death rightly required.
Al that are in passadge to a munck, father holy, resorted,
Who was eke embarcked, to him their confession op'ning.
Howbeit thee stormie ruffling is no whit abated;
But thee rough billows the ship toe toe terribly charged,
Twish, what woonder is it, quod one of the coompany chauffing,
If that thee vessel with weight most sinful is heauie.
Duck we the munck therefor, that al our faults wholy receaued,
Hastly let him to the seas our sins and villeny carrie.
Al they be contented, thee munck they speedily plunged:
Ceast was thee tempest, if truth bee truely related.
Heereby wee be scholed, what poyse sin ponderus holdeth,
That with an hudge and weightie balas surchargeth a vessel.

HESPERVS HIS CONFESSION

written in Latin by the said Sir Thomas Moore.

Hesperus his faulty liuelood too cal to recounting
Minding, too be shriuen with woont accustomed hastned.
When that he told plainely, what crim's most sinful he practis'd,
Yeet thee goastly father laboring more deepely to ransack
His former liuing; by distinct article asked
Eu'ry sin, and naming by peccemeal curius eche fault,
At length demaunded, wheather, with sorcery blinded,
Erst he beleefe yeelded to the bugs infernal? here aunswer'd
Hesperus: holy father, doe ye thinck me so madly bewitched
Too beleve in the deuils? I tel you truely, to great pain's
Stil I take enduring, in God yet scantly beleeuing. (p. 96.)

[1] [quod?]

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OF TYNDARVS, THAT FRVMPED

a gentlewoman for hauing a long nose, deliuered by the former author in Latine.

Tyndarus attempting to kis a faire lasse with a long nose,
Would needs bee finish, with bitter frumpery taunting.
In vain I doo coouet my lips too linck to thy sweete lips,
Thy nose, as a stickler, toe toe long us parteth a sunder.
Heere the maid al bashful, the unsau'rie saucines heeding:
With choler oppressed, thus shrewdly to *Tyndarus* aunswer'd,
Sith my nose owtpeaking, good sir, your liplabor hindreth,
Hardly ye may kisse mee, where no such gnomon apeereth.

SYR THOMAS MOORE HIS

receipt for a strong breath translated out of his Latin Epigrams.

First for a strong sauour stincking, a leeke may be taken:
That sent too bannish, thee best is an onion eaten.
And to repeal likwise that sauour, garlik is holsoom.
If that theese simples wil not thee filthod abandon,
A rose, or els nothing that drafty[1] infirmitie cureth. (p. 97.)

AN EPITAPH WRITTEN BY SIR THOMAS

More upon the death of Henrie Abyngdō, one of the gentlemen of the chappel: which deuise the authour was fayne to put in meeter, by reason the partie that requested his trauel, did not like of a verye proper Epitaph that was first framed, because it ran not in rythme, as may appeare at ful in his Latin Epigrammes: whereupon Syr Thomas More shapt these verses ensuing, with which the suppliant was exceedingly satisfyed as if the author had hit the nayle on the head.

Hic iacet *Henricus*, semper pietatis *amicus*:
Nomen Abingdon *erat*, si quis sua nomina *quaerat*:
Wellis hic *ecclesia* fuerat succentor in *alma*,
Regis & in *bella* cantor fuit ipse *capella*.
Millibus in *mille* cantor fuit optimus *ille*.
Praeter & haec *ista* fuit optimus *orgaquenista*.
Nunc igitur *Christe*, quoniam tibi seruijt *iste*,
Semper in orbe *soli* da sibi regna *poli*.

The same though not *verbatim* construed, yet in effect thus may be translated, wherein the learned are not to looke for the exact obseruation of quantities of syllables, which the authour in the Latin did not very precisely keepe.

Heere lyeth old *Henry*, no freend to mischeuus *enuy*.
Surnam'd *Abyngdon*, to al men most hartily *welcoom*.
Clerck he was in *wellis*, where tingle a great many *bellis*.
Also in thee *chappel* hee was not counted a moungrel:
And such a lowd *singer*, in a thowsand not such a *ringer*.
And with a *concordance*, a man most skilful in *organce*.
Now God I craue *duly*: sence this man seru'd the so *truly*.
Henry place in *kingdoom*, that is also named *Abingdon*. (p. 105.)

FINIS.

SIDNEY H. ATKINS.

LONDON.

[1] [drasty?]

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Footnotes to Seventeenth-Century Biographies.

Inigo Jones.

A number of Chancery documents in the Public Record Office throw further light on Inigo Jones' work as Surveyor-General. I am indebted to Professor Sisson for the reference to the earliest one I have seen, a deposition made by Jones on February 7, 1626/7, on behalf of Thomas Burges, defendant to the bill of Alice Hyde, widow[1]. His evidence deals with the post of Deputy-Purveyor of timber and other materials for the Office of Works, held successively by Roger Charley, Thomas Hyde and Thomas Burges, but gives no information regarding his own office.

Early in 1642, when Jones was preparing to leave London with the King, his troubles were increased by a bill filed against him on January 31 by Arthur Condall, John Prestwood and Thomas Garsawaye, carpenters, all of St Margaret's, Westminster[2]. Henry Wickes, Paymaster of the Works, and one Peter Cannon were also named as defendants. The carpenters claim unfair dealing in work they did the preceding spring, and from their description and other documents in the case it becomes clear that this was no other than the preparation of Westminster Hall for the trial of the Earl of Strafford. As they express it, Jones, Wickes and Thomas Baldwin (Comptroller of the Works, since deceased) treated with them, about March 14, 1641, concerning the erecting of divers structures and rooms in Westminster Hall, which the officers asserted must 'be suddenly finished.' An agreement was reached that the carpenters should erect

an incloseinge Roome for the howse of Peeres togeather wth a Backe for the State and a floore of timbers and alsoe degrees wth seates for the howse of Comons and boordinge them vpp behinde and to leave a convnient (*sic*) passage vnderneath the South side of the sayd Hall towarde the waterside and boordinge vpp of one side of the sayd passage and makeinge seu'll Devisions for those of the members of the sayd howse as were to mannage the witnesses as alsoe a place inclosed for the witnesses to be brought in and out as there should bee occasion wth passages boorded vpp from that place to the Degrees alsoe a small roome for the p'soner to retire vnto and stronge Rayles on each syde for his passage from the Hall Doore to the Barr and some Devisions behinde the State for the vse of the sayd Peeres wth seu'all foormes for the Peeres to sytt on and such other thinges as were in a plott thereof made by the sayd Inigo Iones Surveyor.

The work was to be completed by four o'clock on the morning of March 19. They were to supply all the materials, to be paid £100 in cash, and to have the building materials back again when the work was pulled down.

[1] C. 24. 531/9.

[2] C. 5. 598/199.

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Everything was finished as agreed, the timber and other supplies costing £204. Wickes paid them the £100, but when, a short time before Easter Term, they were directed to demolish the structures, Peter Cannon and others refused to allow the removal of the materials. Jones and Wickes are charged with conspiracy to defraud them of their property[1].

The Surveyor and Paymaster promptly filed an answer on February 9, in which it is pretty obviously Jones that is speaking: a good deal of personality penetrates the legal phraseology[2]. He was called to the House of Lords about March 13, and on being instructed to prepare Westminster Hall for the trial, 'did then in the sight and prsence of the sayd Lords designe and make a rough draught or perticular of the manner which hee thought and Conceiued would bee most apt and Capable for such a receipte of Company and for the Accomodation of soe greate a Businesse.' The Lords urged speed, but Jones discreetly said he would have to consult the carpenters about that. It is interesting to note that a warrant for the work was issued to the Officers of the Works by the then Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery. Jones and Wickes agree with the carpenters' description of the contract, except that they do not remember that it was put in writing; when Jones gave the Lords a verbal account of it, they praised his good husbandry. As to the building materials, they say it was never doubted or questioned by any that they should remain the plaintiffs' property, but they made no specific promises. They deny that they appropriated any of the stuff or carried it away, or prevented the carpenters from taking it; on the other hand, they claim that, the trial lasting longer than was expected and further work being necessary, Wickes paid the plaintiffs an additional £21. 12*s*. 6*d*.

Presumably Jones left London shortly thereafter. There is an undated replication in which the carpenters reassert their claims[3], and then proceedings came to a standstill until Jones returned to London after the fall of Basing House. Then, in Michaelmas Term, 1646, he produced three witnesses, John Davenport, the King's Master Carpenter[4], John Webb[5], and a Westminster bricklayer named Francis Marriot. Their depositions disclose the fact—not mentioned in either bill or answer—that the

[1] Baldwin is dead, but his widow is made a party to the suit. Neither she nor Cannon, however, appear to have taken any part in the proceedings.
[2] C. 8. 91/99.
[3] C. 5. 4/33.
[4] C. 24. 699/56. Davenport, on October 16, gives his age as 53, and his residence as in the parish of St Martin in the Fields.
[5] Examined October 15; age 35, residence in St Martin in the Fields.

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timber, etc., was claimed by the Lord Great Chamberlain, Montagu Bertie, Earl of Lindsey, who refused to give it up even when Jones and the other officers signed a note saying it was their intention the plaintiffs should have the materials back again. Instead, he had them carried to the 'new Chapel Churchyard,' and cried in the open market; Marriot bought them for £55, sold part to the plaintiffs for £60, and disposed of the rest elsewhere. It seems doubtful whether the plaintiffs produced any witnesses; at any rate, no depositions have survived. The case came up for hearing on November 23, 1646[1], and the Court 'sawe no coulor of cause in equity to give the p^{lt} any Releife therein' and dismissed the bill, with costs to the defendants. They claimed £24. 11*s.* 10*d.*, which Robert Aylett, one of the Masters in Chancery, saw fit to 'moderate' to £10[2].

But before this suit was settled, Jones was again summoned to appear in Chancery, to answer the bill of one William Dodson, a bricklayer. This bill seems to be lost, but from Jones' answer, sworn on October 27, 1646, we learn that Dodson had been employed in some work about a brick wall at Somerset House, that he had never been paid, and was now attempting to collect the debt from Jones[3]. His answer begins with a dignified and uncompromising statement that he is, and for thirty years has been, employed as His Majesty's servant in the office of Surveyor of the Works, by virtue of which 'it Doeth appteyne and belonge to this Defend^{t} to appoint and giue Direccõns for the Erectinge makeinge and Repayreinge of All structures buildinge and worke in and about his Ma^{tſ} houses.' He admits that, more than ten years since, he, with the Comptroller and other officers of the Works, did 'Discend to an Agreement wth the Complaynant,' and that Dodson did the work; but he is very sure he did not promise to pay him, it being no part of his office to make payments in such cases. He admits there was a 'book of rates' kept, but does not remember whether the contract was entered, and does not know where the book now is. He further denies that he promised to make allowance for the forbearance of the money, but thinks he *may*, out of courtesy, have told Dodson he would have the work entered on the Ordinary Account[4], in order that it might be paid for 'in course.' If the bricklayer has not received his money, it is 'in respect of the Distraccõn of these Tymes.' Finally, he points out that the debt is more than six years old, and that since Dodson has not previously sued on it, he cannot do so at such a late date.

[1] C. 33/187, f. 81. For previous orders, see C. 33/181, f. 591^{v}.; 185, ff. 485, 485^{v}. and 546.
[2] C. 38/103; December 12, 1646.
[3] C. 5. 399/86.
[4] Instead, presumably, of the Extraordinary Account for new construction.

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Apparently Dodson thought better of his bear-baiting, for I can find no further records of the suit.

Sir Charles Sedley.

In discussing Sedley's support of William III, Professor Pinto surmises that a receipt in the late Mr Thorn Drury's possession betokens a loan to the new Government[1]. The receipt, which is undated, is for £4618. 0*s*. 8*d*. received from Francis Villiers and the Tellers of the Receipt of the Exchequer. Full information about this loan can be gathered from two entries in the Issue Books of the Exchequer[2]. On February 27, 1689/90, Sedley was paid £106. 2*s*. 11*d*. interest on £6065. 14*s*. 0*d*. which he had lent the King on November 25, 1689, under the Act for Granting His Majesty an Aid of Twelve Pence in the Pound for One Year. This payment covered the interest to February 25. On the following May 28, the debt was paid off with further interest amounting to £52. 6*s*. 8*d*. As so often happened, the entire sum was not paid by one teller, but Loveing paid £1500, and Villiers the remainder of the principal and the interest—in other words, £4618. 0*s*. 8*d*.

King William's interest in Sedley's son did not cease when he made the young man a knight[3]. Sedley's old friend Dorset, then Lord Chamberlain, signed a warrant on June 30, 1694, to swear 'S^{r} Chas. Sydley Iun^{r} Kn^{t}' a Cupbearer in Ordinary to His Majesty[4], a post which he presumably held until his early death.

Early in 1695, Sedley's daughter, the Countess of Dorchester, came into Chancery to make a deposition on behalf of a former servant, one Mary Kittridge[5]. Unfortunately, her rank apparently entitled her to disregard the practice of stating residence, age, etc. Her evidence is to the effect that she once had in her possession £200 belonging to Mary Kittridge, that she had given bond to secure its repayment with interest, and that she had paid the same to Mary herself. All this is said to have taken place 'some years since.' The document bears, of course, the autograph signature of the witness.

Thomas Shadwell.

It may be well to call attention to the fact that Og had a contemporary of the same name, who was clerk to the Auditor of the Receipt

[1] V. de S. Pinto, *Sir Charles Sedley*, p. 203.
[2] E. 403/1814, p. 251 and 1815, p. 113.
[3] Pinto, *loc. cit.*
[4] LC. 3/3 and 3/57, p. 1 at back of book.
[5] C. 24. 1176/73. Deposition made on January 21, 1694/5.

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of the Exchequer from July, 1660, until his death in February, 1682/3[1]. A payment of his salary made after his death reveals the further coincidence that he too left a widow Anne. It was presumably this Shadwell who lent the King £300 in 1678[2]. He is also to be found in certain Chancery documents of 1668 and 1669, where he describes himself as gentleman, of Westminster, and aged about forty years[3].

William Wycherley.

On May 12, 1693, Wycherley appeared in the Examiners' Office in Chancery on behalf of George Rodney Bridges and his notorious wife, Anna Maria, Countess of Shrewsbury[4]. Bridges was bringing suit against one Elizabeth Browne, widow, over a 'Glasse Workes and all the Stock att Vaux Hall,' which the Countess claimed as a gift from the Duke of Buckingham. Wycherley describes himself as lodging 'att M^{r} (*sic*) Hiltons house in Bowstreete Comon (*sic*) Garden,' and as 'aged about 50 yeares.' This obviously incorrect statement of his age is, I suppose, to be set down to his defective memory. Yet he is able to depose that he saw Buckingham sign, seal and deliver the deed of gift of the glass works, and that he himself signed as a witness. The interrogatories show that the deed was dated August 24, 1672. Wycherley's signature at the end of the deposition is of considerable interest: it is definitely vigorous and gallant, and is far from that of a man prematurely senile.

A few years later, John Walkeden, a friend of Wycherley's[5], was one of the defendants in a Chancery suit brought by Rowland Bartlett, Esq. One of the witnesses, Mathew Johnson, Esq., of the Middle Temple, deposed that he had seen Wycherley sign as witness certain documents dated June 27 and 28, 1673[6]; while another witness, Richard Gwyn, citizen and clothworker, testified to Wycherley's signatures as witness to documents dated April 28 and 29, 1673[7].

ELEANORE BOSWELL.

LONDON.

[1] E. 403/1758–1801, *passim*.
[2] E. 403/1792, p. 74.
[3] C. 24. 933/77 and 940/131.
[4] C. 24. 1159/5.
[5] He appeared as a witness for Wycherley in *Barnaby v. Wycherley* (C. 24. 1061/148). According to his deposition, made on November 9, 1681, he was a member of the Inner Temple, and then aged forty-three. For accounts of this suit, see two articles by W. G. Hargest and the present writer in *The Times Literary Supplement*, November 21 and 28, 1929.
[6] C. 24. 1194/6. Deposition made on April 29, 1697.
[7] *Ibid.* Deposition made on April 21, 1697.

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On some Verses of William of Poitiers.

My aim in the present note is to submit what I think is a new interpretation of a certain passage in the thirteenth strophe of the notorious piece (*Farai un vers, pos mi somelh*) of William of Poitou, the oldest troubadour, a piece which best justifies the epithet 'lubricus' applied to him by William of Malmesbury:

'Sor, diz n'Agnes a n'Ermessen,
Mutz es, qe ben es conoissen;
Sor, del *banh* nos apareillem
E del *sojorn*.'
Ueit jorns ez encar mais estei
En aquel forn.

The strophe is translated as follows by A. Jeanroy in his edition of the poems of William of Poitiers[1]: 'Soeur, dit Agnès à Ermessen, il est vraiment muet, c'est visible. Préparons donc le bain et songeons à nous donner du bon temps. Huit jours et davantage je restai en ce lieu[2].' I venture to think that Jeanroy's translation of *banh* by 'bain' is erroneous; and that it should be interpreted as a synonym of *sojorn*, with which it is coupled, with the meaning, which *sojorn* has commonly, of 'joy,' 'pleasure,' 'good time.' The meaning I attach to *banh* here is supported by the numerous examples (five in number) brought together by Bertoni (*I Trovatori d'Italia*, p. 511) of the verb *se banhar* equivalent to *se sojornar*, in the sense of 'se délecter' (cp. Levy, *Petit dictionnaire prov. français*, under *sojorn* and *se sojornar*), to which may be added:

Quan lo vis mont' al folh el suc,
Luxuria en luy *si banha*.
(B. de Venzac, Appel, *Prov. Inedita*, p. 53.)
Reys de vertut, reys qui cass' et auci
Deslialtat, et en drechuras *banha*.
(Raynouard, *Choix*, IV, p. 243.)

A reference to Bertoni's note shows that *se banhar* is coupled with its synonym *se sojornar* in three out of the five examples he quotes. In the same way *se sojornar* or *se demorar* is frequently united with another synonym (*se delechar*), as in Bernard de Ventadorn's *Be m'an perdut*:

Ve.us per que.m fai semblan irat e morn:
Car en s'amor me deleih e.m sojorn.

[1] *Les Chansons de Guillaume*, IX, Paris, 1913, in *Les Classiques français du Moyen Age*, p. 12.

[2] William calls the place *forn* or 'oven,' partly in order to satisfy the requirements of rhyme, but also in allusion to a previous strophe in which he says:

La una.m pres sotz son mantel,
Menet m'en sa cambra, al fornel.
Sapchatz qu'a mi fo bon e bel,
E .l focs fo bos,
Et eu calfei me volentiers
Als gros carbos.

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Se banhar and *se sojornar* being synonymous, in the sense of 'to take delight in,' I suggest that *banh* and *sojorn*, in the passage of William of Poitiers quoted above, stand in the same relationship and are therefore equivalent; and that in consequence the word 'bain' must be omitted from Jeanroy's rendering, which should be modified to 'Préparons-nous donc à nous donner du bon temps'; even if it be admitted that there is some evidence pointing to the fact that in the Middle Ages a bath sometimes followed a 'partie fine' such as the one described by William of Poitiers in the piece in question[1]. This view appears to me to be confirmed by some verses in Peire Vidal's *Neus ni gels ni ploja ni fanh* (Anglade[2], first ed., p. 139), in which the troubadour expresses his delight at finding himself at the court of Count Henry of Malta:

Ar ai conquist *sojorn e banh*
E Mauta, on sui albergatz
Ab lo comt'Enric, de que.m platz,
Que negus bos aibs no.l sofranh.

In this passage also, as in that of William of Poitiers, the noun *banh* is synonymous with *sojorn*; and there is no necessity to make the correction of *e banh* to *e.m banh* proposed by Jeanroy (*Romania*, XLIII, p. 442) and adopted by Anglade in his second edition of the poems of Peire Vidal (p. 139).

In conclusion it may be remarked that, as far back as 1857, Bartsch[3], objecting to Diez's supposition (*Leben und Werke*, p. 143) that the song of Peire Vidal must have been written in some watering-place (possibly Aix or Avignon), had pointed out that the noun *banh* was not to be taken in that sense, but was here used figuratively; and had quoted in support of his view the passage, in another of Peire Vidal's songs (*Ges pel temps fer e brau*, v, 69), in which *se sojornar* and *se banhar* are synonymous:

E dolon m'en las dens,
Quan parli d'aitals gens
—Per qu'eu m'o lais estar—
D'En Saüc, filh d'Albar,
On malvestatz *se sojorna e.s banha*,
E sos pretz es aitals com fils d'aranha.

L. E. KASTNER.

MANCHESTER.

[1] See Alwin Schultz, *Das höfische Leben zur Zeit der Minnesinger*, Leipzig, 1879, who quotes *Fierabras*, p. 68: 'Apres manger leur furent li caut baing conreé Et li baron i entrent, ne l'ont pas refusé.'
[2] J. Anglade, *Les Poésies de Peire Vidal*, Paris, 1913.
[3] *Peire Vidals Lieder*, Berlin, 1857, p. 112.

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J. C. von Zedlitz and Byron.

Of the many nineteenth-century writers to come under the influence of Byron not the least interesting is J. C. von Zedlitz (1790–1862), who published in 1836 a version of *Childe Harold* under the title *Ritter Haralds Pilgerfahrt*; his collected works also contain translations of smaller poems by Byron. As early as 1828 appeared the *Canzonen der Todtenkränze*, and these, together with a fragment, *Die Wanderungen des Ahasverus*, first published in 1839, are noteworthy for the Byronic influence they betray.

The *Todtenkränze* (1859) are really a series of mournful reflections over the graves of literary and historical celebrities including Napoleon, Romeo and Juliet, Tasso and Byron himself. With its wanderings and musings the whole poem is a kind of *Childe Harold* in itself, and we are irresistibly reminded of Byron's own musings over Rousseau, Voltaire and Gibbons in Canto Three. The poet is guided on his way by the Spirit of the Tomb and reflections are expressed in dialogue form. There is more than a suggestion of Byronic bitterness, for example, in the following lines uttered by the Spirit concerning poetic inspiration:

> ...Wer weiss es zu entscheiden
> . . . . . .
> Ob mehr ein Glück, ob mehr noch Qual zu nennen,
> Was oft gewehet in der Sänger Liedern?
> Begeistrung ist ein Born von herben Leiden,
> Obwohl von edlen nur, ich will's bekennen[1]!

Byron's own Harold had found that 'life's enchanted cup but sparkles near the brim.'

> His had been quaffed too quickly, and he found
> The dregs were wormwood; but he filled again,
> And from a purer fount, on holier ground,
> And deemed its spring perpetual; but in vain[2]!

Eventually the Spirit of the Tomb invites the poet to visit England, with its white cliffs, grey clouds and starless sky. We are now given some commentary on Byron himself[3]. He was forceful; his song was terrible as the thunderstorm and you can only escape from its magic when it pleases him scornfully to banish the spell. Byron is not like the swan in character, but like the eagle.

> Aus Newstead Abbey war Er ausgezogen.
> . . . . . .
> Wie Ahasverus ward er fortgetrieben
> Vom Dache seiner Lieben!
> Wie diesem, war ihm nie vergönnt zu rasten.

He was, like his own hero, one of the 'wanderers o'er Eternity'

> Whose bark drives on and on, and anchored ne'er shall be.

[1] P. 377. [2] Canto Three, stanza nine. [3] Pp. 401–413.

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Zedlitz traces his wanderings in some detail, onwards into Greece. Commenting further on the character of Byron he says:

Die seligen Gewalten,
Die durch die Schmerzen reinen und belohnen,
Sind fremd dem Manne, dessen Zauberworte
Den Vorhang heben von dem grauen Orte,
Wo die Verdammniss und das Laster wohnen!
Und nirgends blinkt ein Strahl von Friedenslichte,
Und Höll' ist nur, kein Himmel, im Gedichte[1].

Following on the reflections upon Byron himself come several verses which refer to a personage, who, according to a note by Zedlitz, lies buried in Westminster Abbey, between Fox and Sheridan. This is vague enough, but a study of the lines themselves, and an examination of a list of tombs in the Abbey, suggest that the poet is celebrating William Pitt the Younger.

Und darf der Kranz nur Lieb' und Lieder lohnen?
Bestrahlt der Ruhm nur bloss den Schmuck der Waffen?
Gnügt einzig denn, dass für die Pflicht man sterbe?
Für sie zu leben und für sie zu schaffen,
Ist es so wenig, dass an jene Kronen
Kein Anrecht sich ein grosses Herz erwerbe?
Bleibt von dem reichen Erbe
Entfernt der Edle, der fürs Recht geglühet?

To which enquiry the Spirit of the Tomb replies that such a man as this is not denied *Fame*, but *Happiness*.

Doch ob sie glücklich, sie, die gross gewesen:
Du sollst's erfahren, rufe sie beim Namen!
Ruf' *ihn* herauf, er soll Dir Rede stehen,
Den sie zuletzt hier zu bestatten kamen!
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
Ruf' ihn, den dritten jener grossen Todten,
Dess sichre Hand Britanniens Schiff gesteuert
Dass es, durch Brandung unbeständ'ger Wogen,
Im raschen Siegerzug, vom Ruf befeuert
Des immer wachen, mächtigen Piloten,
Mit stolzer Pracht den Ocean durchzogen!

'This great man, fearless and honourable,' says the Tomb Spirit, 'sank exhausted amidst toil.' His position in life was an isolated one because of its very greatness, which did not allow him to share common joys. Here was a figure who appealed strongly to Zedlitz, inspired as he was by that feeling of loneliness characteristic of Byron.

He who ascends to mountain-tops, shall find
The loftiest peaks most wrapt in clouds and snow;
He who surpasses or subdues mankind,
Must look down on the hate of those below.
Though high *above* the sun of glory glow,

[1] Zedlitz's note: 'Kain, Manfred u.A.'

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And far *beneath* the earth and ocean spread,
Round him are icy rocks, and loudly blow
Contending tempests on his naked head,
And thus reward the toils which to those summits led.
(Canto iii, Stanza 45.)

It is little wonder that Zedlitz, so deeply imbued with Byronic pessimism, should later turn to the Ahasverus legend, though the subject of the wandering shoemaker of Jerusalem had already been treated by others. According to the saga Ahasverus is compelled to wander till doomsday as a punishment for thrusting Christ from his door. Here is ample opportunity for developing the theme of eternal wandering so beloved of Byron and his zealous disciple, and Zedlitz does not fail to make use of the material offered. The following cheerless words are pronounced to the unfortunate Ahasverus by the Angel:

Dein Leben ist im Grabe nicht geendet!
Du sollst in Sehnen und in Bangniss weilen,
Bis Du gebüsst Dein frevelhaftes Tun!
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
...Einsam wirst Du schweifen,
Vergeblich hoffend wandeln Deinen Gang.
Dachlos und herberglos!—Die Welt entlang
Wirst Du, ein sehnsuchtsmüder Pilgrim, streifen,
Ein Zeuge lebenrollender Aeonen.

So great will be the horrors about to be experienced by the victim, that even wild animals will seem less harsh than humanity.

GERALD W. SPINK.

JARROW-ON-TYNE.

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REVIEWS

Byrhtferth's Manual. Edited by S. J. CRAWFORD. (Early English Text Society, 1929.) I. London: H. Milford. 1931. iv + 250 pp. 42*s*.

The world of scholars is to be congratulated on the publication of a text of this famous treatise, of a study of origins carried to its farthest point, and of a translation which will be of service to students generally. An introduction, vocabulary, and glossary of technical terms are to come shortly in a second volume. Want of competence alone prevents me from calling the text impeccable, but it survives triumphantly the test of comparison with the facsimiles printed with it—almost for the first time in my experience. I am only expressing the opinion of a large number of scholars in saying that this is one of the finest pieces of work in English studies for many years.

Byrhtferth was a pupil of Abbo, and through him of the school of Auxerre, of Remigius, Heiric (Helpericus), and Haymo, who derive their scientific knowledge from some Northumbrian encyclopædic treatise which got to Auxerre as Traube thinks in the middle of the ninth century. His work is addressed to monks—it is most probably the *De institutione monachorum* of Bale—and supplies the information called for by such regulations as the *Admonitio generalis* of Charlemagne (A.D. 789) ordering *Psalmos, notas, cantus, compotum, grammaticam per singula monasteria*... to be provided. As a pupil of Abbo, he would be an adherent of a strict observance of the Rule, and this will explain his condemnation of some ignorant clerks (p. 40) who do not wish to retain their phylacteries, i.e., their clerical dress, their habit, or to follow the Rule—*ordo*—which they undertook to observe. Phylacteries were the dress by which the Pharisees, i.e., the strict observers of the Mosaic law, were distinguished, and they are not blamed in the Gospels for wearing them, but for spiritual pride in vaunting them.

A colleague of Professor Crawford has raised the question of the other works ascribed to Byrhtferth, apparently because the notes on the *De rerum natura* of Bede are not written in the turgid metaphorical style of his fine writing. Why should we expect them to be? I must protest against the superseded fashion of treating manuscript ascriptions as *prima facie* proof of their own falsity. Where did Pamelius in 1563 get the name of Byrhtferth, and why should he have added it to other people's work? It is unfortunate that the manuscript he used should have disappeared; we are told it was very old and dilapidated, while the text of Bede is almost an exact reprint, rearranged, of earlier editions. We have four glosses attributed to Byrhtferth: (1) *De indigitatione*, I, 165 (*P.L.*, 90, 685); (2) *De ratione unciarum*, I, 182 (*P.L.*, 90, 699); (3) *De rerum natura*, II, 1 (*P.L.*, 90, 187); (4) *De temporum ratione*, II, 49 (*P.L.*, 90, 234). The texts of (1) and (2) were first printed by Tacuin in 1525, reprinted by Jan Bronkhorst of Niemingen, writing as Noviomagus in

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1537, and reprinted again by Pamelius in 1563 with the notes of Bridfertus Ramesiensis. Nos. (3) and (4) were first printed by Johannes Sichardus in 1527, rearranged and reprinted by Noviomagus with notes in 1537, and again rearranged and reprinted by Pamelius with notes of *incerti authoris*, Bridfertus Ramesiensis and Bronkhorst.

The sole MS. of the *Manual* is very imperfect. Professor Crawford will, no doubt, give us a complete description and collation of it, with some estimate of the number of sheets and leaves missing. The table opposite p. 182 is not only incomplete; what there is of it is incorrect. On the whole it must be said that Byrhtferth is a very poor computist, he does not always understand what he is writing about, e.g., the *saltus lunae*, and he does not touch upon any of the questions about which the writers of his time were interested, such as the date of the Nativity or of the Crucifixion. How much the St John's figure owes to him must remain an open question, perhaps Professor Crawford will elucidate this and read the runes in the central circle since he has reprinted it. I note that Anglo-Saxon does not distinguish between spring or high and neap or low tides; it is evidently not a language suitable for scientific works. Once more Professor Crawford is to be congratulated on having so far advanced in his memorable undertaking.

R. Steele.

London.

The Junius Manuscript. Edited by George Philip Krapp. New York: Columbia University Press; London: Geo. Routledge and Sons, Ltd. 1931. lviii + 247 pp. $ 4.00.

The publication of this book, 'a collective edition' of the Anglo-Saxon poetic records, inaugurates an undertaking of considerable interest for students of Old English language and literature. The series is to comprise six volumes, of which the remaining five are in preparation, though we are not yet favoured with a knowledge of the names of the scholars who are to be entrusted with the work of editing the texts. For many years past the desirability of publishing an annotated edition of the Anglo-Saxon verse texts has been discussed by English scholars, who felt that the Grein-Wülcker corpus was hardly suited to the requirements of the non-specialist student in this country. But as usual the financial difficulties have proved too formidable, even for the reputedly well-endowed presses of Oxford and Cambridge. Perhaps also the scholars interested in such a scheme have lacked the 'drive' which is always needed for an important venture of this kind. Anyhow, here we have it, well begun, and we welcome Professor Krapp's book, with a tinge of regret that we have had to wait so long for what has become a necessity in these days when dozens of teachers and hundreds of students are reading our oldest poetry.

Professor Krapp's task was by no means an easy one. In the Grein-Wülcker edition every reading or emendation proposed by every scholar

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up to the time of its publication was faithfully reproduced in the footnotes to the text, though many of them, even when judged by the scholarship of that day, were obviously out of date. To quote Professor Krapp's words in his preface, 'to burden a modern edition with all the extant guesses at reading of the text would be a great waste of both time and effort. It becomes necessary therefore to select, and the critical judgment of the editor must be exercised to keep alive these records as illustrious examples of poetic endeavour, not as occasions for stirring the bones of antiquated Anglo-Saxon scholarship.'

The text of the poems contained in this edition is based on the collotype reproductions of the sumptuous edition of the 'Cædmon' MS. prepared by the late Sir Israel Gollancz and published by the Oxford University Press in 1927. In a few instances where the collotypes are not clear the editor records readings of the original MS. on the authority of Holthausen, Glubb and Gollancz. We could have wished that the editor had himself been able to check these readings, as discrepancies with regard to MS. readings are not infrequent among even the most careful scholars. Capitals are indicated, and punctuation and sectional divisions of the MS. have been supplemented by further paragraphing, but the folio paging is not given. 'At the foot of each page of text such departures from the manuscript as have appeared on the page are recorded, whence anyone interested may readily turn to the introduction or to the notes for the further relevant details.'

The Introduction, covering 27 pages, deals almost exclusively with the manuscript, with some discussion of problems relating to it and to the authorship of the poems. In the section treating of the unity of the poems in the MS. the editor sums up the various views of recent scholars as to authorship, date, etc. Referring to the *Later Genesis* he says, 'It is quite possible, indeed, that the translation was one of the many effects of the cosmopolitan activity of Alfred's court in the second half of the ninth century.' Possible, but hardly probable. In discussing ll. 362–446 of *Exodus*, which offer such a contrast in matter and style to the rest of the poem as to be regarded by some scholars as an interpolation, Professor Krapp seems to us to be less cautious than usual when he says 'perhaps it is not too much to suppose that the poet of *Exodus*, with his sensitiveness to style, consciously reverted in this passage of falling action in his poem to that older manner of the Cædmonian poetry as appropriate to an episode properly belonging to the story of Genesis. Viewed in this light, the story of Noah's flood and of Abraham in *Exodus* is not an inept interpolation, but an evidence of the artistic skill of the poet' (p. xxviii). Gollancz, however, was of opinion that the passage in question was 'an integral part of the poet's elaboration of his theme.' The editor disagrees with Gollancz's rearrangement of lines towards the end of *Exodus*. To the present reviewer the passage ll. 516–548 with its phrase *læne dream wommum awyrged*, and its references to the day of judgment, look like an insipid addition to the poem by a later hand, reminding one of the 'edifying' conclusions to the *Wanderer* and the *Seafarer*. Professor Krapp's discussion of the problems of the 'Prayer

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of Azariah' and of the 'Song of the Three Children' in *Daniel* is on sounder lines, we think.

The Notes, which occupy 86 closely printed pages of small type, include selected emendations and interpretations by earlier editors, with a running commentary and discussion by Professor Krapp. It seems to us that he might have been even more rigorous than he has been in excluding discussion of fanciful emendations and interpretations. His own comments and verdicts, however, are on the whole distinguished by common sense and critical acumen.

We subjoin a few suggestions which we have jotted down in looking through this part of the book. *Genesis*, l. 17. The difficulty disappears if we read *drihtenes demdon* instead of *demdon drihtenes*. l. 283. 'The sense of *bugan* seems not appropriate.' Why not? *Bugan* commonly means 'yield,' and *geongordomes* is gen. of closer definition. l. 446. Read 'inflected' for 'uninflected.' l. 475. Omit the words 'in the text.' l. 481. *gewind*, meaning either 'alternation' or 'tissue,' 'fabric,' would give a better sense than the MS. reading *gewand*. l. 869. Krapp, taking *mine* as a noun, i.e., *myne*, and *sceafen* as a noun, translates 'a guilty conscience is to me, a sinner, grievous, oppressive in spirit.' This is decidedly worse than Holthausen's and Klaeber's interpretations, based on their emendations of the MS. text. We suggest, with no stop after *þecce* and with a colon after *mine*, 'I cover with leaves my shameful parts; I am bitterly, cruelly hurt in my spirit.' ll. 1953, 6. These lines are obviously corrupt. The word *hleowlora*, the emendation usually accepted for the MS. reading *hleor lora* and translated 'unprotected,' occurs nowhere else, and the same may be said of the MS. reading *edwihtan*, which Professor Krapp accepts, and translates 'in any way,' or 'at all'! We suggest reading *næfre hleor eorla æt edwitan æfre weorðeð, feorhberendra*, etc., and translating 'never shall the countenance of men, life-bearers, become afraid and quivering from rebuke (by God), (nor shall) a man before the Lord (become afraid), who,' etc. l. 2240. For *herian* we suggest *herwian*, 'scorn.' l. 2647. *and him miltse* is metrically impossible in the second half-line, unless, as Professor Krapp frequently does, we assume the poet to have been a poor versifier, addicted to perpetrating 'mechanical' lines. The words *to þe* belong to this line, which they complete metrically, and we have to supply a word before or after *seceð*, e.g., *selfa*. l. 2695. Perhaps the poet here wrote *lærege gebearh*, 'I protected myself from the blow with the cover (?) of my shield.' For *lærege*cf. *Battle of Maldon*, l. 284, *bærst bordes lærig*. l. 2707. *winnan* can hardly be 'equivalent to *wunian*.'

Exodus. l. 33. The MS. reading *ingere* is retained by Krapp, who translates it 'altogether,' 'completely' which is as surprising as his equation of *gearwe* to *geatwe* in l. 59. It is perhaps better, in l. 109, putting a semi-colon after *sunnan* and reading *seglrad* for *setlrad*, to translate 'the sail-road (i.e., the sea) beheld,' etc. l. 183. The half-line *hæfde him alesen*, though very rare, is an imperfect B-type which occurs occasionally in the first half-line, cf. *Beowulf*, l. 779, *þæt hit a mid gemete*.

We congratulate Professor Krapp and the Columbia University Press

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on the high standard reached in this book, both of scholarship and of typographical excellence.

W. J. SEDGEFIELD.

MANCHESTER.

Elizabethan and other Essays. By Sir SIDNEY LEE. Selected and edited by FREDERICK S. BOAS. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1929. xxii + 344 pp. 18*s*.

The purpose of this book is to raise one more monument to the fame of a great scholar. It is a worthy sign of the pious zeal and affection of Sir Sidney Lee's literary executors, of the editor, Dr F. S. Boas, and of the Press of the University of which Lee was a distinguished son and which was for so long associated with him in his greatest venture, the *Dictionary of National Biography*. It is fitting that this journal should add what it can to this expression of homage, for Lee was one of the founders, and the first President, of the Modern Language Research Association, now the Modern Humanities Research Association, on whose behalf the *Modern Language Review* is published. Indeed, there is hardly any fruitful recent development in the organisation of English scholarship in this country in which Lee was not an active and prominent participator. He was at various times President of the English Association, of the Shakespeare Association, and of the Elizabethan Literary Society.

It is a peculiarly happy choice that fell upon Dr Boas, who succeeded him in the chair of this last society and was his colleague in all these activities, when an editor was sought for this volume. Dr Boas' editorial work is here, as always, skilled, competent, and faithful. His introduction, indeed, almost makes any further review of the contents of this volume a work of supererogation.

It is, perhaps, characteristic of Lee that Dr Boas found little or nothing in the way of unpublished literary remains after Lee's death. Always a methodical worker, Lee concentrated upon the task upon which he was engaged, the last being his biography of King Edward the Seventh, and all his finished work had long been in print. He was above all a practical man, and his intellectual temper reflected this practicality. A disciple of Leslie Stephen, he quotes with the highest approval Stephen's 'ideal of dry common sense...his guiding star through life' (p. 33). It is perhaps the inevitable corollary to this ideal, to Lee's as to Stephen's impatience of 'rhetoric, of sentimentality, of floridity in life and literature,' that Lee's style has little in it of grace or vividness or colour. But we owe a great deal to any man who has the true and disinterested passion for facts and proof which characterised Lee, and which directed his energies mainly into the channels of historical research and of biography. It may seem to some that his interpretation of the duty and task of the biographer goes too far in denying the function of the creative imagination. There are phrases in his discussion of this

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question which are uneasy reading. The work of the biographer is 'a mosaic' (p. 63); 'Biography may be compared to chemistry' (p. 74). Yet Sir Sidney insisted that the portrayal of character is an essential part of the biographical monument. The biographer, if he is to do his whole duty, cannot sit too much on the fence, but must risk his interpretation of facts, and of literary work, in terms of character. And this part of his work is in no way parallel to chemical research or to any process of science.

On the other hand, we cannot but agree with Sir Sidney's contempt for the 'character' of impressionistic, fanciful inventiveness, so often reckless of facts. And, if we find that Shakespeare the Man is on the whole absent from his great *Life*, we may applaud the sane scepticism that refused the popular conception of the moods that drove Shakespeare from comedy to tragedy and back to romance, a scepticism that brought Lee into a notable controversy with Dowden and that is still needed to-day. But this very scepticism, and the somewhat narrow logic of literary influences, led him at the same time to deny significance to the Sonnets beyond technical skill and mastery of form. The scientific view has its own grave fallacies, as we may well see in the form which is being taken by certain more recent methods of approach to literature and men of letters.

Lee has left an indelible mark upon the penultimate chapter of Shakespearian scholarship, having stood out manfully for a true historical basis of criticism. At the end of his long life of service he found himself a little out of touch with new methods of study, and was indeed somewhat recalcitrant to their conclusions. It was a grave error that dismissed the possibility of seeing individuality in an Elizabethan handwriting, for instance. Yet it was Lee who carried out successfully a Census of Shakespeare Quartos and Folios, a valuable instrument for bibliographical students of Shakespeare. And the salutary shadow of his scepticism haunts many minds which might perhaps run too rashly to conclusions.

I have not yet indicated the remarkable variety and interest of the thirteen studies contained in this volume. There is matter for many tastes, and one may turn with equal delight from a discussion of a Second Folio heavily censored at Valladolid by the Holy Office, to a series of articles reprinted from *Scribner's Magazine* including an essay upon the teaching of the Huguenots and an account of the American Indian in Elizabethan England. The interest and usefulness of the volume by no means depend solely upon the memorial piety that primarily gave birth to it. We are grateful to Dr Boas for gathering together so much valuable material in an accessible form, and for affording us the opportunity of adding our salutation to the memory of one of the last of the great Victorians whose pioneer work has laid such firm foundations for the growing structure of Shakespearian scholarship.

CHARLES J. SISSON.

LONDON.

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Literary Criticism in the Age of Johnson. By A. BOSKER. Groningen: J. B. Wolters. 1930. 294 pp. 5.90 fl.

It is perhaps a just, but scarcely a prepossessing view of eighteenth-century criticism that Dr Bosker presents to us. He shows us the critics of the age involved in mazes of theories about literature, but only at odd moments achieving any genuine interpretation of an individual author. Criticism is busy following fixed rules, or questioning established methods; discussing what new rules should be formulated or whether literature should be governed by any rules at all. It is engaged in developing large and generalised notions and has no time to catch the finer spirit of poetry. It illuminates only in brief and sudden flashes.

Dr Bosker is himself especially interested in the literary theories of the age. His book suffers somewhat from its combination of much detailed research with the attempt to prove a thesis. What it primarily deals with is the struggle between two differing methods of criticism; between the criticism of the neo-classic school, which judges poetry by the light of reason, and the growing tendency to lay the final emphasis on the appeal of poetry to the imagination. The author gives a very full account of this complicated struggle and discusses the work of a great number of critics. He contends that rationalism is still the dominant influence on the critic's mind, but illustrates how men like the Wartons and Bishop Hurd were demonstrating the importance of imagination in poetry and laying aside the conventional notion that literature must be merely imitation of nature. One feels that the element of revolt is rather overstressed; criticism still confines itself to large, general statements and to attempts to fix absolute values, and, in spite of what Dr Bosker chooses to call 'the school of taste,' we see in this book how completely the literary criticism of the eighteenth century was bound up with the discovery of rules and the establishment of fixed principles. The great defect of the age was that it never did succeed in breaking away from its very definite notions to judge literature with an outlook unbiassed by pre-ordained standards. The beginnings of revolt which Dr Bosker sees in his period are directed against the rationalistic outlook of criticism, but only in a very small degree against the judicial methods which criticism employs.

It is to be regretted that this book gives but small space to the discussion of the importance of textual criticism and literary research in the age of Johnson. The author turns aside to give high praise to Theobald and is led to state that the method of careful investigation inaugurated by Bentley attained so great a vogue 'that the term criticism was for a time nearly exclusively used in the limited meaning of verbal criticism.' Yet he contents himself with three pages and an appendix on this part of his subject; while Tyrwhitt and Malone receive little more than passing mention.

The great merits of Dr Bosker's book are its lucid analysis of the critical writings with which it deals and its comprehensive presentment of the spirit of the age as seen in the theories which dominate them.

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It has a solid basis of careful reading and, well indexed and provided with a full bibliography, makes a valuable contribution to the history of eighteenth-century criticism.

HAROLD JENKINS.

LONDON.

Jean Arthur Rimbaud. Par FRANÇOIS RUCHON. Paris: H. Champion. 1929. pp. 361. 40 fr.

This is a capable book by the author of an equally sound study of Jules Laforgue. It proceeds by the method of analysis as far as seems possible towards a clear, rational explanation of Rimbaud's work. The initial account of the 'two lives' of this nomade of genius is adequate and judicious. But the life is not the main object. All promising lines of inquiry seem to have been exhausted by the investigations of Berrichon, Delahaye, Coulon and J. M. Carré. What requires to be done is outlined thus:

> Il importe donc d'envisager les procédés d'art du poète, de montrer l'existence chez ce contempteur de la littérature d'une 'rhétorique' particulière, l'emploi de certains schèmes de pensée et de phrases, par lesquels il obtient des effets qu'il a été le premier à imaginer (p. 168).

The method adopted does not, perhaps, help much with the 'mystère de Rimbaud.' But M. Ruchon's real contribution is to resume and evaluate the work that has already appeared on the subject, to attempt a reasonable verdict on points under debate and to furnish the most complete bibliography we have of Rimbaud's writings. The three short phases of production are handled effectively, the characteristics of heterogeneity, discontinuity and hermetic obscurity in the matter being well brought out, along with the essentially mobile and dynamic qualities of the art. A courageous effort is made to render intelligible *Les Illuminations*. The difficulty is that one is tempted to take *literally* phrases which are apparently clear and straightforward in themselves, and to adapt these to one's own conceptions. In their context, however, such phrases may be as obscure as any in meaning, and far removed from the kind of unguarded confession or direct *cri de cœur*, upon which an illuminating theory might be based. Need one forget that these pieces are, after all, 'coloured plates,' and that one of them ends with—'J'ai seul la clef de cette parade sauvage'?

On certain points, M. Ruchon has opinions worth considering. Though probably the first of *verslibristes*, Rimbaud was not a Symbolist, save in one poem only. For the first generation of the school of Mallarmé, he was, in the master's words, 'un passant considérable.' A later generation annexed him, after some of his work had appeared in *Lutèce* and *La Vogue*. The technical influence of Rimbaud on Verlaine has been exaggerated. Verlaine was in possession of his manner before he met Rimbaud, who is responsible, at most, for the freedom of Verlaine's rhymes. As to the sore question of Rimbaud's religion, or his lack of it, this author

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sides with the rationalist conclusions of critics like MM. Carré and Coulon, as against the beatification of the poet by members of his family, seconded by M. Claudel's characterisation of him as 'un mystique à l'état sauvage.' Altogether, while this study is not presented as an original contribution to the interpretation of Rimbaud, it is probably as useful, complete and considered an account of the poet and his work as may be found. The bibliography occupies nearly a third of the volume and is a mine of information.

P. M. JONES.

CARDIFF.

ANTONIO PUCCI. *Le Noie.* Edited with an Introduction by KENNETH MCKENZIE. (*Elliot Monographs in the Romance Languages and Literatures*, XXVI.) Princeton, N.J.: University Press; Paris: Les Presses Universitaires. 1931. clxii + 102 pp. $2.50.

Antonio Pucci, 'piacevole fiorentino' (as his friend Sacchetti calls him), is becoming recognised as one of the most interesting 'popular' poets of the Trecento, less for the artistic qualities of his very copious production than for the way it reflects almost every aspect of public and private life in Florence over a singularly long period, running from the flood of 1333, which swept away the statue of Mars and the old bridge now replaced by the Ponte Vecchio, to the acquisition of Arezzo by the Florentine Commune in 1384. Linguistically, his verse is an invaluable monument of the vernacular of the Florentine people in the period when Petrarca and Boccaccio were establishing what became the norm of the literary language. The number of extant manuscripts of the *Noie*, of which twenty-one are known, seems to imply that it was the most popular of Pucci's poems, though less attractive to the modern reader than, for instance, that delightful picture of fourteenth-century Florentine life, *Le proprietà di Mercato Vecchio*, and certainly artistically inferior to some of his other compositions, notably those romantic narrative cantari, such as the *Reina d'Oriente*, *Madonna Lionessa*, and the priceless *Gismirante*, the value of which to the student of comparative literature has only in late years been realised.

The *Noie*, of which we are here for the first time presented with a critical text, is a poem of 316 lines in terza rima, 105 terzine in which the writer enumerates in epigrammatic style, and not without humour, the various things in the habits and conduct of his fellow-citizens that excite his disgust or displeasure, each terzina being introduced with the catch-phrase 'A noia m' è.' Professor McKenzie traces in considerable detail the history of this curious literary type, with its several variations and derivatives, from the *enueg* of the Provençal poet known as the Monk of Montaudon and the north Italian dialectical *Noie*, or *De Taediis*, of Girardo Pateg of Cremona. He discusses at some length the etymology of the word *noia*, which in early Italian texts appears in such masculine forms as *inodio*, *enoio*, and the like. Accepting the more generally recognised derivation from *in odium* or *in odio*, he regards the feminine form as

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derived from the Provençal masculine on Italian linguistic territory: 'In short, it may be asserted with confidence that *noia* is the Provençal *enoi* changed to the feminine form by analogy of *gioia* and other words, and for the sake of the rhyme with them' (p. cxxiii). The word was destined to receive a new and higher spiritual significance with Leopardi. Tommaseo (whom Professor McKenzie quotes) took *fastidio* and *tedio* as both stronger than *noia*. I do not think that this is so with the poet of Recanati. He frequently (as, very notably, in the *Canto notturno*) treats the three words as synonymous, but seems to employ *noia* alone to represent the highest form of the 'passion,' which is man's insatiable craving for the infinite, and, in this sense, 'il più sublime dei sentimenti umani.'

Professor McKenzie is to be congratulated on the achievement of a most substantial piece of work. He has done considerably more than give us a critical edition of the *Noie*, which in itself might hardly seem to demand so large a volume. His introduction is an important contribution to the whole subject of Antonio Pucci and his poetry, and the full bibliography will be very valuable to all students of fourteenth-century Italian literature. There are two appendices, dealing with Pucci's sonnet on the portrait of Dante by Giotto and the (probably late fifteenth century) poem *Il Manganello*, respectively. The sonnet is the most conclusive evidence for the authenticity of the portrait in question, and here Professor McKenzie unconsciously does me rather less than justice (p. 65 n.) by quoting an ill-advised sentence of mine, written more than thirty years ago, which has long since been withdrawn in later editions of the book in which it occurs.

EDMUND G. GARDNER.

LONDON.

Naturalism in Spanish Poetry from the Origins to 1900. By RONALD M. MACANDREW. Aberdeen: Milne and Hutchinson. 1931. xiv + 256 pp. 10*s*. 6*d*.

This doctoral thesis, presented at the University of Aberdeen, attempts to deal with a large subject in what anyone who has studied in detail even a part of it will consider very inadequate space. 'By "Naturalism in Spanish Poetry,"' writes Dr MacAndrew, 'we mean the changing attitudes which the Spanish poet has assumed to...that ever-present Universe which is also the raw material of the Physical Sciences, the impressions that its ever-changing appearances have made upon him, the thoughts he has expressed about its origin, purpose and end, and the symbolic key which it has placed in his hands to unlock the riddle of life, both individual and national.' Dr MacAndrew is an industrious worker and a thoughtful reader. He might well have confined his investigations to what he would probably term the period of the re-awakening of Naturalism—that which centres in the School of Salamanca,—or, even better, to that curiously unanimous outburst of lyric poetry which in 1840 startled a Spain that was still rather somnolent in every *genre* except drama. To

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such a restricted period he could undoubtedly have done something like justice. As it is, he has to dismiss the Duque de Rivas' important contribution to his subject in five pages, Espronceda's in eight, Arolas' in two, and so on. The farther he proceeds in his chronological survey, the more apt he becomes to record observations instead of discussing them, to note a few salient characteristics of an author and pass on to another. His book will therefore be more useful as a starting point for others whom he may inspire to follow him than as an adequate treatment of an intricate but fascinating subject. It is to be hoped, however, that Dr MacAndrew may yet himself go more deeply into the work of some of his more modern poets, his chief interests apparently lying in the modern field.

We have noted a number of misprints in the book, some of which, unfortunately, are of fairly frequent occurrence. Thus 'Zorilla' is written throughout for 'Zorrilla,' and the form 'Andalucia' for the Spanish 'Andalucía' or the anglicised 'Andalusia.' Other *errata* are: *fonda* for *fondo* (p. 140, l. 29: this also recurs); 'Zahera' for 'Zahira' (p. 142, l. 10); 'Avellanada' for 'Avellaneda' (p. 165, l. 1); 'Pastor Nicomedes Díaz' for 'Nicomedes Pastor Díaz' (p. 172, l. 30); *ne jamais fera* for *ne fera jamais* (p. 194, l. 33); 'Gil y Garrasco' for 'Gil y Carrasco' (p. 237, l. 34). There is an excellent index, but it would be a great convenience if the notes (which are collected at the end of the book) were considerably fuller. We have found a number of the references quite difficult, or even impossible, to identify.

E. Allison Peers.

Liverpool.

An Etymological Vocabulary to the Libro de Buen Amor of Juan Ruiz, Arcipreste de Hita. By Henry B. Richardson. (*Yale Romanic Studies*, II.) New Haven: Yale University Press; London: H. Milford. 1930. ix + 251 pp.

Glosario sobre Juan Ruiz. Por José María Aguado. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe. 1929. 637 pp. 20 pesetas.

The record of the *Libro de Buen Amor* is melancholy even within the history of Spanish studies. M. Jean Ducamin's palæographic text based on the three manuscripts (*S*, *G* and *T*) raised high hopes, only to be shattered when that erudite hispanist ceased to interest himself in the matter. The task of preparing a critical text then passed into the hands of the late D. Julio Cejador, who amassed interesting syntactical notes and compiled a word-list, though his work was, in this as in other instances, arbitrary and inexact. Sr Aguado proceeds from Cejador. His *Glosario* has an elaborate plan covering treatises on the poet's grammar and prosody, a discourse on his sources, and a vocabulary extending over 420 pages. The question of sources has been discussed in the review contributed by Sr Castro Guisasola to the *Revista de Filología Española* (XVI, 1929, pp. 69–74). The vocabulary is here mentioned for the sake of bibliographical sufficiency and because it is sometimes required to complete the information contained in Professor Richardson's work. The latter gives

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the etymon for each word, an English equivalent for its meaning or meanings, and the numbers of the verses where it occurs. We must go to Sr Aguado or Cejador's notes for questions of syntax or citations from other authors, and it is possibly in syntax and semantics that Juan Ruiz is most suggestive. As an etymologist, however, Sr Aguado is hardly of this century. He does not appear to have used any of the etymological dictionaries, his knowledge of Greek does not extend to the difference between *omicron* and *omega*, and when a word is of Arabic origin he can do no more than say so, and look upon it as a mystery! Professor Richardson's etymologies have all the qualities lacking to his Spanish compeer. They are, however, too abruptly enunciated, and this leaves it difficult to judge of doubtful cases. Thus *Guadalajara* he derives from *wâd al-fajâra* (untranslated), which is either a new etymon or a slip of the pen for *wâdî al-ḥajâra* (valley of stones); in either case, it would have been worth stating that this is the name of the river, the town having been known as *Medînat al-faraj* (Frontiersville). The derivation of *çodra* from *ṣudra* (a bodice) is so certain that it was hardly desirable to offer an alternative; and his explanation of *lesnedri* as *lâsh nadrî* (I do not know at all) is definitive.

At this date students are bound to scrutinise closely the treatment of musical terms, in view of the controversy concerning the origins of European music and metrics which arises out of the works of Professor Ribera. As the source of *galipe* (or *galope*) neither Ascoli's *qasîb* nor Grandgent's *gharîb* is convincing. The word *gharîb* is an alternative for *mutadârik* (a metre of four cretics to the hemistich), which was also known as *al-khabab* (the trot or gallop, Fr. *galop, galope, galopet*); but the context requires not a metre, but an instrument, and Juan Ruiz expressly opposes the *rrabe morisco* to the *galipe françisco*—an antithesis which surely loses point when both instruments are referred to an Arabic origin. It is better to associate the word with the French *galoubet*, Prov. *galaubier*, and give it, with Littré and Körting, as of unknown derivation. In *caguylhallaço* (*açaghulaco*: *atanvellaco*) Professor Richardson follows Cejador in recognising the *ṭawîl* metre 'and an adj. ending *-aco* for the rime'—rhyme, perhaps, but hardly reason. The *ṭawîl* metre, with its fourteen syllables and necessary pause, offers a strong temptation to those who would derive all occidental culture (in this case the Spanish alexandrine, or French feminine alexandrine) from the East; but the identification virtually ignores the reading of *S*, and depends on a reconstructed form **ataguilaco* which is not found in any of the manuscripts. The word might mean some Spanish poetical type not otherwise recorded, in which case the second half might derive from the root ʿLQ (as in the *Muʿallaqât*) and the first suggests the root QWL (to say, speech); or, perhaps, we should adopt Dr Farmer's suggestion (*Historical Facts for the Arabic Musical Influence*, p. 14) that it is the name of a tune, probably cited by its first words. In that case the range of conjectural interpretation is infinite. On *orabyn* in the phrase *cabel el orabyn* (*alborayn* : *el garavi*) it would have been relevant to cite Sr Menéndez Pidal's suggestion (*Poesía Juglaresca*, p. 66, n. 2), based on Sr Ribera (cf. *Music in Ancient Arabia and Spain*, trs. E. Hague,

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p. 158, n. 46), that we have here an allusion to the same song as is cited by Salinas in the form *calvi vi calvi calvi orabi*, and which, according to Ribera, is the tune composed for the words *Mâ dhâ bi-qalbî* by the singer 'Uraib (*Kitâb al-aghânî*, XVIII, p. 87), who founded the '*uraibî* school of musicians. The evidence of the manuscripts is against the reading *el garavi*, and it is doubtful that 'the Arab' would be understood as meaning 'the Arab musician.' The Spanish scholars' interpretation goes on the principle of *difficilior lectio potior*, and gives a more precise sense. Cejador's emendation *calbi garavi* (*qalbî 'arabî*—'my heart is Arabic') is not acceptable.

WILLIAM J. ENTWISTLE.

GLASGOW.

Studies of the Spanish Mystics. By E. ALLISON PEERS. Volume II. London: Sheldon Press. 1930. xii + 477 pp. 18*s*.

There are thirteen mystics in this second volume: García de Cisneros, Bernardino de Laredo, St Thomas of Villanueva, St Peter of Alcántara, Juan de Ávila, Jerónimo Gracián, Alonso de Orozco, Diego de Estella, Cristóbal de Fonseca, Pedro Malón de Chaide, Tomás de Jesús, Luis de la Puente, Juan Falconi. Though some of them are figures of considerable originality and interest, they have, as it were, a much more professional and workaday aspect than the great ones of his first tome; they do not stray into the poetry of word or action, but form up into classes and categories, to the joy of the literary historian. García de Cisneros' *Exercises for the Spiritual Life* (1500) carry back the date of the Mystical Era for about half a century from that conventionally accepted. There is a robust practicality in his teachings which continues to be felt, with a special medical bias, in Laredo's *Ascent of Mount Sion* (*circa* 1529). Laredo has a more complicated system than the relatively primitive scheme of Cisneros, which, however, performed the important service of influencing the mind of St Ignatius. St Thomas of Villanueva secures his greatest public in Murillo's masterly canvas of his boyish charity; in his *Conciones* he endeavoured to utilise the new Mysticism in the pulpit. The next three figures belong to the circle of St Theresa and St John of the Cross, and give the impression of a movement at its zenith, though the great luminaries happen to be absent from this volume. Three Augustinians and one Franciscan are used to give amplitude to the epoch. Then follow three post-Teresans, the third of whom, Juan Falconi, has a tendency toward Quietism, though himself orthodox in intention, and thus suggests a declension. This second volume therefore offers a sort of history of Spanish Mysticism, with gaps to fit the greatest names already disposed of; and this feeling in the reader is increased by the greater attention to sources and mutual relationships displayed by the author, and the recurrence of such expressions as 'the systematisation of the Mystic Way,' 'mystical progress,' etc. The almost unbending orthodoxy of these figures is some compensation for the ready publicity hitherto enjoyed by the

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heterodox. The bibliography continues to be a most admirable feature of Professor Peers' *magnum opus*, and there is a carefully compiled index.

WILLIAM J. ENTWISTLE.

GLASGOW.

Aufriss der deutschen Literaturgeschichte nach neueren Gesichtspunkten. Herausgegeben von H. A. KORFF und W. LINDEN. 2te Aufl. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner. 1930. 217 pp. 5.20 M.

This book contains ten essays which have already been published in the *Zeitschrift für Deutschkunde* (1927–30). The plan of the editors has been to bring out a history of German literature by inviting specialists to discuss their literary periods in such a way, 'dass nur noch dasjenige hervorträte, was als das wahrhaft Wesentliche und damit als das Bildungswichtigste erschiene.' The book thus attempts to give the background, and concerns itself hardly at all with names, dates and facts. Such a method has its advantages; it is also open to grave doubts. Historic and economic conditions on the one hand and intellectual and spiritual tendencies on the other should only interest the literary historian in so far as they are able to throw an illuminating light on a poet or on his work. History of literature means what it says; it is not primarily a history of backgrounds and movements. Apart from this old-fashioned reservation the book is wholly readable, and conveniently summarises the theories that have leapt into prominence during the last ten years or so.

Hans Naumann has contributed an excellent chapter on Germanic and early German poetry, Friedrich Neumann continues the story down to 1300. Günther Müller deals with the 'Zeitalter der Mystik' to which, in common with other recent investigators, he is perhaps inclined to attribute too much literary importance. Paul Merker is responsible for the section on humanism and the Reformation. The 'Zeitalter des Barock' is reviewed by Karl Viëtor with the eulogistic note that has become the fashion among modern German scholars when dealing with the seventeenth century. Even if we grant that the older school of literary historians, steeped in the classicism of Weimar, sometimes looked back with ill-concealed contempt at the literature of the 'Barock,' even if we are ready to admit the justness of many of the claims brought forward of late in favour of the formerly despised century, the pendulum has surely swung a little too far, and modern writers are apt to eulogise more than older writers condemned. Emil Ermatinger writes of the 'Aufklärung' in a pleasing chapter that makes more concessions to the usual methods of literary history; H. A. Korff treats of the 'Sturm und Drang' and the classical age with the mastery we expect from the author of the *Geist der Goethezeit*; Fritz Strich gives an outline of the ideas and ideals underlying the Romantic period which is largely a summary of the opinions expressed in his suggestive treatise *Klassik und Romantik*. Walther Linden describes the period from 1830 to 1885, and Hermann Pongs continues the story down to the present day. His task would seem to have been far the most difficult, for it must have required considerable courage to determine what

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is 'das wahrhaft Wesentliche' in the literature of the last few years, the more so since it was apparently his duty between publication of the original article in the *Zeitschrift für Deutschkunde* and the present volume to carry his review 'bis in das laufende Jahr.'

The book is designed to be a 'modern guide through German literary history' and addresses itself to students and the educated public. If the student is acquainted with older presentations it will serve as a useful corrective; if he is not, he will be led into accepting theories at their face value which are always attractive though frequently unsound.

F. NORMAN.

LONDON.

The Classical Age of German Literature, 1748–1805. By L. A. WILLOUGHBY. London: Oxford University Press. 1926. 136 pp. 4*s.* 6*d.*

The Romantic Movement in Germany. By L. A. WILLOUGHBY. London: Oxford University Press. 1930. vii + 192 pp. 6*s.*

Studies in the Age of Goethe. By MARSHALL MONTGOMERY. London: Oxford University Press. 1931. 121 pp. 6*s.*

With his little volume on the German Romantic movement Professor Willoughby has completed his survey, begun five years ago, of the great epoch of German literary history. These two volumes form an excellent and well-balanced survey; not unduly coloured by personal likes or dislikes, they have the objectivity essential in good literary history. In view of the particular type of reader for whom the author writes more concession might, however, have been made to his probable ignorance of the literature itself, by vouchsafing him more information concerning the nature and contents of the works criticised; and names of writers are frequently mentioned as if familiar, while in many cases the reader may meet them here for the first time. The second volume appears to me to be the better of the two; less of a text-book, it has more to say that is fresh; for Professor Willoughby has entered with sympathetic understanding and zest into the revaluation of Romanticism which has been one of the prominent features of literary criticism in Germany in the twentieth century. There are many excellent literary portraits in the volume, the best perhaps that of Heinrich von Kleist. My main complaint about the volumes concerns their form and compass. Compact and well-proportioned as the classical volume is, it does not go far enough; it stops rather arbitrarily with the death of Schiller in 1805, leaving the impression that by that year Weimar classicism had been snuffed out by the new movement. The German classical movement deserved to be better rounded off. On the other hand, the Romantic volume does not end soon enough. For the sake of the Romantic strain in Heine it even includes a chapter on that least Romantic of all phases of German literature, Young Germany. Thus it, too, suffers from a certain inconclusiveness. Perhaps now that Bieber in his comprehensive work on the literature of the mid-century has helped to reduce to order the confused welter of that epoch, Professor

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Willoughby will be induced to complete his work with a third volume dealing with the later nineteenth century.

The premature death of Marshall Montgomery lends a melancholy interest to the third volume mentioned above. There are only too few men and women engaged in German studies at our universities and we can ill afford to lose so stimulating a critic and thinker as Montgomery was. His main work was concerned with Hölderlin on whom he published in 1923 a volume on *Friedrich Hölderlin and the German Neo-Hellenic Movement.* This was the first part of what was planned as a comprehensive study on Hölderlin and it carried the story of Hölderlin's life only as far as 1794. In place of the hoped for continuation we have only the two studies in the present volume on 'Herder's Influence on the Metrical Verse of *Hyperion*,' of which the greater part originally appeared in this *Review* and 'Hölderlin's Ideals as reflected in *Hyperion* and *Der Tod des Empedokles*'; but Hölderlin has also a share in the suggestive essay—perhaps the best in the volume—on 'Fate and Guilt in the German Drama, 1799–1833.' In all these studies Montgomery is still grappling with the many thorny problems of Hölderlin's mind and art; and he is often tempted to follow them further afield than is strictly relevant to the Hölderlin problem. I had always hoped that, when his ideas had reached clarity, Montgomery would have given us *the* English work on the great sombre lyric genius of the Classic-Romantic transition. The only study in the present volume which appears in print for the first time is the first, on 'Goethe's *Faust* as a Whole.' This is a finely argued protest against the disintegrating tendencies of modern criticism of Goethe's master work; it is full of suggestive thought; but in its general argument I cannot help feeling that Montgomery's plea is something of a beating of the air. Has he not confused the idea of '*Faust* as a whole' with the endeavour of modern criticism to get at the heart and secret of the poem's unity by studying it not as a creation 'aus einem Gusse,' but as a growing and organic entity embodying the whole evolution of Goethe's life and thought? That too is '*Faust* as a whole.'

J. G. Robertson.

London.

Deutsch-Österreichische Literaturgeschichte. Ein Handbuch zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung in Österreich-Ungarn. Unter Mitwirkung hervorragender Fachgenossen nach dem Tode von J. W. Nagl und J. Zeidler herausgegeben von Eduard Castle. III. Band: 1848–1918. 4.–6. Abt. Vienna: Carl Fromme. 1927–29. Each 14 Sch.

The fourth 'Abteilung' of this third and final volume continues the history of German literature in the 'Kronländer' from 1848 to 1866, that is, in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, Galicia, Bukowina, Hungary, the Banat, Transylvania, and Croatia and Slavonia. The general impression conveyed by these chapters is one of marked decentralisation and decline. The literary independence of the provinces and the diminishing contact with the capital place German at a disadvantage in competition with

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the vigorous political cultivation of the non-German tongues. German literature is everywhere on the defensive, and the lack of cohesion between the political units of the Empire weakens its position as a 'national' literature. Its representatives tend to form independent local groups, each fighting a separate and losing battle against a local non-German competitor. This is especially true of the German theatre in the provinces.

In the later pages (593–621) of this number the General Editor opens a new chapter, 'Herrschaft und Niedergang des deutschliberalen Grossbürgertums, 1866–90,' with an introductory essay entitled 'Im Völker-, Kultur- und Klassenkampf.' The association of the fortunes of German literature in Austria with political and social movements is again most opportunely emphasised. The remaining articles in this chapter, which is continued throughout Abteilungen 5 and 6, are as follows: (2) 'Die Makartzeit' (the General Editor). A period of extravagance in art and architecture in Vienna. Central figures: Hans Makart (1840–84), painter and collector, and Richard Wagner. Literature did not share the lavish patronage extended by the aristocracy to art and music. (3) 'Die letzten Zeiten des alten Burgtheaters' (the General Editor). Franz von Dingelstedt succeeded Laube as Director of the Hofburgtheater in 1870 and his *régime* was distinguished by elaborate scenic display and by successful revivals of Grillparzer and Hebbel. His Shakespeare Week in April, 1875, was perhaps his greatest achievement. His successor, Adolf Wilbrandt, possessed the poetic temperament with all its advantages and disadvantages, but lacked the business capacity of Dingelstedt. Wilbrandt's production of *Faust*, arranged for three evenings, January 2, 3 and 4, 1883, was an event in the history of the stage. (4) 'Dramatiker' (the General Editor). Chief representatives: Wilbrandt, Franz von Werner, Martin Greif. (5) 'Lyriker' (five contributors). Chief representatives: Stephan von Millenkovich (Stephan Milow), Ada Christen, and Hermann Hango. The General Editor and Dr F. Hadamowsky add an attractive epilogue: 'Ausklang des Wiener Volksgesangs.' (6) 'Der Zeitroman' (the General Editor, Dr F. Hadamowsky, and the late Dr Christine Touaillon). 'Erschreckend gering ist die Zahl der Begabten.' With this warning the authors proceed conscientiously to disentangle the sparse threads of literature from the coarser fibres of journalism. Chief representatives: Moritz Bermann (popular historical novels with Vienna as scene), Adolf Freiherr von Kriegs-Au (*Moderne Grössen*, 1883), and Bertha von Suttner (*Die Waffen nieder!* 1889). (7) 'Wiener Sittenschilderung in Skizzen und Geschichten' (Dr G. A. Ressel). Chief representatives: V. Chiavacci, Eduard Pötzl, L. F. Meissner, F. Stüber-Gunther, and R. Stürzer. (8) 'Die Privattheater' (Dr F. Hadamowsky). The growth of the commercialised international stage, drawing its material mainly from Paris, is the subject of this article. Only the Josephstädter Theater and the Fürst-Theater in the Prater remain true to the Viennese 'Volksstück.' (9) 'Der letzte Klassiker des Volksstücks: Ludwig Anzengruber' (the General Editor). The reviewer would gladly linger in these more familiar surroundings but the expanse ahead must be surveyed. (10) 'Zeitungswesen. Machtausübung und Machtbe-

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kämpfung der politischen Presse' (Dr Othmar Doublier and the General Editor). An excellent analysis of the power of the political press and the methods adopted to keep it in check. Dr G. A. Ressel adds an account of the moral decay of the comic and satirical papers. (11) 'Die katholische Literaturbewegung. Führende Persönlichkeiten und Zeitschriften' (Professor Franz Ranegger). The anti-liberal pronouncements of Pius IX in 1864, the course of liberal legislation in 1868, and the formal repudiation of the Concordat in 1874 inaugurated a new conflict between Church and State which was attended by special developments in literature. By 1880, owing to financial and administrative misadventures, the zeal of liberalism had abated. The political conflict became less direct and militant Catholicism directed its energies towards social reform and educational and journalistic propaganda. Principal representatives: Karl von Vogelsang (Vienna; Christian Socialism), Sebastian Brunner and Albert Wiesinger (Vienna), Leo Fischer (Niederösterreich; lyrics), Adolf Bekk (Salzburg), Josef Scheicher (Styria), Norbert Stock (Tyrol). The Passion Plays naturally fall within the limits of this section. (12) 'Die Realisten' (Dr R. Latzke). This article begins with Leopold von Sacher-Masoch and will be concluded in Abteilung 7.

G. WATERHOUSE.

DUBLIN.

Gysbert Japicx, fries dichter in de zeventiende eeuw. Door JACOB HAANTJES. Amsterdam: Uitgeversmaatschappij, Holland. 1930. 262 pp.

In the first half of the seventeenth century, when Dutch literature was at the height of its power, Friesland produced its one considerable poet, Gysbert Japicx, the subject of this interesting and scholarly study by Dr Haantjes.

Japicx' achievement was no small one. He set out to write in a language which was for literary purposes practically virgin soil. But in his hands Frisian acquired a music and expressive vigour which enables his work to take a worthy place in the literature of his time. Japicx started his literary career as a popular poet, a writer of love songs, bridal odes and didactic pieces addressed to the country people amid whom he lived and worked. Gradually, however, his work was affected by current Renaissance influences, and the style of his later poems is highly artificial and elaborate. He wrote now for himself and the small circle of intellectuals with whom the last part of his life was spent. This goes far to explain the insignificance of his influence; for he remained virtually an isolated phenomenon, a poet almost without either forerunners or successors.

Thus Japicx' writings are far and away the most important source for our knowledge of Middle Frisian. Dr Haantjes very properly stresses the danger of drawing philological conclusions from this material without paying proper regard to the chronological and æsthetic factors involved —to what extent, for instance, dialectal variations are due to the exigencies of rhyme and alliteration and what to real distinctions of meaning.

For the English reader one of the most interesting sections of Dr

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Haantjes' work is that in which he deals with Junius and his visit to Friesland. It was from Japicx that Junius acquired his knowledge of the Frisian language, and it was the material collected under his guidance that forms the contents of the Middle Frisian manuscripts which came into the possession of the Bodleian Library after his death. The date and circumstances of this journey have always been something of a mystery. Dr Haantjes argues plausibly that the journey should be assigned to 1648 (some years before the date suggested in the *D.N.B.*) and finds the explanation both of the journey itself and of the secrecy which surrounded it (when in Friesland Junius lived under an assumed name) in the assistance which Junius was giving Sir Simonds D'Ewes in his projected editions of Anglo-Saxon texts and the necessity for studying Old Frisian in this connexion.

The usefulness of this excellent study would have been increased by the addition of an index.

W. D. Robson-Scott.

London.

Shakespeare och Sverige intill 1800*-talets mitt: en översikt av hans inflytande.* Av Nils Molin. Göteborg: Elanders. 1930. iv + 308 pp. 6 kr.

Sweden has been late in taking up in a comprehensive way the problems of Shakespeare's acclimatisation there and his influence on Swedish literature. When I contributed a brief survey of Shakespeare on the continent to the *Cambridge English Literature* in 1918, the only material I was able to draw upon, apart from more general works, was the two articles of Wilhelm Bolin in vols. xiv and xv of the *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch* (1879 f.). I ought also to have known Professor Mortensen's monograph of that wayward genius of the Swedish Romantic movement, Clas Livijn (*Clas Livijns dramatiska författarskap*, Stockholm, 1911), for this contains a very excellent account of the introduction of our poet to Sweden; but it was perhaps pardonable that a foreigner should not have expected help in such a quarter; at that time Livijn was only a name to me.

If, however, we have had long to wait for a larger monograph on Shakespeare in Sweden, it is satisfactory to be able to say that it has now been written with efficiency and finality by Dr Nils Molin of the Göteborg Stadsbibliotek. A particularly satisfying feature of Dr Molin's work is that he is always at pains to give the immediate source of the references and opinions he chronicles; he does not fall into the easy error of so many who discuss the continent's knowledge of Shakespeare, especially in the earlier time, of assuming that the author under discussion had at his elbow a volume of Shakespeare's works. Most of Sweden's early knowledge came through French channels—Voltaire, Mercier, La Place, Marmontel. Dr Molin, it should be added, has the advantage of an exceedingly intimate familiarity with the text of our poet and very rarely makes slips in his English quotations. To us in England it might have been more interesting had he dealt a little more fully—and with more of the actual quotation to be found in Professor Mortensen's book—with the early introduction of Shakespeare to Sweden; for just these questions of initia-

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tion interest us. He might also have noted the fact that Swedenborg speaks of him—surely the very earliest mention of the name Shakespeare by a Swedish writer—in a letter to Erik Benzelius as one of the poets of England; and more space might have been given to the knowledge which Wallenberg, whose drama *Susanna* (1787) shows slight trace of Shakespearean influence, possessed of Shakespeare. The Finnish-born poet Franzén, who saw Kemble in London, was, Dr Molin tells us, the only man of his age whose admiration for Shakespeare was unreserved; and he is particularly interesting in his account of that pillar of Gustavian classicism, Leopold, who, beginning by pouring scorn on Shakespeare as 'a wild man of the woods' ('skogsmänniska'), ultimately made an effort to bring his views into better harmony with the rising tide of serious appreciation. His case was thus the reverse of Voltaire's who began by discovering Shakespeare for the continent and in later life did all he could to obliterate what seemed to him the unfortunate consequences of this discovery. The interest of the Romantic writers in Shakespeare found its way to Sweden largely through German channels; Dr Molin deals fully and convincingly with his influence on Atterbom—on his *Fågal Blå* and on that most gossamer-like creation of Swedish romanticism, *Lycksalighetens ö*; with the enthusiasm of C. F. Dahlgren, and the knowledge of Almquist. I am doubtful if much case can be made out for Shakespearean influence on the most pleasing of Stagnelius's dramatic works, the little play of *Thorsten fiskare*. A large section is necessarily devoted to the voluminous, if strangely ineffectual, Swedish historical drama of the middle of the century. The study virtually closes with the appearance of Hagberg's great translation between 1847 and 1851. Due account is, of course, also taken —here more detailed statistics would have interested us—of the representation of Shakespeare on the Swedish stage. It is particularly interesting to note that his works were played in Swedish provincial towns—*Hamlet* in Göteborg as early as 1787—considerably before they appeared in Stockholm. The first Shakespearean performance in Swedish there was that of *Hamlet* which Bolin described at great length in the first of his *Jahrbuch* articles; it dates only from 1819.

J. G. Robertson.

London.

SHORT NOTICES

The tenth volume of the *Annual Bibliography of English Language and Literature* (Cambridge: Bowes and Bowes, for the Modern Humanities Research Association. 1930. viii + 238 pp. 6*s*. 6*d*.) has been prepared by Miss Serjeantson as sole editor, Miss Seaton having retired from the joint editorship of the previous volume. Scholarship owes a great deal to both for such painstaking, accurate, and self-sacrificing work. The Bibliography has rapidly become an indispensable record and guide. Little indeed has been missed, and Miss Serjeantson has been careful to

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keep in touch with what is going on abroad. The arrangement of the material is admirable, and the record is easy to consult. I wonder whether some space might not be saved by the exclusion of a certain quantity of what some may feel to be mere journalism in Sections IX and X (6). Then perhaps there might be room in the index for entries of the more important reviews under the reviewers' names. The Bibliography is increasing in length, however, and should more rigid selection ever be necessary, I hope it will be exercised upon these two sections. We are grateful to Miss Seaton for the past, and to Miss Serjeantson for the present and, we hope, for some years to come. It is easy to understand why previous volumes of the Bibliography are now out of print.

C. J. S.

Students of the 'Modern Humanities' have always looked with envy on the well-established 'Year Books' of Classical and English studies. Ten years ago our English Modern Language Association made, under the editorship of Professor Waterhouse, a beginning to such a Year Book; but so lukewarm was the interest in this publication, both within and without the Association, that its continuance proved financially impracticable. It is to be hoped that no such untoward fate will befall *The Year's Work in Modern Language Studies*, edited for the Modern Humanities Research Association by Professor W. J. Entwistle (Vol. I. London: H. Milford. 1931. xii + 194 pp. 6*s*. 6*d*.). Compared with the compilation of the two Year Books just mentioned, that of a work covering the whole field of modern philological and literary studies presents peculiar difficulties: such an undertaking cannot be expected to emerge fully panoplied from the head of the most Jove-like of editors. It must be given time to grow; and we can only say that Professor Entwistle—than whom no better and more enthusiastic editor could have been found—has made a most promising beginning. He has experienced, of course, the inevitable difficulty of bringing his collaborators into line; but that will obviously be easily put right in the second volume. There are gaps, too, the most serious being the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries in France, where bibliographies take the place of critical surveys—an illustration of that strangest paradox of our English modern language studies, the infertility—or is it only the lack of willing workers?—of our French scholarship. In some of the articles there is an unfortunate tendency to bring into prominence work—often quite trivial—produced in this country. This seems out of place in such surveys, and is, moreover, not what is looked for by readers, who turn to the Year Book for expert guidance in the subjects in which they are interested. Occasionally, if I may say it, the compilers might have attained greater completeness by consulting the quarterly bibliographies printed in this review. But these are all easily remedied defects and we trust that both the specialist and the general public will look upon it as their duty to give the new venture the warmest support.

J. G. R.

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The Approach to Shakespeare, by Dr J. W. Mackail (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1930. 144 pp. 6*s*.), puts on permanent record an admirable series of lectures delivered at University College, London, on the Northcliffe Foundation. The title indicates the main purpose of the book, and Dr Mackail's treatment amply justifies his choice of this aspect of his great subject. A good classical scholar can hardly avoid having the right prejudices. Dr Mackail is a good classical scholar, and the conclusion holds. He begins and ends with the adjuration to read Shakespeare, though he gives due, not exaggerated, value to the seeing of the plays, and realises to the full the subsequent call of scholarship upon the attention of the reader. 'Only when we have surrendered ourselves to Shakespeare do we really appreciate him' (p. 29). Yet we must try to know what is Shakespeare and what is not. Dr Mackail seems to envisage, in this connexion, the possibility of far-reaching collaboration in the plays, with Greene and Peele in earlier days, with Chapman later on, and finally with Fletcher and Massinger (p. 8). But he is delightfully critical of the new 'Bowdlerising' of Shakespeare, which rejects whatever seems unworthy of the Bard. And he will have no dealings with those who would have Shakespeare a creature of moods (pp. 84–5). We may perhaps be troubled by the application of 'rules' of tragedy to *Romeo and Juliet* (p. 45). Shakespeare certainly thought it was a tragedy. And some of us may not agree with Dr Mackail's depreciation of *All's Well*. His recipe of surrender has perhaps failed him here. But none can read the book without a great deal of pleasure and stimulation, and it is, of course, admirably written. C. J. S.

No student of Shakespeare can afford to be ignorant of either the text of Lavater's *Of Ghostes and Spirites walking by Nyght* in the 1572 translation of 'R. H.,' now edited by Professor Dover Wilson and published for the Shakespeare Association (Oxford: University Press. 1929. xxxi + 251 pp. 16*s*.), or of the editor's Introduction, which relates Lavater's treatise to the problem of the Ghost in *Hamlet* in the most satisfactory and illuminating way. Not only does Professor Dover Wilson complete the work of the late Professor Moorman, and furnish the answer to all questions on this point, but he throws a vivid light upon the supreme importance of the dramatic function of the Ghost, and shows in detail how Shakespeare in these scenes reflects in dramatic form the intense controversy then current upon the nature of spirits. An Appendix upon Le Loyer's statement of the Catholic position, by Miss May Yardley, is a valuable supplement, and establishes the Ghost in his rightful place as a creature of the Catholic world. I should have welcomed, as additional introductory matter, some comment upon the translation itself, and its author, whose style deserves comment. 'R. H.' can occasionally be flat, as in 'to auoyde idlenesse' for 'ne ocio moeroreque contabesceret' (p. 68). But generally he gives individual quality to his translation, as in 'such like trumperie' for 'alia' (p. 164), 'master Parson' for 'Parochus meus' (p. 157), or 'pill and poule' for 'expillare' (p. 172). One is perhaps perplexed by Miss Yardley's remark (p. 230) 'that Hamlet was in a state

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of melancholy before he saw the ghost and that this had become frenzy before the second apparition.' I note the misprint *Elizabethen* (p. viii), and the odd phrase 'acquaintance of it' (p. xvi). C. J. S.

A reproduction of the first (1865) edition of Swinburne's *Atalanta in Calydon*, with the necessary introductory matter supplied by Mr Georges Lafourcade (London: H. Milford. 1930. xxii + 111 pp. 21*s.*), is an adornment of the book-shelf, and has also no small scholarly value. Mr Lafourcade indicates clearly the need for consultation of the original edition, in his note on p. xi, for the proper understanding of the poem. There is an odd apparent contradiction in the information supplied by Swinburne himself, concerning the order of composition of *Atalanta*. In a letter to Alice Swinburne he indicates the priority of the last scenes, while a letter to Lady Trevelyan is most readily understood as suggesting that the last scenes were composed after the rest. Mr Lafourcade cites these letters separately (pp. viii and x–xi), and contents himself with querying the word 'last' ('was not "first" what Swinburne wrote?') in the former letter. The reproduction is of notable technical excellence, though I could have wished that the same paper had been used throughout the volume. The facsimile extends to the binding, which also bears its significant message, for it reproduces decorations by Rossetti designed for a Greek Tragedy by Swinburne. I am a little puzzled by Mr Lafourcade's suggestion (p. v) that *Atalanta* alone among Swinburne's works is 'ever likely to become' a classic, in the sense that it 'partakes of the classical spirit.' In this sense, surely, it either is or is not a classic. In another sense it may 'become' a classic. There are a few other indications here and there of the difficulties of English idiom even to the undoubted English scholarship of Mr Lafourcade, to whom we are grateful for this beautiful book. C. J. S.

Mr A. R. Chisholm's *Art of Arthur Rimbaud* (Melbourne: University Press. 1930. vii + 66 pp. 4*s.* 6*d.*) is a slender volume of co-ordinated quotations and annotations, based on a study of Rimbaud's images. The confusion of sea and sky in these exemplifies the principle of flux, underlying the antiplastic æsthetic, which Rimbaud develops and bequeaths to a generation that preferred to regard music, rather than painting, as the ideal associate for poetry. Pictures were not, however, without influencing the poet's mind and art, as is shown in the last chapter. A brief account of the sources and structure of the *Bateau ivre* makes many (perhaps too many) suggestions as to the bookish origin of its imagery. Some of these are, no doubt, worth emphasising, especially the revelation of the influence of Jules Verne on the young Rimbaud. P. M. J.

Mr B. M. Woodbridge's *Le Roman belge contemporaine* (Brussels: La Renaissance du Livre. 1930. xxi + 214 pp. 12 fr.) is a series of five studies of Belgian novelists, written in French with the avowed intention of introducing to American readers the work of De Coster, Lemonnier, Eekhoud, Demolder and Georges Virrès. The chapter on De Coster is more a record of the author's researches into the sources of *Till Ulen-*

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spiegel than an account of that prose epic. But the others adequately fulfil their intention, the study of Eekhoud being the most satisfactory. M. Maurice Wilmotte has written a preface. P. M. J.

The most valuable articles in the twelfth volume of the *Deutsches Dante-Jahrbuch* (Herausgegeben von Friedrich Schneider. Weimar: H. Böhlau. 1930. 243 pp. 14 M.) are R. Davidsohn's judicially inconclusive review of the Veltro question, against which A. Bassermann somewhat heatedly urges his old interpretation, and an interesting, if scarcely revolutionary, essay of Fr. Schmidt-Knatz, in which the dependence of Jacopo della Lana's *Commentary* on the epistle to Cangrande, and possibly on *Monarchia* II, is emphatically asserted. The composition of the *Commentary* is placed before 1327; but so early a date does not, in my opinion, justify the assumption that Lana's readings to *Par.* XIX, 141 and *Inf.* V, 102 are particularly authoritative. H. Hatzfeld has laboriously attempted to provide statistical grounds for some recent interpretations of *Paradiso* 'durch eine Stilonomasiologie des Heiligen.' He seldom refers to other than German works, and it may be doubtful whether 'eine Wortkunst-Untersuchung im engesten Sinne' is likely to prove convincing in this question. K. Rothe was so elated by his discovery in the Landesbibliothek in Dresden of a manuscript containing the *Mescolanze* of Michele Siminetti (who wrote *ca.* 1440–60) that he has worked out a stupendous illustration of this rather unimportant miscellany which contains three poems ascribed to Dante among many other items. Two of them have been so far unpublished, but the author, who subjects them to all kinds of external tests, fails to carry conviction in his attempt to prove the correctness of his attribution of them to Dante; they appear to be weak specimens of the work of a very poor craftsman. A. Bassermann also starts a new bogey. After the *Ur-Faust* and the *Ur-Hamlet* we have the *Ur-Commedia*; it contained, he urges, the first seven cantos besides the episodes of Francesca and Ugolino, and was written at a time when Dante conceived the three kingdoms of the after-world as placed side by side on the same level as some rather obscure painters seem to have done. C. F.

In taking leave from this field of research Dr Piur has produced an excellent biographical sketch of Cola di Rienzo (Vienna: L. W. Seidel. 1931. 239 pp. 10 M.). It is of course no 'romanhafte Einkleidung' and sternly refrains from dealing with Cola's early life about which no trustworthy information is available; this work is only intended to be a connected account of Cola's life as it strikes a historian who has made himself familiar with the minutest documents bearing on this subject, and one who has had the privilege of working with Burdach. It should be particularly welcome at a time when the Roman Tribune is attracting increased attention as is shown by the recent appearance of two Italian biographies (G. Sensi's and A. M. Ghisalberti's), and will not easily be superseded, being as readable and fair in presentation as it is unimpeachable in its scholarly accuracy. Students of Petrarch have again good reason to feel grateful to Dr Piur. C. F.

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The second volume of *Spain and Spanish America in the Libraries of the University of California* (Berkeley, Cal.: Univ. of California Press. 1930. 839 pp.) deals with the magnificent Bancroft Library. It is not a catalogue of that Library, as works not in Spanish or dealing with Spain or Spanish-America have been omitted. There appear to be some 15,000 entries in this volume, and great pains have been taken with the identification of authors masquerading under initials and pseudonyms. The principal list is by name of author, failing which catch-words are used; but consultation is made easy by an admirable subject index. The library contains works of historical and sociological significance, with an almost complete indifference to literature other than Mexican. There is a considerable collection of works on Indian languages, the richest section being again the Mexican. The index allots twenty-six pages to entries under the words 'Mexican' or 'Mexico.' The printing does great credit to Mr Flynn, of the University Press, and the contents testify to the skill and patience of Messrs H. I. Priestley and H. E. Bolton, the Librarians concerned, and Miss Eleanor Ashby, 'whose painstaking industry and care are responsible for whatever excellencies the book possesses.'

W. J. E.

A goodly number of theses has already been produced dealing with the relationship between Hartmann and Chrétien. As Dr Herbert Drube, the author of the thesis *Hartmann und Chrétien* (*Forschungen zur deutschen Sprache und Dichtung*, II. Münster: Aschendorff. 1931. 129 pp. 4 M.), remarks, the conclusions of some of his predecessors have been unduly influenced by patriotic motives; less serious are the strictures he passes on their 'analytic methods.' True, the line for line comparison was inclined to overemphasise the importance of fortuitous similarity of phrasing, and prevented the appreciation of the work as a whole, yet Dr Grube's attempt would have been made much more difficult without the patient spade-work of previous investigators. Dr Grube is concerned chiefly with the 'künstlerische Wollen' of Chrétien and Hartmann. He agrees with Ehrismann that the French poet shows greater creative power and a livelier art of portraiture, yet he concludes that this does not tell against the achievement of the German, for in 'Hartmanns Dichtungen treten . . . ausserästhetische Ziele so entscheidend hervor, dass sich die eigentliche Bedeutung seiner Kunst einer rein formalen Betrachtungsweise nie ganz erschliesst' (p. 102). The second part of the thesis deals with the sources of *Erec* (pp. 103 ff.). The author throws some doubts on Zenker's hypothesis of a lost prose-source (*X*) which was to explain correspondences between Hartmann's *Erec, Geraint ab Erbin* and the *Erex-saga* which are not to be found in Chrétien's epic. Dr Grube has not proved his case. His interpretation of *Erec*, ll. 4301 ff. is hardly as certain as he wishes us to believe.

F. N.

From an overwhelming amount of material Dr Reicke has in his little book, *Willibald Pirckheimer: Leben, Familie, Persönlichkeit* (Jena: E. Diedrichs. 1930. 80 pp. 2 M. 80), taken the most essential points and con-

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structed a well-drawn portrait of Willibald Pirckheimer, full of clearly defined and concisely expressed detail. There is much new information here drawn largely from unpublished sources. The scope of the book is wide and deals with Pirckheimer's personality, ancestors, early years and student life; his career as councillor, soldier and diplomat; his marriage and life as a widower; family relations; Pirckheimer's literary activities, especially as translator and editor of Greek authors; his friendship with Albrecht Dürer; his wavering attitude towards the Reformation; and his last years. Many aspects of Pirckheimer's life are shown in a new and original light. The most interesting parts of the book, however, are those which discuss Pirckheimer's character and show him to have been passionate, irate, morose, and yet good-natured. The book is written in a pleasant style and contains several fine illustrations.

H. S. M. S.

The dissertation by Dr A. Dikke Reque, *Trois Auteurs dramatiques scandinaves: Ibsen, Björnson, Strindberg devant la critique française*, 1889–1901 (*Bibliothèque de la Revue de Littérature comparée*, LXV. Paris: H. Champion. 1930. 226 pp. 32 fr.), provides a useful compendium of French opinion on Scandinavian literature in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. It is naturally concerned in the main with Ibsen. But one has the feeling, as with most academic dissertations of this type, that the end might have been attained with less expenditure of labour. It is surely not of very great moment in 1930 what irresponsible French journalists—'la critique' is in most cases too fine a word for it—thought a generation ago of Ibsen; and it might have been summarised more briefly. One trembles to think of some industrious doctorand on this side of the channel ransacking the English newspapers with similar energy. Nor does Dr Dikke Reque succeed in drawing conclusions which altogether justify his labour. His materials are collected in four chapters: 'L'Infiltration,' 'La Révélation au grand public,' 'L'Accueil de la critique' (much the longest) and 'Bataille gagné.' But will the sceptical not be inclined to ask when he has finished Dr Reque's book: on which side was the victory? Of very real value are the 'Tableau chronologique' and Bibliography which form an appendix.

J. G. R.

Johannes Secundus, his Life and Influence on English Literature, by Dougall Crane (Leipzig: B. Tauchnitz. 1931. 96 pp. 6 M.), is an interesting study of one of the most brilliant of the Renaissance Latinists. Mr Crane gives a full account, drawn from Bosscha, of the life of Secundus, a short and somewhat inadequate criticism of his poems, and forty pages of quotations from English authors who seem to have been influenced by, or to have borrowed from the Dutch poet. A bibliography of the chief Latin editions and English translations is added.

F. A. W.

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Arthuriana. II. Ed. by E. Vinaver and F. M. Williams. Oxford, Blackwell. 4*s.* 6*d.*

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PRINSEN, J., Het drama in de 18e eeuw in West-Europa. Zutphen, W. J. Thieme. 13 fl. 90.

RIES, J., Was ist ein Satz? (Beiträge zur Grundlage der Syntax, iii.) Prague, Taussig. 12 M.

VAN TIEGHEM, P., Le Préromantisme: Études d'histoire littéraire européenne. Paris, F. Alcan. 30 fr.

Year's Work in Modern Language Studies, The. Ed. by W. J. Entwistle. I (to June, 1930). For the Modern Humanities Research Association. London, H. Milford. 8*s.* 6*d.*

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Mediæval Latin.

Twenty-one Medieval Latin Poems. Ed. by E. J. Martin. London, Scholartis Press. 16*s.*

WRIGHT, F. A., and T. A. SINCLAIR, A History of Later Latin Literature. London, Routledge. 16*s.*

Italian.

Anthology of Contemporary Italian Prose, An. Ed. by F. Guercio. London, Scholartis Press. 7*s.* 6*d.*

ANTONA TRAVERSI, C., Studi e documenti sopra Ugo Foscolo. Bologna, Zanichelli. L. 30.

CATALANO, M., Vita di L. Ariosto. 2 vols. Geneva, Olschki. 100 fr.

CROCE, B., Nuovi saggi sulla letteratura italiana del Seicento. Bari, Laterza. L. 30.

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MAY, E. I., The 'De Jerusalem Celesti' and the 'De Babilonia infernali' of Fra Giacomino da Verona. London, H. Milford. 6*s.* 6*d.*

OSGOOD, C. G., Boccaccio on Poetry. Princeton, Univ. Press; London, H. Milford. 22*s.* 6*d.*

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VITTORINI, D., The Modern Italian Novel. Philadelphia, Univ. of Pennsylvania Press; London, H. Milford. 12*s.* 6*d.*

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GIULIAN, A. A., Martial and the Epigram in Spain in the 16th and 17th Centuries (Romantic Languages and Literatures, xxii). Philadelphia, Pa.

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MERIMÉE, E., A History of Spanish Literature. Transl. by S. G. Morley. London, G. Routledge. 15*s.*

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(*a*) *Old French.*

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BEARDWOOD, J., Rhymes of Latin and French Words in Old French. Philadelphia, Pa.

COHEN, G., Chrétien de Troyes et son œuvre. Paris, Boivin. 60 fr.

Girart de Vienne: Chanson de geste. Ed. by F. G. Yeandle. New York, Columbia Univ. Press; London, H. Milford. 15*s.*

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CHARPENTIER, J., Les évolutions de la poésie lyrique de Joseph Delorme à Paul Claudel. Paris, Œuvres représentatives.

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KORFF, H. A., und W. LINDEN, Aufriss der deutschen Literaturgeschichte. Leipzig, B. Teubner. 5 M. 20.

ROBERTSON, J. G., A History of German Literature. New and revised ed. Edinburgh, W. Blackwood. 15*s*.

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BRINKMANN, H., Sprachwandel und Sprachbewegungen in althochdeutscher Zeit (Jenaer germanistische Forschungen, xviii). Jena, Frommann. 13 M. 50.

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Leux, I., H. Sudermann: eine individual-analytische Studie. Leipzig, J. A. Barth. 12 M. 60.

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MILTON'S FIRST MARRIAGE

I.

BIOGRAPHERS and critics of Milton are agreed that his first marriage was a turning point in his life. Some make it, plausibly enough, the focus of their interpretation of his mind and poetry; all must treat it as of critical importance in discussing his character and certain tendencies of his thought. Now the crucial fact in the story of the marriage, on which everything turns and on which all deductions from it must more or less depend, is the date; yet, as I propose to prove, the accepted date is wrong.

June, 1643, has been accepted since the end of the seventeenth century as the date of the marriage. Given this date, the chief facts of the story are these. Milton married Mary Powell at Foresthill near Oxford nine months after the Civil War had commenced, and brought her to his house in Aldersgate Street; within six weeks he consented to her going home for a holiday on condition that she returned by Michaelmas, and at the same moment he published his first tract on divorce; she did not return at the appointed time and ignored all messages from Milton; however, she came back unexpectedly in the summer or autumn of 1645, and Milton was reconciled to her.

This story is admittedly queer, and we shall find it queerer than has yet been realised; but no one questioned the crucial fact, the date of the marriage, until the late J. S. Smart quietly observed that June, 1642, was more probable. Smart refrained from publishing the reasons for his view because he hoped to find the record of the marriage among the churches in or around Oxford; after his death nothing relative to the question was found among his papers, but M. Saurat made known what he remembered of those reasons as expressed in conversation[1]. Since then Mr Burns Martin has stated some of the facts in support of the new date[2]; his two main points—that the accounts of the marriage in Phillips and the *Earliest Life* indicate 1642 rather than 1643, and that the earlier date removes the well-known difficulties presented by the later—had formed the grounds of Smart's proposed investigation.

[1] *Revue anglo-américaine*, Aug. 1925.
[2] *Studies in Philology*, Oct. 1928.

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These articles appear not to have disturbed the faith of scholars in the established date[1]; and the history of the question will make it evident that nothing less than a complete and overwhelming case will prevail against the strength of a false tradition. Such a case will consist in showing that, whereas the traditional date makes any account of the marriage a jumble of contradictions and absurdities, the new date fits all the facts and gives for the first time a coherent and credible story. The date of the marriage, therefore, is my main topic, on which all the arguments and evidence directly bear; but this involves a reconstruction of the whole story of the marriage.

The case to be presented falls into three main sections.

(1) *Origin and history of the traditional date.* The chief reason for continuing to accept the date is that it derives from an early source and went unquestioned for more than two centuries: it is first of all necessary to prove this tradition unsound. I shall show that the date derives from neither of our two original authorities—Edward Phillips and the author of the *Earliest Life*—but from one whose testimony there is reason to doubt; and that it was only afterwards fathered on Phillips. In order to establish these points, which are the basis of the whole case, it will be necessary to trace the succession of Milton's biographers down to the middle of the eighteenth century.

(2) *The first divorce tract.* Having shown that the traditional date, despite its longevity, is apocryphal, we shall have made out a case for examining afresh and without prejudice all the available evidence. This is of two kinds: first the circumstances attending a marriage on each date in question, secondly the accounts of our two authorities considered in the light of those circumstances. The decisive evidence is of course that of our authorities; but, as neither of them mentions the year of the marriage, it can only be deduced from their implied or specific references to correlative events and conditions. One of these events is the publication of Milton's first divorce tract in August, 1643: both authorities state that the tract was a consequence of the desertion, which is incompatible with a marriage in 1643. But if Milton married in 1642, a natural and credible account can be given of how he came to write the tract, which accords with his own account as well as with that of our authorities.

(3) *Military and political circumstances in* 1643 *and* 1642 *respectively.* The chief objections under this head to a marriage in 1643 have been known but ignored since Masson first enumerated them; it seemed

[1] Mr John Bailey, however, in the new edition of his *Milton* (*Home Univ. Lib.*, 1930), gives full value to Smart's opinion.

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necessary, therefore, to enforce them by means of a complete and detailed account of the conditions obtaining for each date. It will then plainly appear that a marriage in 1643 is not merely strange but improbable to the last degree. Conditions in 1642 on the other hand not only involve none of these objections but, taken in conjunction with the affairs of Milton's father-in-law, enable us for the first time to construct an intelligible story in which the motives of all the actors are consistent and clear. Turning again to our authorities we shall find, as in the argument from the divorce tract, that their story tallies with this one independently suggested by all the circumstances; while both refer to historical events that imply the earlier date.

It is true that Phillips refers to another historical event implying 1643, which is the one item of real evidence for that date. This point, which has to do with the time Milton's father came to live with him at Aldersgate Street, I shall deal with at once in order to leave the way clear for the main case.

II.

Phillips tells us that Milton's father, 'who till the taking of *Reading* by the Earl of *Essex* his Forces, had lived with his other son [Christopher] at his House there, was upon that Son's dissettlement necessitated to betake himself to this his Eldest Son,' and that at the same time Milton received some students into his house; then later he seems to assert that the father and students arrived in the interval between Mary's going home (about the end of July) and the time appointed for her return (September 29). Now Reading surrendered April 27, 1643, and the dating here, clear and definite as it seems, has been accepted as decisive. Nevertheless, as Masson pointed out, there is reason to doubt its accuracy. By the terms of surrender the inhabitants of Reading were allowed a free passage to any place within six weeks[1]: how was it that Milton's father did not leave until after three months? The obvious reason for the 'dissettlement' was that Christopher had determined to engage or continue in that work of 'sequestringe the Parliament's freinds of three countyes,' for which he was fined as a delinquent after the war[2]. We cannot assume that any licence would be extended to this royalist; but if he and his father left Reading within the prescribed period, and if Milton married in 1643, then the father arrived at Aldersgate Street before Milton had returned from Foresthill with his wife, which contradicts Phillips's whole

[1] Clarendon, *History of Rebellion* (ed. Macray, 1888), III, p. 27.
[2] Hamilton, *Original Papers Relative to Milton*, p. 62.

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account. Phillips explicitly says that the house in Aldersgate Street 'was able to receive' the bride's relations, who came with her from Foresthill for the nuptial celebrations, 'by reason the Father nor any body else were yet come.'

Is it not possible that Phillips remembered that the father came after Mary had gone, but that he was uncertain as to the precise time? He was not good at dates, as he himself seems to have been aware; he seldom ventures on them, and when he does, is usually wrong—as in the dates he gives for Milton's birth and death, his entrance into Cambridge, and the publication of *Paradise Lost*. As a rule he prefers such cautious expressions of time as 'meantime,' 'soon after,' 'not long after,' 'thereabout.' Nor does he attempt any strict chronological order in narration; his method is to group events over a period of years, which gives him ample chronological elbow room. Consequently he sometimes finds himself in difficulties about arranging his material—that most troublesome part of a writer's job—on account of the cross-connexions between events; and sometimes the sequence of his ideas is a little fortuitous. The upshot is that he may find a topic on his hands that he is glad to dispose of where he can. All this can be observed in the passage with which we are concerned.

The section containing the story of the marriage is an account of everything that happened while Milton was living in Aldersgate Street, like things being brought together. Phillips first mentions all the tracts written here, except those on divorce which find their natural position after the desertion. He then remarks that 'during the time of his continuance in this House, there fell out several occasions of the Increasing of his Family'; the father arrived, and there was also 'an addition of some Scholars[1]: to which may be added his entry into Matrimony: but he had his Wife's company so small a time, that he may well be said to have become a single man again soon after.' The haphazard manner in which a major topic like the marriage is thus brought in, as a brief interlude in the even tenour of Milton's Aldersgate Street days, is typical of Phillips's method. Having told therefore of the marriage and of Mary's departure he resumes his main theme, which has been left rather in the air.

In the mean time came his Father, and some of the forementiond Disciples. And now the Studies went on with so much the more Vigour, as there were more Hands and Heads employ'd; the Old Gentleman living wholly retired to his Rest and Devotion, without the least trouble imaginable: Our Author, now as it were a single man again, made it his chief diversion now and then in an Evening to visit the Lady *Margaret* Lee.... This Lady being a Woman of great Wit and Ingenuity, had a particular Honour for

[1] Milton's two nephews, Edward and John Phillips, had been his only students previously.

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him, and took much delight in his Company . . . ; and what Esteem he at the same time had for Her, appears by a Sonnet he made in praise of her, to be seen among his other Sonnets in his Extant Poems. *Michalemas* being come, and no news of his Wife's return, etc.

The ordinary interpretation of this passage depends on the interpretation of the opening words, 'in the mean time,' which in the context would certainly appear to mean between Mary's departure and Michaelmas. But if we hold strictly to this interpretation, it would also apply to the other matters referred to; yet it is obvious that in mentioning the studies and the friendship with Lady Margaret, Phillips has gone forward beyond the two months to which the narrative here would appear to be confined. In fact this passage, taken as a whole, is an account of Milton's private life for the entire period between the desertion and the reconciliation (as indicated by the phrase 'now as it were a single man again'), which Phillips found it convenient to slip in at this point because after the desertion he must go on to describe the divorce tracts. Since, therefore, we have to do with a narrator who handled his chronology in this free and easy manner, it is permissible to think that perhaps all Phillips remembered of the father's arrival was that it happened some time after his uncle was left single again.

This reading of the passage is given some further support by another consideration. The father and students are mentioned as arriving together: is it not strange that Milton should fill his house in this manner during the two months he expected his young wife to be away? It would at least be more natural after the desertion.

III.

It may seem that this one piece of evidence against the earlier date cannot be countered without discrediting Phillips as an authority; and this I am far from wishing to do, since he is my chief witness. But the truth is that one can only depend on Phillips when his obvious weaknesses have been allowed for. He cannot be trusted for dates: it does not follow that he cannot therefore be trusted for the sequence of events, especially where a logical connexion exists of cause and effect. Thus he might remember that Milton's father came after Mary left him but, since there is no causal connexion, not just how long after. On the other hand we must, I think, accept his placing of the other two historical events mentioned in connexion with the marriage. We must believe, if we are to believe anything from him, that the desertion was occasioned by the Powells' turning royalist about the time of the King's arrival at Oxford (October, 1642), and that the first divorce tract (August, 1643) was

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written after the desertion; for these are questions of cause and effect, to be remembered independently of exact times. Moreover there is external evidence against his apparent placing of the former incident, and nothing but corroborative evidence for his placing of the latter.

Whether or not the attempt to explain away this inconsistency is thought satisfactory, the main case now to be presented will not be affected; for this one adverse point cannot be held to balance, not to say outweigh, the weight of evidence on the other side, and a single inconsistency must be corrected by the main conclusion.

Origin and History of the Traditional Date.

I.

There are five biographers of Milton who, writing in the seventeenth century, might be considered original authorities. Among the first to show an interest in the subject was John Aubrey, who set about collecting material for a *Life*; he had been acquainted with Milton[1], and sought information from Milton's widow and brother, Edward Phillips and others. His notes were handed to Anthony Wood, and remained unpublished among the latter's papers until 1813. Wood made use of the notes, but we now know that his account of Milton in the *Fasti Oxonienses* (1691) was chiefly based—and this is particularly true for his account of the marriage—on an earlier anonymous *Life*, which also remained unknown among his papers until it was published in 1902[2]. The author of this *Earliest Life*, whoever he was, writes as an intimate friend of Milton. Next comes the *Life* by Milton's nephew, Edward Phillips, published anonymously in an edition of Milton's *Letters of State* in 1694; it was not republished until Godwin printed it as an appendix to his *Lives of Edward and John Phillips* in 1815. Lastly Toland prefixed a *Life*, by far the longest of the five, to his edition of Milton's prose works in 1698; this was reprinted separately the next year and republished by Thomas Hollis in 1761. The most cursory comparison shows that Toland's *Life* was based on Phillips's, swelled out with quotations from Milton's pamphlets.

Our two original authorities therefore are the author of the *Earliest Life* and Phillips, Aubrey's testimony being admitted on any matter he may touch; Wood and Toland are both derivative. But the *Earliest Life* was not known until this century; and Phillips, as we shall see, was ignored for more than forty years. In fact it was Toland's *Life* which, on account

[1] Wood, *Fasti Oxon.* (1691), p. 880.
[2] E. S. Parsons, 'The Earliest Life of Milton' (*Eng. Hist. Rev.*, xvii).

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of its known authorship, more imposing scale and accessibility, took rank immediately as the first formal biography and as the chief authority for succeeding writers. Already in 1702, in the second edition of Bayle's *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique*, we are told 'Depuis la première édition de ce Dictionnaire, on a publié à Londres la vie de Jean Milton composée en Anglois par Mr Toland'; we are then given a full summary of Toland's *Life* as supplement to the inadequate account of Milton reprinted from the first edition of 1697. As late again as 1738 no less a person than Thomas Birch begins his *Life of Milton* by saying that his 'design at first was only to have corrected and supply'd' Toland's account. Toland has long since lost this pride of place among Milton's biographers; but, having relegated him to his proper position, we forget his influence on the biographers of the first part of the eighteenth century and, through them, on the traditional account of Milton's life. Thereby hangs our tale.

Which of these five biographers tells us Milton was married in 1643? It seems to be generally thought, and it is often stated, that Phillips does: this is not true. There is not a single date in his story of the marriage; and when it comes to reading dates into his account the earlier has more warrant than the later date, as I shall try to show. For the moment, however, it is sufficient that Phillips does not say in what year Milton was married; nor does the *Earliest Life* or Wood; whilst—most significant of all—Aubrey left a blank space for the date that was never filled in. The first writer to give the year 1643 is, in fact, Toland; and succeeding writers took it from him.

II.

Toland then—not Phillips—is the author of the date: what credit can we allow him as a witness to this important fact? Here is his own account of the sources of his *Life*, from the prefatory letter to Thomas Raulins:

> The amplest part of my Materials I had from his [Milton's] own Books....I learnt som Particulars from a Person that had bin once his Amanuensis, which were confirm'd to me by his Daughter now dwelling in *London*, and by a Letter written to one at my desire by his last Wife, who is still alive. I perus'd the Papers of one of his Nephews[1]; learnt what I could in Discourse with the other; and lastly consulted such of his acquaintance as, after the best enquiry, I was able to discover. Thus completely furnish'd, I undertook, most ingenious Sir, the following Work[2].

This is certainly impressive; but, as Thomas Birch observes, 'upon a Review of it, I found, that he quotes no Authority for the particular Facts related by him, which is justly to be expected, in order to establish

[1] Edward Phillips.
[2] *Works of Milton* (1698), pp. 5–6.

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the Credit of them[1].' In other words Toland's claim to original information from authentic sources cannot be admitted, since he does not tell us who told him what. Moreover, the equivocal reference to Phillips—'I perus'd the papers of one of his nephews'—does not incline one to trust him; Phillips's *Life* had been published four years before, and Toland was working from it closely. Godwin, despite his prejudice in favour of the republican Toland, has the just comment on this point:

> There is something strange in the ambiguous way in which Toland speaks of the *papers* of Edward Phillips. Did he actually consult this relic of biography in a manuscript state? Did he think it superfluous to point out the form in which it was to be met with? Or, did he hope, from the obscure shape in which it appeared, annexed to a translation of Milton's *Letters of State*, that it would altogether escape the curiosity of future ages[2]?

Elsewhere Toland betrays a desire to disparage Phillips, when he demurs to the well-known statement that Milton's poetic vein never flowed happily but from the autumnal to the vernal equinox, 'as his nephew Edward Phillips affirms, who says he was told this particular by Milton;... A more judicious friend of his informs me that he could never compose well but in the spring and autumn.' Why could he not give the name of this mysterious friend, that we might judge for ourselves whether he was 'more judicious'? Certainly this treatment of Phillips, whether due to personal enmity or to an ambition to be the first and only biographer of Milton, entitles us to question any statement depending on Toland's sole testimony.

Such a statement is the one with which he opens his account of the marriage: 'In the year 1643, he chang'd his condition, and was marry'd to *Mary* daughter of *Richard Powel*.' If he had this new date from one of the sources enumerated in his prefatory letter, he should have referred to it: we cannot accept his unsupported word. Moreover, as we read on, it becomes patent from the frequent and exact verbal repetitions that he was writing with Phillips open before him: he even follows Phillips in his wrong ordering of the divorce tracts. In short he took the story of the marriage entirely from Phillips, and we can only conclude that he also inferred the date from his account.

III.

What would be the ground of Toland's inference? It might have been the one statement in Phillips indicating 1643 with which I have already dealt. Toland, however, does not mention the father's arrival, and this

[1] *Prose Works of Milton* (1738), p. xxii.
[2] *Lives of Edward and John Phillips*, p. 283.

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passage could not therefore have been the ground of his inference. In fact the significance of this incident was not noticed by anyone before the second edition of Birch's *Life* in 1753, where the date of the fall of Reading is given and clearly connected with the date of the marriage. The only other discoverable reason for Toland's inference is the one other date, also erroneous, given in this part of his narrative.

Having related how Milton's wife deserted him in the autumn of 1643, he says Milton 'thought it now high time to justify by proper Arguments the firm Resolution he had taken of never receiving his Wife back again, and therfore in the year 1644, he publish'd his *Doctrin and Disciplin of Divorce*, which he dedicated to the Parlament and to the Assembly of Divines.' Toland is here repeating the statement of Phillips, in language but slightly altered, that the first divorce tract was a direct consequence of the desertion. But the tract mentioned by him is the second and enlarged edition of the *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*; this was published in 1644. In its original form, however, it had been issued (without name, licence or dedication) at least as early as August 1, 1643, and therefore could not have been due to a desertion in the following September. One concludes that Toland inferred the date of the marriage from the wrong date ascribed to the first divorce tract.

It was no venial fault on the part of an editor of Milton's prose works to fail even to notice the earlier edition of the tract; Phillips mentions the two editions, Milton himself is explicit about the matter in *The Judgement of Martin Bucer*, and the title page of the 1644 edition states that it is 'Now the second time revised and augmented.' Yet Toland's date for the tract was accepted, as a necessary concomitant of his date for the marriage, until Masson discovered the correct date in Thomason's copy in the British Museum. Thus Birch in his *Life* (1738), having adopted Toland's date for the marriage, was forced to make the reverse inference from that we presume Toland to have made. He notes the first edition of the tract but also dates it 1644: 'He published therefore in 1644 in 4to, *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce* without his name...he published a second edition of it the same year at London in 4to.' Now the title page of the first edition gives 1643; Birch, however, if he had seen a copy, as seems evident from his specific reference, had to interpret the date as January–March 1644.

It appears then that the traditional date for the marriage arose from and depended on another date which is now known to be wrong but which also went unquestioned for nearly two centuries. The correction of the latter date calls, as we shall see, for the correction of the former.

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IV.

Toland's date for the marriage was immediately adopted. All succeeding biographers until Masson repeat it without comment, whether thinking it traditional or tacitly agreeing to Toland's inference from Phillips. The process of establishing the date deserves attention for it shows how the biographers of the early part of the eighteenth century were ignorant of the *Life* by Phillips and relied on Toland, and how Toland's date for the marriage came later to be attributed, as it still is, to Phillips.

The next *Life* after Toland's was the short one by Elijah Fenton, prefixed to his edition of *Paradise Lost* published in 1725. It has been deservedly one of the most popular of the *Lives*. Johnson speaks of it admiringly as 'that elegant Abridgement'; it was indeed an abridgment of Toland, and has done much to reinforce his influence. Fenton himself refers us to Toland, 'on whose veracity some part of this narrative must entirely depend.' The only other writer referred to is Bayle, whose revised 'Account of Milton,' as we have seen, was itself a professed summary of Toland's *Life*. There is one allusion to Phillips; but it derives from a passage in Toland already quoted, and the words indicate that he does not know Phillips's *Life*: 'One of his nephews used to deliver it as Milton's own observation, that his invention was in its highest perfection from September to the vernal equinox.' In his account of the marriage Fenton follows Toland closely, taking the date on trust from him.

The next *Life* was Jonathan Richardson's, published in his *Explanatory Notes on Paradise Lost* in 1734. Richardson was born in 1665 and his account is of value for the literary gossip he had treasured up from the Restoration period; for the main narrative, however, he too relies on Toland, whom he quotes and refers to frequently. His other sources are indicated by one reference apiece to Wood, Bayle and Fenton: there is no mention of Phillips. He has nothing new to say about the marriage, and he repeats Toland's date. At the same time he contradicts the date by saying that Mary absented herself for 'about 4 years'; this statement is taken from Wood, who takes it from a passage in the *Earliest Life* that will be quoted later. In short Richardson accepted the one date from Toland as he accepted the contradictory date from Wood, without enquiry or thought.

The next biographer is Thomas Birch, who prefixed a *Life*, comparable in scale and importance to Toland's, to his edition of the prose works published in 1738. His account of the marriage is particularly interesting, since it repeats the operation already observed in Toland: the year 1643

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is foisted into a narrative reproduced, almost verbatim, from Phillips. At the outset Birch refers to both these writers. I have already quoted what he has to say about Toland; in a footnote to the same paragraph he draws attention to the *Life* 'written by his Nephew Mr Edward Phillips, as appears from a note in the Copy, which I make use of, which was given by him to a friend of his.' Except for Toland's ambiguous reference this is the first mention of Phillips's *Life* by the biographers of Milton. In his account of the marriage Birch quotes at length from Phillips and gives several *page* references to him; but the fact is that he simply copies out the whole of Phillips's account, substituting an occasional synonym and adding Toland's date.

The next biographer, Francis Peck, in his *New Memoirs* published in 1740, mentions 'the Life by Mr Edward Phillips, his nephew, before the *English* Translation of his letters of state. 1694,' and quotes from it. For the marriage, however, he simply quotes Fenton, inserting from Phillips the name of the lady Milton desired to marry in 1645. Peck therefore merely serves to show that Phillips's *Life*, owing to Birch, had at last become known.

The last *Life* to be considered was published by Thomas Newton in his edition of *Paradise Lost* in 1749. Newton aims at combining in his account all the information from previous biographies. Having mentioned Phillips, Toland, Bayle, Fenton, Richardson and Birch, he says:

> I have not only read and compared these accounts together, and made the best extracts out of them that I possibly could; but also collected some other particulars from Milton's own works as well as from other authors, and from credible tradition as well as from written testimonies: and all these, like so many different threds, I have woven into one piece, and formed into a continued narration.

His *Life* in effect sums up preceding work and closes what may be called the second period of Milton biography. Above all we reach with him the clear recognition of the prior importance of Phillips; as Hawkins remarked when reprinting the *Life* as an introduction to his *Poetical Works of Milton* (1824), 'Bishop Newton has incorporated in his Life of Milton almost everything that is most valuable in Phillips, and usually in the very words of the author.' The account of the marriage is taken from Phillips, with a phrase or two from Toland; but like his predecessors Newton also gives Toland's date.

The history is complete with Newton: a traditional form of the marriage story had been established, which all later writers down to the present day repeat in much the same words, citing Phillips as their authority. What, as we have seen, actually occurred was that, first through Toland and then through Birch, the date 1643 had been interpolated into what was

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virtually Phillips's narrative; after Birch writers could not ignore Phillips but, since Phillips's wording had been incorporated into the traditional version along with Toland's date, they automatically read the date into his narrative. Thus Phillips was accorded a puckish sort of revenge by being made to plagiarise Toland; and the fact that less attention was paid to the latter as more was paid to the former only helped to conceal what had happened. How effectual the interpolation has proved can be seen best perhaps in the case of those careful scholars who, quoting Phillips, scrupulously put the date in brackets. Thus Symmons in his *Life* published in 1806: '"About Whitsuntide," (1643) says his nephew.' And thus Masson: '"Michaelmas (Sept. 29, 1643) being come, and no news of his wife's return"....' Less careful writers, relying on these secondary authorities, ignore the brackets and simply aver that Phillips says Milton was married in 1643. As Dr Johnson observed, 'Many things, which are false, are transmitted from book to book, and gain credit in the world'; but our lucky error has inspired nothing less than blind devotion. To take the most recent of many possible examples, Mr Tillyard[1] refers to 'the suggestion, plausibly made by Burns Martin, ...that the date of Milton's marriage was a year earlier than Phillips said'; yet the point of Mr Burns Martin's article is to show not only that Phillips says nothing of the sort but that when it comes to drawing inferences he 'favours 1642 as strongly as 1643.'

It is surely time we ceased to misquote Phillips on this matter. All we are entitled to say is either that Toland tells us that Milton was married in 1643 or that we agree with him in deducing this date from Phillips's dateless and ambiguous narrative. In either case it becomes necessary to go behind Toland and to examine again without prejudice the original evidence.

The First Divorce Tract.

I.

As already stated, it was Masson who discovered that Thomason's copy of the first edition of the *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce* in the British Museum had 'Aug. 1st' added to the '1643' of the title page, and that his copy of the second edition was similarly dated '2 Feb. 1644.' Since Thomason seems to have recorded the dates on which he acquired his pamphlets, they are usually later than those of publication.

These dates are confirmed by more than one passage in Milton's other

[1] *Milton* (1930), p. 139, footnote.

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divorce tracts. A perfectly clear account of the publication of both editions is given in the preface to *The Judgement of Martin Bucer*:

> When I had almost finished the first edition, I chanced to read in the notes of Hugo Grotius on the fifth of Matthew, whom I straight understood as inclining to reasonable terms in this controversy.... Glad therefore of such an able assistant, however at much distance, I resolved at length to put off into this wild and calumnious world.

This account of the publication of the first edition is of critical importance for our succeeding argument, since it contradicts the common opinion that the tract was written and published hastily, as the fruit of an immediate disagreement with his wife, and corroborates the statement in the *Earliest Life* that it had been a long while in preparation. Milton proceeds,

> My name I did not publish, as not willing it should sway the reader either for me or against me. But when I was told that the style, which what it ails to be so soon distinguishable I cannot tell, was known by most men, and that some of the clergy began to inveigh and exclaim on what I was credibly informed they had not read; I took it then for my proper season, both to shew them a name that could easily contemn such an indiscreet kind of censure, and to reinforce the question with a more accurate diligence.... And having now perfected a second edition, I referred the judging thereof to your high and impartial censure, honoured lords and commons!... When the book had been now a second time set forth well-nigh three months, as I best remember, I then came first to hear that Martin Bucer had written much concerning divorce.... They [Milton's critics] have stood now almost this whole year clamouring afar off, while the book hath been twice printed, twice brought up[1].

Now *Martin Bucer* was entered in the Stationers' Register under July 15, 1644, and the last sentence of this passage accordingly confirms Thomason's date for the first edition of the *Doctrine and Discipline*; whilst the statement that it was 'well-nigh three months' after publishing the second edition before he heard of Bucer's writings on divorce, taken together with the fact that in the meantime, five weeks before the publication of *Martin Bucer*, he had also published the *Tractate of Education*, suggests that Thomason's date for the second edition may well be later than that of publication.

Mr Chilton Powell[2] calls attention to another pertinent passage, from the *Colasterion*: 'Whenas the Doctrine and Discipline had now a whole year been published a second time...this idle pamphlet comes reeling forth against the first edition only.' The pamphlet in question, *An Answer to a Book, Intituled, The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, was entered at Stationers' Hall Oct. 31, 1644, and licensed November 14; Thomason's copy is dated November 19[3]. This reference therefore also suggests that the second edition may have been out as early as January, 1644.

[1] Bohn, III, pp. 281–3.
[2] *English Domestic Relations*, Appendix B, p. 229.
[3] Masson, III, p. 300.

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II.

Masson saw that the date of the first divorce tract produces inconsistencies in the usual interpretation of Phillips's story of the marriage; he failed to see that these inconsistencies can be resolved, and can only be resolved, by reading 1642 for 1643. The clearest way of presenting the case will be to enumerate the events as recounted by Phillips, and to add the dates for the two years in question.

'About Whitsuntide it was, or a little after, that he took a Journey into the Country' (May 21, 1643: May 29, 1642); 'after a Month's stay' he returns with a wife, accompanied by 'some few of her nearest Relations' (June 21, 1643: June 29, 1642); 'the feasting held for some days,' after which the relations returned to Foresthill (end of June, 1643: early July, 1642); after 'a Month or thereabout' the wife also returned home to Foresthill for a holiday (end of July, 1643: early August, 1642), under promise to come back at 'Michalemas, or thereabout' (September 29); 'Michalemas being come, and no news of his Wife's return, he sent for her by Letter, and receiving no answer, sent several other Letters, which were also unanswered; so that at last he dispatch'd a Foot-Messenger with a Letter' who 'was dismissed with some sort of Contempt' (late October); this conduct 'so incensed our Author, that he thought it would be dishonourable ever to receive her again, after such a repulse; so that he forthwith prepared to Fortify himself with Arguments for such a Resolution, and accordingly wrote two Treatises.... The first was, His Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce (August 1, 1643); of which there was Printed a Second Edition, with some Additions' (February 2, 1644).

So clearly does Masson expose the inconsistencies of this story with the traditional date, that his failure—and the failure of others after him—even to notice the obvious solution shows how firmly that date has imposed itself. Instead, Masson offers us the dilemma that Phillips is wrong either about the date of the marriage or about the occasion of the divorce tract[1]. If Phillips is right, he says, in stating that the tract was occasioned by the desertion, then he post-dated the marriage, which must have occurred 'at least a month or two' earlier. However, Phillips's recollections of the marriage are so circumstantial that it seems necessary to accept his dating; but then he is wrong as to the occasion of the tract, which must have been written while his wife was still in the house—'written perseveringly day after day within sound of his newly-wedded wife's footsteps and the very rustle of her dress on the stairs'—and must have been actually out before she could have reached Foresthill again.

[1] *Life of Milton*, III, pp. 45–7.

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Now this dilemma, so candidly and picturesquely put, exists only in the apocryphal text of Phillips; and it does seem gratuitously unfair to sustain a date that has been foisted on him in order to throw doubt on statements he is really responsible for. If it is a question of ante-dating, why not ante-date twelve instead of a couple of months, which contradicts nothing in this part of his narrative and yields the gratifying sight of both horns of the dilemma receding? In short, Masson's first alternative is not correctly formulated.

There are, of course, those eager to be thrust on the horn of his dilemma Masson reluctantly selects, eager to picture Milton sitting down amid his nuptial celebrations to write a tract on divorce and producing it as a parting gift when his wife left for her holiday—though, according to all accounts, he let her go unwillingly and was anxious for her return. Supposing Milton capable of such stupidity, then Phillips deliberately falsified his story (as did the author of the *Earliest Life* also) in order to conceal the fact. For even though he heard nothing in his uncle's house of the actual publication of this anonymous tract, yet the authorship, as Milton tells us, was quickly detected; and this is confirmed by Thomason's note in his copy, 'Written by J. Milton.' The secret in fact was an open one; and Phillips, who notes the two editions, must have known and remembered whether the first was previous to the desertion. Supposing further that Phillips sought to conceal the truth in this way, what of Milton's enemies? Such a conjunction of events, more particularly in view of the scandal created by the divorce tracts, must have given rise to talk; yet, so far as I know, none of the attacks on the divorce tracts and none of the other invectives against Milton, quick as their authors are to enliven their pages with unseemly and ludicrous episodes from his private life, contains a single allusion to this grotesquely indecent conduct of his.

III.

Mr Chilton Powell has attempted to modify the orthodox interpretation of this alleged episode in Milton's life[1]. Masson thought that the tract must have been the outcome of Milton's immediate discovery that the woman he had married was no wife to him; and this, with more or less emphasis on the sexual side of the matter, may be said to have become the popular view. Mr Powell on the contrary, while believing that the tract appeared a month after the marriage, argues that it had been in preparation for some time before and had no connexion whatever with Milton's own domestic life. He sets himself accordingly to disprove

[1] *English Domestic Relations*, Appendix B.

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Phillips's statement that the tract was written in consequence of the desertion. His argument rests on the same false assumption that Phillips places the marriage in 1643; but he makes two new points of value which do in fact lead up to and corroborate the true story, though they do not (as he supposes) contradict Phillips.

Phillips's *theory*, says Mr Powell, that the tract was written after the desertion to provide grounds for a divorce is ridiculous: first because, according to the teaching and practice of the puritan churches, Milton had recognised grounds for a divorce, and knew it, when his wife refused to return; secondly because divorce was a question of public interest, associated with the other public reforms then under discussion, and Milton accordingly had occasion to write on the subject irrespective of a personal motive.

Now in reply to the first of these points it has to be noted that the author of the *Earliest Life* is equally responsible for the 'ridiculous theory.' Moreover Phillips does not say that Milton wrote to provide grounds for divorcing his wife, but to 'fortify himself with arguments' for the resolution never to receive her back again (which, in view of the later project to marry again, may be understood to mean divorcing her). In fact he supports Mr Powell's view. It is hard enough on Phillips that false testimony should be continually put in his mouth; it is harder still that a good stroke of portraiture should go unappreciated. He says in effect that Milton had already decided to separate from or, as the *Earliest Life* explicitly states, to divorce his wife: what more characteristic of Milton than to vindicate in public a course of action already determined on? It was the habit of justifying himself, together with the habit of identifying what he wanted with the public good, that made Milton a natural pamphleteer. One may agree then that Milton would not scruple to avail himself of the current illegal practice in divorce, as he did not scruple to defy the licensing law in publishing the tract. At the same time, if he had decided to divorce his wife in order that, as the *Earliest Life* tells us, 'hee might bee free to marry another,' it does not follow that the woman he honoured would be similarly without scruples; in fact this presumably was the reason why the daughter of Dr Davis 'was averse,' as Phillips says, 'to this Motion.' So that it is still possible Milton did not write without regard to his own divorce. However, the main point is that, whether or not he had any such practical end in view, Milton would be impelled to justify himself to the world and to magnify his private predicament into an affair of public moment.

Mr Powell's second point, that Milton had previously interested himself

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in divorce as a public question, is corroborated by the *Earliest Life*. This also agrees with Milton's own statement, to which I have already drawn attention, in *Martin Bucer*; and, as Mr Hanford remarks, 'certain observations in the Commonplace Book show that Milton had interested himself in the general philosophy of marriage as early as the Horton period, and that his mind was already set toward liberal thought regarding it[1].' Yet to say that Milton might have written on the question in any case does not deny the possibility that his own marriage brought home to him the urgency of the problem and was the actual occasion prompting him to a public expression of his views. A similar affront to his personal dignity and comfort, actually arising out of the unlicensed publication of the first divorce tract, was the immediate occasion of the *Areopagitica*; and here again the views expressed were such as we know him to have formed long before and to have believed of public moment.

Milton himself, in a well-known passage in the *Second Defence*, naturally insists on the public purpose of all the tracts written in this period 1643–5:

> When, therefore, I perceived that there are three species of liberty which are essential to the happiness of social life—religious, domestic and civil; and as I had already written concerning the first, and the magistrates were strenuously active in obtaining the third, I determined to turn my attention to the second, or the domestic species. As this seemed to involve three material questions, the conditions of the conjugal tie, the education of the children, and the free publication of the thoughts, I made them objects of distinct consideration[2].

Whereupon Professor Liljegren, assuming the divorce tracts to be due simply to Milton's matrimonial rebuff, cites the passage as an instance of Miltonian hypocrisy and deceit. One can only hope that we shall be preserved a little longer from the impertinence of such honesty as Professor Liljegren expects of a writer; when everyone who publishes his views on a matter of general interest exposes all his motives, the world of letters will be as indecent as the most modern of us can desire.

IV.

Taking into account then all the evidence, we conclude that Milton was driven in self-defence to promote a question of reform which he had already studied in its more general aspects and which now appeared, under the stress of his own experience, to be of urgent importance to the cause of liberty to which he was devoting himself. And such exactly is the

[1] *A Milton Handbook*, p. 67. See also his masterly 'Chronology of Milton's Private Studies' (*Publ. of Mod. Lang. Ass.*, XXXVI).

[2] Bohn, I, p. 258.

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account we are given in the *Earliest Life*. After telling how his wife left him and returned four years later, the biographer says:

> Hee in the Interval, who had entred into that State for the end design'd by God and Nature, and was then in the full vigor of Manhood, could ill bear the disappointment hee mett with by her obstinant absenting: And therefore thought upon a Divorce, that hee might be free to marry another; concerning which hee also was in treaty. The lawfulness and expedience of this, duly regulate in order to all those purposes, for which Marriage was at first instituted; had upon full consideration and reading good Authors bin formerly his Opinion: And the necessity of justifying himselfe now concurring with the opportunity, acceptable to him, of instructing others in a point of so great concern to the peace and preservation of Families; and so likely to prevent temptations as well as mischiefs, hee first writt *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*.

There appears to be no good reason for rejecting the testimony both of this witness and of Phillips as to the occasion of the tract; they are our sole authorities and no one's opinion can stand against their statements without strong supporting evidence. But if we accept their statements, then the date of the tract fixes the date of the marriage in 1642. This removes all the objections to their story, leaving Milton nine clear months in which to digest his chagrin and produce his pamphlet.

It also explains the one remarkable interval in Milton's strenuous pamphleteering during the period 1641–5. Between May/June, 1641, and March, 1645, he published twelve pamphlets, giving an average of one in less than every four months; the longest interval is six months, except for the gap of nearly a year and a half (March/April, 1642–August, 1643) between the last of the ecclesiastical and the first of the divorce tracts. This gap would be accounted for by a marriage in June, 1642, with its subsequent troubles and mental distress; and this spacing of events is surely more natural and credible than that preposterous resumption of pamphleteering immediately after a marriage in 1643.

(*To be concluded.*)

B. A. Wright.

Glasgow.

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THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE POEMS OF THOMAS TRAHERNE

As most of the Traherne MSS. are privately owned, the majority of students of Traherne must, like the general reader, derive their knowledge of his works from the printed editions. With the *Centuries of Meditations*, this is of no serious consequence; but with the poems, the comparative inaccessibility of one of the MSS.—and that the most important—has prevented the discovery of certain important facts and led to errors in criticism.

By the courtesy of Mr P. J. Dobell, the present owner of the Traherne MSS., I have been permitted to examine these at leisure; and I hope to show in this article what is revealed by a study of the handwriting and the corrections in his folio MS. of the poems, and to indicate the importance of a knowledge of these facts for a just criticism of Traherne's poetical genius.

There are two MS. sources for Traherne's poems; and two printed editions based on these. The *Poems of Felicity* was edited by Dr Bell from the Burney MS. 392 in the British Museum; the *Poetical Works of Thomas Traherne* was edited by the late Bertram Dobell from two or three sources, but chiefly from the folio MS. referred to above.

All students of Traherne are aware that the Burney MS. is not in the handwriting of the poet himself, but of his brother Philip; and also that it contains many corrections. Dr Bell drew attention to both these facts in the valuable Preface to his edition, where he offers conclusive proof for his identification of the writing as Philip Traherne's. But it is the corrections, not the handwriting, that cause the difficulty; without these, one could so easily believe Philip to have been a mere amanuensis; and attempts have not been wanting to explain how Thomas might after all have authorised these corrections. Yet a feeling of uncertainty about this collection of poems has persisted, and an unwillingness to base any generalisations on the material they contained.

On the other hand, there has been no such feeling of uncertainty with regard to the other edition, the *Poetical Works*. It is known that the MS. is in the handwriting of Thomas. It has been taken for granted that this collection of poems is exclusively the work of Thomas. What has never

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yet to my knowledge been remarked is that, in this MS. also, there are many corrections, *and that these corrections are in the handwriting of Philip.* Bertram Dobell commented on them in a note on the fly-leaf of the folio, as 'passages of alterations which appear to be in a different and much later handwriting.' He had no means of identifying it, the Burney MS. not having come to light at that time. A comparison of the handwriting of these corrections with the handwriting of the Burney MS. leaves not the slightest room for doubt. They are identical, and their common author must be Philip Traherne.

These corrections of Philip's are of course embodied in the printed edition. The disconcerting fact thus follows that the *Poetical Works* affords no surer basis for criticism than the already suspected *Poems of Felicity.* With the unimportant exception of the poems in Dobell's edition that are not from the folio MS.—in these I can find no corrections by Philip—we have in literal truth no poems of Thomas Traherne at all. We have instead joint productions of Thomas and Philip; or poems of Thomas revised, emended and added to by Philip. The first step towards a true estimate of the poetical powers of Thomas Traherne must be the clearing away of Philip's corrections. That is obvious; but it is also impossible for students who have not before them a literal transcript of the MSS., corrections and all, and the poems of which two versions occur in the two MSS. printed in parallel columns. It is not likely that such a transcript will ever be published; and all that I can attempt in the present article is to indicate the extent and nature of Philip's share in the poems as we find them in the two printed editions.

Let us consider first the *Poems of Felicity.* Dr Bell discusses the corrections on pp. xxiv–xxv of his Preface, and states 'There is...no serious improbability in the supposition that...the poet may have communicated corrections to his brother as they were made'; and again 'There may have been other manuscripts from which, after Traherne's death, his brother copied corrections into his own MS.' The evidence of the MS. renders these suppositions (which are really a brief for Thomas) impossible in the majority of cases, and extremely doubtful anywhere. Dr Bell's own final judgment was 'The most likely inference is that the original text (in the main) and perhaps some of the corrections, are due to Thomas Traherne, but that in preparing the volume Philip did not scruple to revise and alter wherever he thought that correction was called for.'

The extent of the alterations, as well as the impossibility of their having been decided on at any other time than when actually transcribing the

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poems, the following examples will show. Square brackets indicate passages deleted, and italics the substituted readings.

Take up their Thoughts; and like a grosser Skreen
Drawn o'er their Soul, leav better Things unseen...
[O'ershade their Soul that all]
(*The Inference*, I, p. 118)

in
Who tumbling [amon] green Grass and Leaves...
(*Walking*, p. 111)

with so much Art and Cost
Whose House it is: [which Cost and Art is gra]
The Pile is fram'd, the curious Knobs embost,...
(*Churches*, I, p. 56)

The alteration in this last example, involving as it does a change of rhyme, indicates a change in the second line; but here, as so often elsewhere, we have no means of knowing what the original was.

may yet
That I [a *like a*] New-born become...
(*The Return*, p. 12)

Which doth at once
[At once it hath] all Things possess and giv,...
(*Felicity*, p. 22)

One further example must suffice. This one is of interest, as it shows faulty lines being lengthened or shortened to fit a metrical pattern:

By man's Device
In Gold set artificially
[Set in enameled Gold most curiously]
Could of more worth appear
[More costly seem] to me
they
How rich so'er [it] be
By men esteemed: *these*
[Accounted:] nor could [it] more be mine
That on my finger shine.
did with so sweet a
The azure Skies
[The Skies abov so sweetly then did] smile

This last line gave Philip considerable trouble. He tried at least three substitutes for 'The Skies abov' before finally deciding in favour of 'The azure Skies.'

In the *Poems of Felicity* there are over 200 lines thus corrected—140 in those poems only to be found here, seventy-two in those that are also in Dobell's MS.; and there must be a very great many more that we cannot detect for the simple reason that Philip decided on them before, not after, putting pen to paper. Anyone who will trouble to read one by one the twenty-three poems that occur in both the editions, first as he will find

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them in Dobell, and then as they are, after Philip's final revision, in the *Poems of Felicity*, will be able to estimate fairly accurately the high total of these hidden corrections.

What then are we to think of these *Poems of Felicity*? The evidence of the MS. is incontrovertible. The alterations made by Philip are so numerous and so drastic, and, except in the twenty-three poems mentioned above, so impossible to detect and remove, that no inferences about Thomas can be drawn from this collection. If this were the only MS. of his poems that had survived, we should have no certain knowledge of Thomas as a poet. The *Poems of Felicity* are joint productions. As poetry they are none the worse for that. The reverse is the truth, I believe. But to the student of Thomas Traherne they are useless.

This brings us to the Dobell MS. The poems are here in the handwriting of Thomas; there are occasional corrections by Thomas; and there are also, as I stated before, hitherto unperceived corrections by Philip. But here we *can* remove the corrections, and get back to the original version; and it is this that makes this MS. so extraordinarily interesting, and so invaluable to the student.

One of the first facts that emerge from a study of Philip's corrections in this Dobell MS. is that he used this very copy in making a first revision of the poems he intended to publish in his brother's name. Every correction he made in this MS. he incorporated in the *Poems of Felicity*; every passage he marked for omission is omitted there. This explains why there are fewer corrections in the Burney MS. of the twenty-three poems which also occur in the Dobell MS. They had already been corrected once—in the present MS.

Sixty-one lines were marked by Philip for omission; but as Bertram Dobell disregarded these crossings through, his edition in this respect preserves the work of Thomas.

The corrections by Philip that are incorporated in the text occur in thirty-five lines. Small though the proportion of lines is that are thus affected, yet, if the corrections are improvements, as I believe they are, their combined effect is sufficient to influence our judgment, by removing grounds for adverse criticism of Thomas's technical ability. But let the corrections—Philip's corrections and Thomas's originals—speak for themselves. They are as follows:

> The Sons of Men were Holy Ones
> *then*
> In Joy and beauty [Welfare did] appear*d* to me
> *In*
> [And] ev'ry Thing which here I found. (*Wonder*, v. 5)

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The third line of these has a foot too many, as Philip noted and corrected in the *Poems of Felicity*, where he also gives to the first line the beautiful form 'The Sons of Men all Holy Ones.'

Wall, Boxes, Coffers, and their rich Contents
all combine.
Did not Divide my joys, but [shine].
(*Wonder*, v. 8)

This correction, though it got rid of the meaningless 'but shine,' gave the line an unwanted foot. The final version was 'To make me rich combine.'

O there my ravished Sence
Was entertained in Paradice
And had a Sight of Innocence,
which
[All] was beyond all Bound and Price.
(*Innocence*, v. 5)

perceiv
I then no Thirst nor Hunger did [conceiv],...
(*The Preparative*, v. 3)

From One, to One, in One, to see All Things,
To see the King of Kings
But
[At] once in two;...
(*The Vision*, v. 7)

The 'Divine in a Poet's Dress' must take no liberties with orthodoxy. There is one very amusing correction in the other MS. Thomas wrote in one poem 'That Truth her daughter is my chiefest Bride.' The suggestion of polygamy was too much for Philip. He carefully corrects it to 'That Truth her daugher is my only Bride.'

And all his Works in their Varietie
United or asunder pleas
[Even scattered abroad, delight] the Eye.
(*The Improvement*, v. 3)

In making every [scattered] Thing a Gift to One
Wide
Than in the several parts of all his [Spacious] Throne.
(*The Improvement*, v. 7)

This is another of those incomplete corrections of a first revision. In the *Poems of Felicity* the omission of 'all' restores the second line to right rhythm and metre. Bertram Dobell rejected 'Wide' in favour of the original 'Spacious,' thus regaining rhythm, but adding an extra foot.

As Spunges gather Moisture from the Earth
Whereon there is scarce any Sign of Dew;
[(Which seemeth Drie) in which they buried are;]
As Air infecteth Salt; so at my Birth
near and true.
All these were unperceived, yet [did appear].
(*The Improvement*, v. 7)

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which
Those hidden Plagues [that] Souls [alone] may justly fear.
(*Dumnesse*, l. 16)

And let mine Enemies hoop, cry, roar, *or* call,...
(*Dumnesse*, 3rd last line)

See, prize, give *hearty* Thanks within, and Love.
(*Silence*, l. 25)

fear
This is to [love] Him: nay, it is far more;
It is to enjoy Him.
(*Silence*, l. 36)

(A correction rejected by Dobell.)

Might
Twas not a Sphere, but 'twas a [Power]
gave Light.
Invisible, and yet [a Bower].
(*My Spirit*, v. 6)

Fields, Mountains, Valleys, Woods,
Men and their Arts to make me Rich combine
[Floods, Cities, Churches, Men, for me did Shine]...
(*Speed*, v. 3)

is a Touch-Stone [mad] fit
My Palate [ought to be a Stone]
taste how Good Thou art;
To [Trie thy Joys upon;]
other -s second it
And [evry] Member [ought to be]
Thy Praises to impart.
[A Tongue to Sing to Thee].
(*The Estate*, v. 2)

One critic has said that Thomas Traherne's 'What heavenly light inspires my Skin, Which doth so like a Deity appear' are the worst lines in English poetry; the four above, before Philip rewrote them, might also compete for that distinction.

Each Toe, each Finger, framèd by Thy Skill
Ought Oyntments to Distill;
they Thy Holy Will
...while [all mine Inward Powers]
Instruments adapted to fulfill.
Are [Blessed, Joyful, and Eternal Bowers].
(*The Estate*, v. 2)

Elixirs richer are than Dross,
And Ends are more Divine
the Means. But Dung and Loss
Than [Causes] are. [Material loss]
Materials (tho' they shine
Like Gold and Silver) are, compared
To what Thy Spirit doth regard,
Will require.
Thy [Soul desire], Thy Love Embrace.
(*The Estate*, v. 4)

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Orb of Light in its wide Circuit movs:
The [Sun itself doth in its Glory Shine]
Corn for our Food springs
[And Gold and Silver] out of very Mire:
Fences and Fewel grow in Woods and Groves:
[And Pearls and Rubies out of Earth refine]
Choice
[While] Herbs and Flowers aspire
kiss our Feet. Beasts court our Lovs.
To [touch and make our feet Divine].
(*The Estate*, v. 6)

The MS. of this passage clearly shows that Philip was composing his new lines, not copying them from another original. The corrections above gave him considerable difficulty, and there are so many crossings out and alterations that for clearness' sake I have given only his final version.

And in His Tabernacle Men may be
Like Palmes [we mingled] with the Cherubs *we mingled* see.
(*The Enquirie*, v. 3)

This was another incomplete correction that finally became

Where Palm-Trees with the Cherubs mixt we see.
courts
He [prizes] our Lov with infinit Esteem...
(*Another*, v. 4)

And as it is the Cause of all Esteem,
Of all the Worth [of] which *in* thy Lov doth seem.
(*Another*, v. 11)

Such then is the unsuspected handiwork of Philip in the Dobell edition; and I think it is obvious that his corrections as a whole are marked improvements. We may smile at the rigid sense of fact that will not permit wrong statements about Sponges or the Origin of Gold and Pearls; but it is the same common sense that does not permit sheer nonsense for the sake of a rhyme. Philip has not only common sense; he has literary sense. It is Philip's critical ear that is offended by the recurring 'Bowers-Powers' rhyme, and by those irritating lists, and by defects in metrical harmony; and it is Philip's literary skill that so efficiently corrects these faults.

But we are not really interested in Philip Traherne. It is Thomas Traherne who excites our interest and our admiration; and it is the truth about Thomas that his students are seeking. This truth, in so far as his poetry is concerned, is to be had only from the Dobell MS. and only after the corrections given above have been cleared away; and criticism of his poetry, based on anything else than this truth, must necessarily be at fault.

GLADYS I. WADE.

LONDON.

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ARTHURIAN TOMBS AND MEGALITHIC MONUMENTS

Al is his tombe noght so curious
As was the sepulcre of him, Darius,
Which that Appelles wroghte subtilly.

In these words about her fourth husband's unpretentious tomb the Wife of Bath paid tribute to those splendid sepulchral monuments of classical antiquity which she and other people in the Middle Ages had either looked at or read about with admiring wonder. In Italy, in Constantinople, those triumphs of classical art were still to be seen, adapted, sometimes most strangely, to Christian usage and tradition. They, or the legends to which they gave rise, undoubtedly inspired those elaborate accounts of sumptuous tombs of which there are two in the *Roman d'Eneas* and three in the *Roman de Troie*[1]. Similar tombs are also described in *Apollonius of Tyre* and in *Floire et Blancheflor*[2]. But, apart from these instances in the Matter of Rome or of the Orient, mediæval romances, as might indeed be expected, commonly say little about graves of any sort. In Arthurian romance alone there is, however, a singular multiplicity of tomb stories[3]. In these, though the Perilous Tombs and Perilous Graveyards are invested with strange marvels, few details are ever given about the sepulchral monuments themselves. Unlike the authors of the mediævalised classical romances, the Arthurian story-tellers, like the illuminators of their manuscripts[4], seem to have had in mind only those more or less simple stone coffins resting above the ground which were to be seen in almost every church and churchyard of mediæval Europe. The romancers may have felt 'it nis but wast' to describe tombs of this familiar type in detail; they may, on the other hand, have been attempting to adapt the unknown to the known. If in some cases they were, as is conceivable, dealing with traditional stories which they did not altogether understand, stories about sepulchral monuments of a type strange to the ordinary

[1] See Faral, *Sources latines des...romans courtois*, Paris, 1913, pp. 76, 87, 325 ff.

[2] Hibbard, *Medieval Romance in England*, New York, 1924, pp. 192, 170. See below, p. 424, n. 2.

[3] Sommer, *Arthurian Romances*, VII, Index, Tombes; *Perlesvaus* or *The High History of the Holy Grail* (trans. in *Everyman's Library*), pp. 83, 84, 103, 181, 183, 222, 242, 367; Huth. *Merlin* (*SATF.*), II, pp. 147, 192; Chrétien's *Charrete*, vv. 1940 ff. See below, p. 423, n. 6. Marie de France's *Yonec*, etc.

[4] Cf. the manuscripts in the British Museum, Royal 14E, III, f. 66^{v}; Add. MS. 10292, f. 55^{v}. In the last instance the tomb bears the date MCCCXVI, a detail which illustrates the artist's wish to make the scene as contemporaneous as possible. For an excellent reproduction of the scene in which Lancelot raises the lid of a tomb, see *The Hundred Best Manuscripts of Henry Yates Thompson*, London, 1916, VI, Pl. XXXIX. Cf. also Pl. XLII.

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citizen of a Christian mediæval town, they may have solved their difficulty by omitting almost all details about the monument and by calling it simply but vaguely a 'tombe.' That this was sometimes the case is suggested by two passages in which curious details do survive. They describe a type of funeral monument as exact as it is peculiar, a burial circle of twelve tombs about a central tomb or effigy. If monuments of this precise character can be identified and in the very regions most associated with Arthurian story, if it can also be shown that just such monuments inspired in old Irish literature stories to account for them, it is evident that they have for the interpretation of these two passages in Arthurian legend, and possibly for the curious predilection of Arthurian romance as a whole for tomb stories, a definite importance.

A suggestion for the identification in kind, if not in detail, of such monuments is given us in the famous Arthurian legend which makes of Stonehenge, the greatest megalithic monument in Britain, a funeral monument for hundreds of noble ancient Britons. Whether the story told by Geoffrey of Monmouth originated in his own mind[1], or whether it was elaborated by him out of long antecedent traditions[2], the actual inspiration for it was, beyond all doubt, the huge stone circle on Salisbury Plain. 'Dark enigma' that it is, it still stands where from prehistoric times it has always stood, in the same though gradually more battered form. Like others of those crude yet often majestic memorials of forgotten races, like the alignments of Carnac in Brittany, like the dolmens and cromlechs and pillar stones of Ireland and western Britain, it shows the same stones at which in the intervening ages the various generations of men have looked. 'Time, which antiquates antiquities, and hath an art to make a dust of all things,' spared these monuments to the Middle Ages, has spared them even to our own time. Though in ever decreasing number and in increasing state of ruin, megalithic remains are still to be found in remote and lonely places, on desolate moorlands and hillsides as yet unclaimed by men. Their origin, their primary use, may still be matters of controversy, but their form, their types and kinds, their actual distribution, are now matters of archæological record. For the Arthurian student it is of special interest to discover that the regions associated with the earliest Arthurian stories are precisely the regions in which, so far as Europe is concerned, these prehistoric monuments are commonly found. Cornwall, Devonshire, Wales, western Scotland, have still, if we may trust the reports of

[1] Faral, *La Légende Arthurienne*, Paris, 1929, II, pp. 239, 39.
[2] L. Hibbard Loomis, 'Geoffrey of Monmouth and Stonehenge,' *Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass.*, XLV (1930), pp. 400–15.

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the Historical Monuments Commission for Wales and Scotland or the Victoria County Histories, a larger number of megalithic remains than have other parts of Britain: in France they are particularly numerous in Brittany; in Ireland they abound[1]. This is not to argue that they may not once have been much more generally distributed, but only to stress the certainty that if, in the regions named, the monuments can still be found more extensively than elsewhere, they were, in the Middle Ages, as evident and as numerous as they are now. The existence, moreover, of a very considerable body of mediæval as well as modern megalithic folklore proves, as we shall see, that these ancient stone structures have always aroused a certain interest and awe, a wish to explain them or at least to connect them with traditions familiar to the people beholding them. In these monuments, then, and in the legends connected with them, we have objects that were known and ideas that were current in the regions and in the times when Arthurian story was in process of formation.

Before turning to the two Arthurian descriptions of a burial circle of twelve tombs or to a discussion of those actual megalithic twelve-stone circles which, it would seem, gave rise to such accounts, it may be well to note the evidence that, long before Geoffrey connected Stonehenge with Arthurian tradition, various prehistoric antiquities, carns, barrows, natural or megalithic stones, had already been so connected. In the *Mirabilia* attributed to Nennius there is mention of a carn (*tumulus lapidum*) in Builth, South Wales, which was, supposedly, made by Arthur in memory of the time when with his dog, Cabal, he hunted the boar Troynt[2]; another passage speaks of a burial mound in the district of Ercing. This tumulus was said to be that of Anir, Arthur's son[3]. In Ross in the time of William the Conqueror, according to William of Malmesbury[4], a fourteen-foot tomb (*sepulchrum*) was discovered which was thought to be that of Walwen. The story of Anir's grave, said sometimes to measure sixteen feet, and of Walwen's, must have been inspired by those actual earth barrows or stone structures of more than human size which unlettered

[1] Detailed references, especially for the particular type of megalithic monument, the twelve-stone circle, with which this article is concerned, are given subsequently.

[2] For text and translation see E. K. Chambers, *Arthur of Britain*, 1928, pp. 239, 6. F. S. Snell, *King Arthur's Country*, 1926, p. 159, speaks of the various carns, 'some of them of enormous proportions,' still to be seen on the summit of the mountain, Cefn Carn Cavall. It is not without interest to observe an ancient Irish parallel for this idea of a dog's carn. In the *Agallamh na Senorach* (*Colloquy of the Ancients*, trans. S. O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica*, II, p. 189), there is mention of the *lecht cinn chon* or grave of the wolf-dog's head, one of the dogs of Finn mac Cumall; also, p. 158, of the mound of the wolf-dogs.

[3] Chambers, pp. 240, 7. See below, p. 412, n. 1.

[4] Chambers, p. 17. William's *Gesta Regum* was completed in 1125.

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people seem always to have described as the bed or grave of some giant, hero or saint[1]. In 1113, so Hermann de Tournai says[2], monks of Laon, travelling in the neighbourhood of Exeter, were shown the chair and oven (*cathedram et fornum*) of King Arthur. These were probably great rocks or peaks distinguished by some natural or artificial oddity of shape which then, even as in many similar instances to-day[3], were associated with his name. Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia* (VIII, ch. ix, xii) reports the great stone circle of Stonehenge as a memorial set up for the hundreds of noble Britons slain through the perfidy of Hengist and his Saxons, and also that it was in Stonehenge (VIII, ch. xvi, xxiv) that the bodies of Arthur's father and uncle found burial. The marvellous elements in Geoffrey's story, like those in connection with Cabal's carn or Anir's mound, in nowise disprove the existence of an actual stone circle, a carn, a mound, in the places mentioned. Such antiquities, to judge from present-day survivals, were as real as the stories about them were fanciful.

The tales just enumerated show convincingly that in western Britain by 1135 various kinds of prehistoric remains had been connected with Arthurian tradition. Each story in that early period seems to have been definitely localised in connection with some particular local monument. If we wish to supplement this somewhat scanty British evidence, which is all that chance has left us, if we wish still further proof that ancient but historic Celts were interested in prehistoric antiquities, we have but to turn to Ireland. Old Irish literature is full of allusions to primitive monuments, to dolmens and stone circles, to menhirs and pillar stones, to carns and tumuli[4]. Irish gods and heroes were regularly, in that day as in this, associated with such things; the localisation of their supposed monuments was reported with that Celtic ardour for topography which is so charac-

[1] Cf. W. C. Borlase, *The Dolmens of Ireland*, London, 1897, Index, Giant's Bed or Grave, also Druid's Bed, Granny's (Grania's) Bed, Labby or Leab; see E. Hull, *Folklore*, XXXVII (1927), pp. 244 ff. Snell, p. 41, notes that a great mound in Warbstowe Bury, Cornwall, is called the Giant's Grave and also King Arthur's Grave.

[2] Chambers, pp. 249, 18. Faral, *La Légende Arthurienne*, I, p. 230, dates this story after 1135, but see R. S. Loomis, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XLVI (1931), p. 177.

[3] Snell, pp. 19, 136, 158, 183, 220, 203, 209, 225, notes various striking objects which in modern tradition are associated with Arthur's name. Natural rock hollows at Tintagel are called Arthur's Cups and Saucers; a dolmen in Glamorgan is Arthur's Stone; twin mountain peaks in Brecknockshire, a high hill north-east of Edinburgh, another hill in Liddesdale, a rock in Northumberland are alike called Arthur's Chair or Seat; a dolmen in Brecknockshire is his Table: a rocking stone in Anglesey is Arthur's Quoit; a menhir in Strathmore is Arthur's Stone.

[4] The *Táin Bó Cualnge* is full of such allusions. See below, p. 416. An attempt at a partial enumeration of those in the *Colloquy of the Ancients* may be found in my article, *Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass. America*, XLV, p. 402. Dr W. K. Sullivan in his edition of O'Curry, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, London, 1893, p. cccxvi and Addenda, has a valuable note on the different types of sepulchral monuments mentioned in a few other Irish texts. See also P. W. Joyce, *A Social History of Ireland*, London, 1903, II pp. 562–72.

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teristically revealed in the *Dinnshenchas*[1]. We have ample evidence, indeed, from the ancient Celtic world both as to the monuments and the legends. We have yet to discover whether actual reminiscences of both monuments and legends passed from that world into the comparatively sophisticated and mediævalised world of Arthurian romance.

Assuming for the moment that such transmission did take place, it is obvious that the reminiscences, when they did occur, would be rationalised and Christianised as completely as possible. The suggestions of paganism would be suppressed; pietistic ideas would be intruded. The local legend, when it drifted away from the original local monument by which it had been inspired or to which it had been attached, would lose not only its localisation but most of those distinctive details which related to the monument itself. If, for instance, in a given locality a tumulus, a stone circle, a dolmen, were all thought of as the burial places of ancient heroes, these three very different types of prehistoric monuments might well be reported in later traditions as simply the tombs of the heroes. The wandering, town-avoiding Celts of Ireland or Wales who encountered such prehistoric antiquities on their misty mountains, their lonely moors, who wove their own stories about such objects, were very different from the literary townsmen, the learned ecclesiastics, who rarely, if ever, knew of such things from their own experience. There is nothing even in Geoffrey's account of Stonehenge to indicate that he had himself seen the monument; he reports this greatest and even in his day most accessible megalithic monument as simply a stone circle used for a burial ground, and he sanctified it as much as he could by connecting it with the monastery at Ambresbury, an Anglo-Saxon institution founded in the tenth century[2]. Even in the twelfth century, we may be sure, the smaller prehistoric monuments had largely disappeared from the neighbourhood of those courtly and ecclesiastical centres in which presumably the courtly and ecclesiastical romancers lived. When, therefore, traditions of these things came to such story-tellers, they could only adapt the accounts as best they could to their own time and understanding; they could only

[1] Cf. 'The Rennes *Dinnshenchas*,' ed. Stokes, *Revue Celtique*, xv (1894), p. 285, the Fal beside the Mound of the Hostages; p. 285, the high monument of Cu and Celthen, 'two stones are there'; p. 268, 'three small stones set over wizards'; p. 286, the Monument of the Dwarf, the Stone of the Fians; p. 288, the Carn of the Children; p. 293, the Carn of Conn of the Hundred Battles; p. 321, Cualn's stone on the mountain; p. 448, Carn of the Red Stag, etc. Of particular interest is the account of the Monument of the Dwarf which is said to change its size from three to three-and-a-half feet, a legend like that associated with Anir's grave. For the sake of brevity I omit the place references, but they are given in the text with great care.

[2] For M. Faral, *op. cit.*, this detail seems to disprove the possibility that Geoffrey was drawing on traditional Celtic stories. But surely the allusion is only another illustration of Geoffrey's attempts at pseudo-historical and more or less realistic embellishments.

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interpret these 'stones' in the terms of Christian graveyards and sepulchres. If, in spite of all such deliberate and natural efforts at rationalisation, there is evidence enough in even two passages of Arthurian story to suggest a clear reminiscence of a distinctive type of megalithic monument and to offer close parallels to those ancient Celtic customs and beliefs which were associated with such monuments, then the two passages are of exceptional value, especially for those interested in establishing the Celtic and traditional origins of Arthurian story.

The first of these passages is found in the *Estoire del Saint Graal*, certainly one of the most completely Christianised of the romances. The story throughout is characterised, as M. Lot has shown in his *Étude sur le Lancelot*, p. 150, by a singular topographical vagueness; the author, who may, perhaps, have been a monk of Corbie in Picardy[1], was evidently as little acquainted with Great Britain as he was with the Orient in which so large a part of his story is supposed to take place. His 'Escoce,' Scotland, is to him but a dim land of legend, interesting to him only as the background for stories of heroic Christian missionaries endeavouring to convert a wild and heathen people. Despite his preoccupation with these ecclesiastical interests, his use of known literary sources, his own ignorance of the Britain with which his stories were traditionally associated, he seems to have preserved here and there details and legends of definitely Celtic and pagan origin. To such a source Mr Loomis[2] has traced the stories of Bron, Luces, and Pierre in the *Estoire*; to such a source, I believe, must be traced the account of Chanaan's tomb.

The *Estoire* (ed. Sommer, I, p. 257) tells us that when Josephe leads his people across the dangerous waters of Celice, the twelve brothers of Chanaan ask why Chanaan was left behind, and learn that it was because of his wickedness. Later, however, it comes to pass that he rejoins the others. Inspired by hatred of the Grail-fed Christians, he cuts off the heads of his twelve brothers. A council is held (p. 265), and Chanaan is condemned to be buried alive. A great hole (*fosse*) is dug, and Chanaan is buried up to his shoulders. He suddenly repents and asks (p. 266) that his murdered brothers 'soient mis enuiron moi & cascuns par soi si que ie soie enuirounes daus tous.' This is done and then they 'mistrent sour chascun une lame tele com il pooient el pais trouer & sour Chanaam une si estoit il encore tous uis quant il li mistrent.' Afterwards, at Josephe's advice, the name of each brother is written on his tomb and his sword is placed upon it. Josephe and his people 'demorerent tout le jour et toute la nuit

[1] Bruce, *Evolution of Arthurian Romance*, 1923, I, p. 394.
[2] 'Bron and Other Figures in the *Estoire del Saint Graal*,' *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, XXIV (1929), pp. 418, 425, 427.

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deuant les tombes car moult sestoient trauelliet as cors enterer et des tombes porter.' The next day the swords are found pointing upward, and Chanaan's tomb is all ablaze. This portent is to last until the coming of Lancelot. A priest named Pharain stays to say mass and pray for the soul of Chanaan. He builds a little chapel beside the graves[1].

In this weird and savage story the barbarity of manners accords with the scene; in the prose *Lancelot* (ed. Sommer, IV, pp. 339 ff.), where the same story is retold, the scene is definitely said to be 'en une gaste lande.' Though the story-teller of the *Estoire del Saint Graal* uses the word *tombe*, it is evident that what the story itself implies is simply *stone*. Thus we hear of the priest's pity for Chanaan before 'on li mist le tombe sor le cief' (p. 268); also of the weariness of the people in hunting the countryside over to find and bring the *tombes* to the chosen place. The twelve stone 'tombs,' placed in a circle about a central one and all these in a waste land, remote and lonely, recall precisely those prehistoric twelve-stone circles which still, as we shall see, may be found on lonely moors and desolate hills. It is also worth noting here, that although so much is said of this strange *tombe*, the marvels of which are to last until the coming of Lancelot, absolutely nothing is made of his actual arrival. 'Il regarde les tombes puis sen parti deluec,' is all that is said of an adventure for which so detailed a setting and so important an antecedent story are devised. The omission implies that originally the story of Chanaan's tomb had nothing to do with Lancelot; the idea of the tomb itself must have existed before it was described as merely an irrelevant portent. On the face of it the Chanaan story exists for the sake of the curious burial monument which it describes, the twelve stones or tombs about a central one. Like Geoffrey's account of the great stone circle at Stonehenge, the story of Chanaan's tomb is Christianised and romanticised, but it seems none the less to have been inspired by some actual monument. That monument was, I think, one of the megalithic twelve-stone circles which are still to be found in Britain or are credibly reported as having once existed there. Any one of these might have been locally reported as the tomb of twelve men, and any such legend might reasonably have entered the corpus of Arthurian story.

One of the largest and most interesting of these monuments is still to be seen in the open meadows beyond Holywood in Dumfriesshire. It is

[1] Miss Hull, *Folklore of the British Isles*, p. 108, calls attention to Templebrian, parish of Kilgariff, Cork, where there was until 1742 a tall pillar stone and a circle of stones near the ruins of an ancient small church. Other instances are given by O'Laverty, 'Pagan Monuments in the Vicinity of Ancient Churches,' *Jour. Roy. Arch. Ass. of Ireland*, V (1862, 4th Ser.), pp. 103, 108; also Mortillet, 'Les Monuments mégalithiques christianisés,' in *Rev. de l'École d'Anthropologie*, VII (1897), pp. 321 ff.

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known both as a Druid Circle and as the Twelve Apostles. The largest of the eleven stones that are still in place weighs about eleven tons; the twelfth stone is now missing, but the fact that it was once in place is attested by eighteenth-century accounts and pictures[1]. There is no evidence now of a central stone. In *The Circle and the Cross* (London, 1927), which is probably the most comprehensive study of stone circles that has yet been made, the late A. H. Allcroft mentions not only this Dumfriesshire twelve-stone circle (p. 217) but also others at Cerrig Gaerau, Montgomeryshire (p. 236), two in Radnorshire (p. 237), and various circles in Aberdeenshire, where they commonly number ten or twelve stones (p. 141). The great circle at Callernish, the Isle of Lewis, Ross-shire[2], has a circle variously reported as having twelve or thirteen stones, and there was once, according to old traditions, a circle of twelve great stones on the island of Iona[3]. A similar monument seems once to have existed in the Orkneys[4]. The Weddings at Stanton Drew, Somerset[5], and one of the Sunbrick circles in Furness, Lincolnshire[6], once apparently contained twelve-stone circles; and so, also, according to the eighteenth-century antiquarian Stukeley, whose observations were always more scrupulous than his conjectures, did Avebury[7], once a far greater megalithic structure than even Stonehenge.

This list, incomplete as it is, nevertheless gives some idea of the distribution in Britain itself of the twelve-stone circles. We are not in any way concerned with the vexed questions of the origin of these prehistoric monuments, but only with their actual existence. Like the not uncommon circles of nine or nineteen or sixty stones, it seems probable that these

[1] Coles, *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, 1893, pp. 84 ff.; *Ancient and Hist. Monuments (Scotland) Commission, Dumfries*, 1920, p. 106, No. 284. The same report speaks of another once extant twelve-stone circle in Whiteholm, Rig, Tundergarth. This monument (No. 603) is now known as the Seven Brethren.

[2] *Hist. Mon. Com., Outer Hebrides*, p. 24, Illus. See also C. P. Kains-Jackson, *Our Ancient Monuments*, London, 1880, pp. 74 ff.; Palmer, *Y Cymmrodor*, XI (1892), pp. 183–9; *Report of the Excursion of the Cambrian Archaeol. Assoc. to the Western Isles of Scotland*, 1899, Dublin, 1900, pp. 89 ff.; McLean, *Scottish Notes and Queries*, 1926, pp. 40, 69, 91. The stones in this circle are about twelve feet high. The natives believe it is ill-luck to count them.

[3] Hull, *Folklore of the British Isles*, p. 300; also C. P. Gordon-Cumming, *From the Hebrides to the Himalayas*, 1896, p. 69.

[4] *Archaeologia*, XXXIV (1849), p. 89; J. R. Tudor, *The Orkneys and Shetland*, 1883, p. 307; Black, 'Folklore of Orkney and Shetland,' in *Folklore*, XLIX (1901), pp. 212 ff. The megalithic monuments in this region seem to have been regarded with great veneration by the natives until very recent times. The old Norse name for the place was Steinness, which indicates that the monuments antedated the coming of the Norse.

[5] In *Archaeol. Jour.*, XV (1858), p. 202. Aubrey (1664) noted that the stones were, even in his day, much diminished in number.

[6] *Archaeologia*, XXXI (1848), p. 450, cf. Plate XVIII; Allcroft, *Circle and Cross*, p. 221, speaks of the inner circle as now having only ten stones.

[7] *Abury*, 1743, p. 31, Pl. XXI; cf. Kains-Jackson, *Our Ancient Monuments*, p. 51.

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twelve-stone circles had once some special significance[1], but what it was we are not likely to discover. The gap in time between the building of megalithic circles and the earliest of the mediæval records which seem to refer to such things was probably far greater than the gap between the Middle Ages and to-day. We can only turn to the mediæval stories to see in the folklore of our ancestors what things they in their time imagined about these and other prehistoric antiquities.

Though the circles existed in Britain, no certain reference to them has, apparently, come down to us in any text antedating Geoffrey of Monmouth. But, again, we have only to turn to Ireland to find not only numerous monuments of this special type but also several ancient legends concerning them. The monuments are most conveniently and specifically described in W. C. Borlase's important three-volume work on *The Dolmens of Ireland* (London, 1897). He describes the actual or recent existence of twelve-stone circles in County Kerry, Barony of Glenarought (vol. I, p. 7); in County Cork, Barony of Muskerry (I, p. 33); in County Sligo, Barony of Carbury (I, p. 150, Monuments No. XII, No. XIV; p. 156, Monument No. XXX; p. 160, Monument No. XLVIII); in County Down, Barony of Lecale Upper (I, p. 289); in County Meath, Barony of Fore (II, p. 325). Of ancient and presumably pagan origin, also, though possibly adapted to primitive Christian uses, was the circle of twelve stone tombs about some now vanished monument, a circle which was seen by C. P. Kains-Jackson (*Our Ancient Monuments*, p. 82) in Glen Malin, Glen Columbkille, Donegal. We may also suspect that the curious monument at Kilnasaggart which Wood-Martin describes as having in his time two concentric circles of graves surrounding a small central pillar stone, the inner circle of eleven, the outer of sixteen graves, may originally have had twelve rather than eleven tombs[2]. Other examples might be given, but this list is sufficient to establish the one fact with which we are concerned, the existence of this type of monument in Ireland. We are more concerned with the ancient Irish legends about them.

In the *Táin Bó Cualnge*[3] an important episode tells of the attack on

[1] On this subject Borlase, *Observations on the Antiquity of Cornwall*, Oxford, 1754, p. 180, made as reasonable guesses as anyone when he wrote: 'In some places we find the circles oftener of twelve stones than any other number either in honour to the twelve superior deities, or to some national custom of twelve persons of authority meeting there in council, or alluding to the twelve months of the year.' The Scandinavian *domring* was usually of twelve stones and was used for political and judicial purposes as late as the fourteenth century. Cf. Allcroft, *Circle and Cross*, ch. vii, viii, p. 278; also Wildte, 'Scandinavian Thingsteads,' *Antiquity*, II (1928), pp. 328–36.

[2] *Traces of the Elder Faiths in Ireland*, II, p. 313, Fig. 95. For further discussion of radial burial see below, p. 423.

[3] Trans. J. Dunn, London, 1914, pp. 209 f.; Windisch, *Irische Texte*, Leipzig, 1905, XI, 2893 ff.; Thurneysen, *Die irische Heldensage*, 1921, p. 187.

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Cúchulain which was made by the great warrior Ferchu and the twelve men of his muster, in order that they might win the favour of Ailill and Medb, who had exiled the band. Together the thirteen men attacked the lone hero and were slain by him. 'And he set up twelve stones in the earth for them, and he put the head of each one on its stone and he, likewise, put Ferchu Longsech's head on its stone.' Henceforth the name of the place where Ferchu Longsech left his head and his twelve men theirs and their arms and their trophies was Cenn-ait Ferchon (the Head-place of Ferchu).

Here, as in many other places in the *Táin*, pillar stones are said to be erected in memory of the dead. In actual fact there are extant in Ireland many such stones, though we may well believe that the archæological history of such pillar stones and menhirs as we see immensely antedates the composition of the extant stories of the *Táin*. Where such stones are found they stand in lonely isolation or are grouped in circular form; the alignments familiar in Brittany are very rare in Ireland[1]. We may feel sure, then, that the story of Ferchu and his men was told to account for some actual twelve-stone circle with a thirteenth stone either within or without the circle. In comparison with the mediævalised Chanaan story it is of interest to note the details given in this ancient Irish story which likewise deals with the beheading of a group of twelve men. Not only the heads but the arms and the trophies of the slain are put upon their stones, even as the swords of Chanaan's brothers were put upon their tombs.

The Ferchu story, like the Chanaan story, seems to have been inspired by the wish to account for a special type of monument, a circle of twelve stones or tombs in connection with a thirteenth. Since such monuments actually existed in Ireland and Scotland, the cause for the description seems self-evident. That both passages connect such a monument with the idea not merely of burial, but with the story that twelve men had been decapitated and their arms placed on their graves, seems to imply that both stories originated in essentially the same type of tradition, a type not to be paralleled, so far as I have been able to discover, outside of Celtic legend.

An outstanding difference between the Ferchu and the Chanaan stories is that in the first instance the thirteenth man, Ferchu himself, the leader, is decapitated, whereas Chanaan, the criminal, is buried alive. For this especially barbarous idea in connection with a burial circle, we have likewise a notable parallel in another old Irish story. The story is found in the Book of Leinster, the Book of Ballymote, and the Yellow Book of

[1] R. A. S. Macalister, *Archaeology of Ireland*, London, 1928, pp. 103, 109.

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Lecan. In the translation by Standish O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica*, II, pp. 376 ff., it reads as follows:

> Now Eochaid muighmedóin's sons, Fiachra and Ailell, with a vast army marched into Munster to lift rent and pledges, and advance as far as Caenraighe or 'Kenry' of úi Chairbre....To him (Fiachra) the men of Munster give battle in Kenry and in the fight Maige mescorach wounds Fiachra very sore; nevertheless...the battle goes against Munster and great carnage is made...Fiachra carries away out of the province fifty pledges, with their entire tribute, and so follows his way to Tara.
>
> But when he was come to the spot called Forrach in úi meic Uais, there Fiachra died of his hurt. His grave was dug, his lamentation-rite performed, his name written in Ogham; after which, in order that perpetually it should be for a reproach to Munster and a fitting matter with which to taunt them, round about Fiachra's grave the pledges whom they had brought out of the south were buried, and they alive. Every man of them, as they were put quick into the earth, said: 'it is *for uch*,' i.e., upon '*uch*' [an ejaculation of despair] 'that these tumuli are being founded.'...Quoth a magician there: 'even such shall be the name of the place, Forrach, to wit.'

This story suggests that we have here a reference to the very ancient custom of killing the living for the sake of the dead. 'The reproach to Munster,' as Dr Sullivan, in his Introduction to O'Curry's *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish* (1893, I, p. cccxx), remarks, 'probably consisted in treating the Munster hostages, who were all of the highest birth, as if they were dependents and slaves of Fiachra,' such people as might naturally, in a pagan world, have been killed in order to accompany their master in death. In a later version of the legend[1], the story is modified; Fiachra himself is supposed to have been caught, alone and wounded, by the hostages, and to have been buried alive by them. But this version makes the story lose its special point, the wish to account for a circle of graves about a pillar stone at a special place known as Forrach. It is this one monument which the story implies, and the association with the idea of burial alive, that are of particular interest for us.

In comparison with these Irish stories, so primitive in character, so localised in detail, so obviously inspired by monuments of a type still to be seen, the Chanaan story is, as we have already noted, mediævalised to a degree. Just as in actual fact the clergy of both mediæval and modern times tried to Christianise pagan monuments by putting crosses upon them or by adapting pagan cemeteries to Christian uses[2], so in the Chanaan story the Christian element has been most incongruously intruded; it makes holy men, 'les chevaliers Ihesu Crist,' bury alive the sinner Chanaan; it tells of pious vigils and the building of a chapel by this strange funeral monument. Yet the tenacity of tradition seems evident. Though exact local detail has been lost, the monument is said to be in Scotland in

[1] Joyce, *Social History of Ireland*, II, p. 545, from the Yellow Book of Lecan.

[2] See above, p. 414, n. 1; also Joyce, II, p. 573. O'Curry, *Lectures on MS. Materials of Ancient Irish History*, 1878, p. 189, says Forraidh (Forrach) was in the (present) county of Westmeath.

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exactly such a waste land as is commonly the site of such memorials. Though Chanaan is involved with another sinner, Symeu[1], this man is disposed of by being snatched away in the air, for no better reason apparently than the wish not to have to account for the burial of a fourteenth man in a monument that was apparently for thirteen only. The tomb itself, from every point of view, seems the real *raison d'être* of a story which has, as we have already noted, no real sequel. That the account was originally inspired, as were the localised Irish stories, by some actual twelve-stone circle seems hardly open to doubt.

The parallel between Irish and Arthurian legends in connection with twelve-stone burial circles is matched in yet another instance, this time in connection with the concept of twelve figures surrounding a central one which is supposed to dominate the group. The *Tripartite Life of Saint Patrick*[2], composed, it is thought, late in the ninth century[3], contains an Irish legend which is connected with what all students[4] have recognised to be some actual prehistoric twelve-stone circle known not only to the author of the *Life* but also to the author of the *Rennes Dinnshenchas*[5]. The two texts describe the great gold-covered idol known as Cromm Cruaich which was surrounded by twelve lesser idols of stone (*Dinnshenchas*), covered with brass (*Life*). 'Until Patrick's advent,' we are told, 'Cromm was the god of every folk that colonised Ireland.' The two texts give many details concerning the terrible rites of Cromm's cult, of 'those who served a stone,' and of the saint's attack upon the idol. According to the *Dinnshenchas*, 'he smashed the paltry gods each one'; according to the other account, the earth swallowed up the idols until only their heads showed above ground, a detail which would seem to suggest that ancient Irish legend associated the Cromm story with a circle of comparatively small stones. It is not necessary here to argue whether Mr Kendrick (*The Druids*, London, 1927, p. 191) is right in suggesting that the account is simply 'an ætiological myth to account for an ordinary twelve-stone circle, a myth possibly invented by the

[1] That Symeu originated from the redactor's misreading of his text, and that this splitting of 'Simon called Peter' into two characters had embarrassing consequences for his narrative, is clearly shown by Loomis, *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, XXIV, p. 425.

[2] Rolls Series, I, p. 93.

[3] Mulchrone, *Zeitschr. f. celt. Phil.*, XVI (1927), p. 93. For earlier discussions of the date see pp. 1–5.

[4] Allcroft, *Circle and Cross*, p. 257; Macalister, *Ireland in pre-Christian Times*, Dublin, 1921, p. 295; Lanigan, *Ecclesiastical Hist. of Ireland*, I, ch. 5, sect. 5, 8, p. 239. The best study of the legend and cult of Cromm Cruaich is by J. P. Dalton, *Proc. Roy. Irish Acad.*, XXXVI (1922), pp. 23, 67. He identified the hill of Darraugh in County Cavan as the site of Cromm's worship. See also Stokes, *Rev. Celt.*, XVI, p. 36.

[5] For Irish text and translation see Meyer, *Voyage of Bran*, II, p. 305; also Macalister, *Ireland in pre-Christian Times*, p. 295.

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author of the *Tripartite Life*,' or whether Mr Macalister (*The Archaeology of Ireland*, London, 1928, p. 108) is justified in urging that 'it is quite legitimate to utilise the legend as a guide to this class of monument—that it explains the circle, and it explains the single stone, reasonably and satisfactorily.' The two undoubted facts which in any case emerge from the story is that in ninth-century Ireland a twelve-stone circle was known and that it was associated with pagan worship.

Our study at this point involves no attempt to interpret the significance of the Cromm[1] cult or its possible diffusion in Ireland or Britain[2]; nor does it involve here or elsewhere any conclusions as to the date and origin of stone circles. Whatever the origin of the monuments found so thickly in Celtic territories, the stones were indubitably there for pagan and then for Christian Celts to marvel at and to explain as best they could. The Cromm story happens to be one of the few explanations that has come down to us. To suit the fancy of the Christian who was telling it and who, like most mediæval Christians, believed that all pagans were idolators, the ancient stones are described as gods decked out in precious metals. In actual fact megalithic stones rarely show any attempt at sculpture[3] or other decoration, and if they do it is of only the most primitive sort. But it is important to note that this ninth-century tale of a supposedly fifth-century ritual magnified the actual stones, which anyone could see[4], into the legend that they had once been figures of splendid gods.

This description of golden Cromm and his Twelve, inspired as it must have been by some actual circle of rude megalithic stones, is of singular interest as we turn to our second instance in Arthurian romance of a similar monument. The account is best given in the beautifully cadenced prose of Malory (*Morte Darthur*, Bk. II, ch. 10–11):

> There were slain at that battle twelve kings on the side of King Lot with Nero, and all were buried in the Church of Saint Stephen's in Camelot, and the remnant of knights and of others were buried in a great rock. Of all these twelve kings, King Arthur let make the tomb of King Lot passing richly and made his tomb by his own; and then let Arthur make twelve images of laton and copper, and overgilt it with gold, in the sign of the twelve kings and each held a taper of wax that burnt day and night; and King

[1] A common interpretation of the golden god in the centre of twelve lesser gods is that the one represented the sun, the others the twelve moons or months. Cf. Hastings, *Encycl. of Religion and Ethics*, VII, p. 109.

[2] Rhys, *Celtic Heathendom*, Hibbert Lectures, pp. 202 ff.; Allcroft, *Circle and Cross*, p. 342.

[3] But see E. Hull, *Folklore of the British Isles*, pp. 98 ff., 303, for an account of two rudely carved menhirs in Guernsey.

[4] The *Tripartite Life* says the mark of the saint's crozier was still visible and also the heads of the idols which had sunk into the ground. Allcroft, p. 257, remarks: 'It is clear that this circle was not formed of very tall stones. The story is a transparent effort on the part of some monkish chronicler to account for the presence at the spot of a circle of stones which a long Christianised population still continued to regard with veneration.'

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Arthur was made in the sign of a figure standing above them with a sword drawn in his hand, and all the twelve figures had countenance like unto men that were overcome. All this made Merlin by his subtle craft.

In effect this passage in Malory is simpler and more archaic than the one which corresponds to it in the *Merlin* of the thirteenth-century Huth MS. (ed. Paris and Ulrich, *SATF.* I, 263). In this older text more details are given, more is said of the metal of which the kings are made, of their crowns, of their names and how they are inscribed, of their position. The narrator here remarks:

Quant toute cele œvre fu acomplie, li rois fist metre les ymages en la maistre forterece de la tour en haut dessus les creniaus, si que tout cil de la chité le veoient apertement, et tint chascuns des rois un gros chierge alumé. Et en mi liu des douze estoit l'image le roi Artus, assés plus haut qu'il n'estoient tuit.

The absence of any reference to a tower in Malory's version[1], which through this whole episode is practically identical with that in the Huth *Merlin*, leads us to suspect that the tower was an unfortunate invention, or perhaps merely a mistake, of the scribe of the Huth manuscript. Mediæval towers were, of course, sometimes decorated with figures, as Alnwick Castle still is, but the idea of a memorial monument on top of a tower (*en haut dessus les creniaus*) is almost too bizarre. Was *tombe* misread for *tour*, and the *tour* elaborated with natural references to the *forterece* and *creniaus*? It would seem so, for Malory's text, otherwise so close to the French, is good evidence that *tour* did not appear in the original version. Between that version with its description of the twelve kings dominated by golden Arthur and the twelve gods dominated by golden Cromm in the ancient Irish story, there is evident and startling analogy.

The point already stressed that the description of Cromm and his Twelve was inspired by an actual megalithic circle, that the decorated 'gods' were but a Christian redactor's imaginary elaboration of rude megalithic stones, suggests the possibility of a similar development for this likewise idealised description of Arthur and his Twelve. Once grant that an actual twelve-stone circle was, for any reason, associated with Arthur, as we know various other prehistoric remains were so associated, particularly in the earliest stages of Arthurian story, and it is easy to see how the belief would arise that the stones were memorials to great men killed by Arthur. The Nennian tradition of Arthur's twelve great battles[2], victories implying twelve conquered leaders of his foes, might itself have

[1] Likewise the Spanish version, ed. Bonilla y San Martin, *Libros de Caballerías*, 1907, I, p. 87, says nothing of a tower.
[2] *Historia Britonum*, ch. lvi. Cf. Chambers, pp. 1 ff.

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inspired the explanation that this or that twelve-stone circle in western Britain was the burial place of the twelve kings. If the circle possessed a large central stone, that stone would naturally be explained as a memorial to their leader, as it was in the Irish Ferchu story, or as symbolising their conqueror, as in the *Merlin* account. In any case it is clear that in this, as in the Chanaan passage, the story has been fitted to an arbitrary, preconceived pattern of twelve about one. Just as Symeu was removed, so here King Lot, the leader of the twelve rebel kings, was removed from their common memorial; his tomb was made 'by his own,' that the central position might be left for Arthur. Twelve and only twelve figures or stones were permitted to surround the central one.

The evidence already presented renders unnecessary, it is hoped, any long discussion of the objection that the number twelve is itself too conventional to have any significance. If we accept the theory that these various legends of Irish Cromm and Ferchu, of Arthur and Chanaan, were in their origin related to actual megalithic monuments, we are bound to believe that in such instances the number was in no way due either to convention or to chance, but was predetermined for the story-tellers by the makers of the stone circles; the legends were created for no other purpose than to explain such monuments and to attach them to the traditions of the people to whom those monuments were known. In such case it does not matter how familiar in pagan or in Christian tradition, in ancient mythology, Greek[1], Roman[2], Gallo-Roman[3], or Scandinavian[4], was the well-known group of the one and the twelve, except to observe that the pagan Irish were as familiar with it as were other people. They used it for

[1] Farnell, *Greek Cults*, Oxford, 1896, I, p. 84, notes as the first certain instances of the cult the dedication to the twelve gods at Salamis by Solon and the altar erected by the younger Pisistratus. Athens was probably the centre from which the cult spread. Cf. Plato, *Phaedrus*, 247.

[2] The *Dii consentes* had their statues in Rome and were referred to by Varro, who saw (36 B.C.) there the *imagines auratae*. Cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, VI, 72, and Virgil, *Georgics*, I, 232: 'Orbem | Per duodena regit mundi sol aureus astra.' Hastings, *Encycl. of Religion and Ethics*, IX, p. 410, notes the twelve gods were not known in Rome before 217 B.C. The altar of Gabies, now in the Louvre, but made in ancient Italy, shows a plastic representation of Roman astral theology; the heads of the twelve gods are carved in high relief around a concave circle. Cf. Cumont in Saglio-Daremberg, *Dict. des Antiquités*, 'Zodiac,' VI, p. 1056, Fig. 7595.

[3] The altar of Mavilly, found near Beaune, Burgundy, now in the museum of St Germain-en-Laye, shows the twelve Roman gods, and a thirteenth figure, a serpent with the head of a ram, which M. Salomon Reinach believes was the representation of a Celtic god. Cf. 'Le treizième Dieu,' *Rev. Archéol.*, XXII (1913), p. 281; also his *Cultes, Mythes et Religions*, 1908, III, pp. 166 ff.

[4] There were twelve Valkyries, twelve Asas, twelve names for the All Father, etc. Hibbert, 'Tings of Orkney,' *Arch. Scotica*, III (130), p. 136, quotes the interesting account from Gothric and Rolf's saga in which Odin, in disguise, goes to an island, takes his seat in a circle of twelve, and is recognised as Odin himself. Cf. E. Böklen, *Die Unglückszahl Dreizehn und ihre mythische Bedeutung*, 1913, p. 5. The book contains a valuable assemblage of material relating to groups of twelve and one among gods, heroes, adventurers.

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gods, kings and heroes[1]. Since the use of this favourite group number was, for reasons beyond the scope of this inquiry, world-wide[2], by itself the use of the number proves nothing at all. Even in conjunction with the idea of a circular pattern it has but doubtful significance, for, again, almost all civilised peoples and all periods have known this pattern through familiarity with the zodiac[3]. But the most zealous opponent of the theory of Celtic origins would hardly wish to admit that the concept of golden Arthur surrounded by his Twelve was inspired by any conscious equation with the celestial figures of the zodiac. That would be to admit that even in the thirteenth century an apotheosis of Arthur had already taken place for which, so far as actual evidence is concerned, there is none before we come to the learned glorifications of Arthur in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries[4]. The zodiac leaves entirely unexplained the Chanaan story in which there is no suggestion of deification, and likewise it leaves entirely unexplained the most essential feature of these two Arthurian stories, the fact that they associate the group number of twelve and one with a special type of circular funeral monument and with special details of entombment.

The argument that actual megalithic monuments in Ireland and Britain gave rise to particular Irish and Arthurian legends does not, of course, exclude the realisation that radial burial was practised elsewhere, or that analogies can be found in a few early Christian monuments to those described in the legends. Excavation has brought to light certain instances of radial burial in England[5], for example, though archæologists differ as to whether these were of pagan or Christian origin[6]. Unmarked as

[1] See the evidence cited in *Mod. Phil.*, XXV (1928), pp. 345–9; *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XLIV (1929), pp. 518 ff. on 'The Celtic Twelve.'

[2] See Böklen's study; also C. Petersen, 'Das Zwölfgöttersystem der Griechen und Römer,' *Samml. gemeinverständlicher wissenschaftlicher Vorträge*, Ser. V, Berlin, 1870.

[3] See Cumont's important article on the zodiac, Saglio-Daremberg, *Dict. des Antiquités*, VI, pp. 1048 ff.

[4] Cf. Lydgate, *Troy Book*, ch. 3; Gavin Douglas, *Eneados*, III, p. 85, both noted by R. S. Loomis, *Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance*, 1927, p. 353, n. 19. In an account of the marriage festivities in 1501 of Prince Arthur of England and Catherine of Aragon a pageant was set up in Chepe 'in maner of an heven wheryn was paynted the xii signes, and ouer theym was Arthure, clene arme, in his Golden Chare.' Prince Arthur was, of course, supposed to be the descendant of King Arthur. The pageant, which was named 'Sphere of the Sun,' is described in C. L. Kingsford, *Chronicles of London*, Oxford, 1905, p. 244 (see also pp. 236, 239, 333), a reference kindly pointed out to me by Professor Edwin Greenlaw.

[5] Cf. Allcroft, *Circle and Cross*, p. 54; *Victoria County Hist. Essex*, I, p. 327, bodies disposed in a ring at Shoeburyness; *Vic. Co. Hist. Buckinghamshire*, I, p. 204, at Newport Pagnell, two concentric circles of graves, the feet pointing to the centre, etc.

[6] The writers in the *Victoria County Histories* say merely that the graves have been described as Saxon or West-Saxon. Allcroft, p. 55, inclines to the belief they were Christian burials because of the absence of grave furniture and because of the analogy with the circular graves found in Ireland. But the evidence as presented offers no ground for conclusion as to the race or religion of the people so buried. Allcroft, p. 56, admitted: 'The circular figure tells us nothing of those interred within it.'

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they were by stones of any sort, however, graves such as these could not have been known to the Middle Ages. In Ireland itself, in three early Christian cemeteries[1] that were apparently on the site of still earlier pagan burials, there are circles made up of twelve graves. Likewise in the far-away Mediterranean world, in Christian Ephesus[2] and in Constantinople in the fourth century, there were, according to ancient reports, monuments of this particular radial type. According to Eusebius[3], no less a person than Constantine the Great had prepared for himself in the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople a great sarcophagus and around it twelve others, supposedly those of the twelve apostles. But in no one of these cases is there any clue by which they might be connected with either the Irish or the Arthurian legends which we have been studying. Surely no Christian monument, either of the humble sort suggested by the Irish low stone graves or of the splendid, classically inspired sarcophagi of the Constantinian tomb, ever gave rise to the story of Cromm or of Ferchu; no Christian monument, we may well believe, ever gave rise to those Arthurian legends which, as a summarising chart reveals, so strangely accord with those ancient Irish tales.

The chart given below and the arguments connected with it do not presuppose any direct connection between the Irish and the Arthurian tales. The relation between them is not, I think, to be explained by deriving one from the other, but by reference to the fact that the same type of monument, existing as it did both in Ireland and in Britain, gave rise, among people of the same race, to essentially the same traditions. In contrast to the Anglo-Saxons whose literature makes hardly any reference to megalithic remains, or to the Scandinavians[4] who commonly interpreted the stone circles in terms, not of sepulchral legend, but of judicial use and tradition, the Celtic people, familiar with those rude stone monuments which they encountered in the regions most their own, showed, as

[1] See the instances referred to here on pp. 415–16, found at Glen Malin, Glen Columbkille, Donegal, and at Kilnasaggart. Wood-Martin, *Traces of Elder Faiths in Ireland*, remarks, I, pp. 312–13: 'In sepulture, as in religion, one custom glided into another without any hard dividing line. In many ancient cemeteries connected with the earliest monastic establishments in Ireland, graves formed in the pagan fashion are of by no means rare occurrence, demonstrating that, in material as in spiritual matters, there was a gradual transition from one religion to another.' 'At St John's Point, Co. Down, and also in other localities, cists are arranged in the pagan manner, in the form of a circle.'

[2] O'Laverty, *Jour. Roy. Hist. Archaeol. Ass. of Ireland*, 1882, v (4th Ser.), p. 105, speaks of graves at Ephesus radiating from a central point supposed to have been the tomb of St John. I have not been able to trace O'Laverty's account of the radial graves, but Wheeler, 'Un Monument Circulaire à Éphèse ou le prétendu Tombe de St Luc,' *Rev. Archéol.*, 1891, pp. 36 ff., establishes the pagan origin and antiquity of the monument he discusses.

[3] *Vita Const.*, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Ser. 2, I, ch. 60. Cf. C. B. Coleman, *Constantine the Great and Christianity*, New York, 1914, p. 57.

[4] For further discussion of the Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian evidence see my article 'Stonehenge,' *Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass. Amer.*, XLV, p. 408.

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we have seen, a special interest in such monuments and expressed it in localised legends. In the Irish Ferchu story the legend is purely pagan; in the Cromm story it is partly Christianised, but nevertheless preserves a clear reminiscence of pagan Irish belief. Since one of our two Arthurian stories agrees with the Irish in joining the description of so peculiar a thing as a burial circle of twelve graves about one with the practice of head-cutting

Monuments described in the Tales of

Cromm	Arthur	Ferchu; of Fiachra	Chanaan
12 gods and one greater god	12 rebel kings, their leader, Lot	12 men of muster, their leader, Ferchu	12 brothers, their brother, Chanaan
	Killing of Lot and his twelve by Arthur's men	Beheading of Ferchu and his twelve by Cúchulain	Beheading of 12 brothers by Chanaan
		Burial alive of 50 hostages in circle around Fiachra	Burial alive of Chanaan in centre of burial circle
12 stone idols encircle golden Cromm	12 gilt statues encircle golden Arthur	12 stones set up around Ferchu's stone	12 'tombes' encircle Chanaan's
		Heads and weapons placed on stones	Weapons placed on 'tombes'
In a remote place	Kings buried in church in Camelot but men buried 'in a great rock'	In a remote place	In a waste

and placing of weapons upon stones, it seems reasonable to admit that in so much the legends, even though they occur in thirteenth-century French prose, likewise contain a clear reminiscence of primitive Celtic custom and belief. The measure of distance both in time and space which such traditions had to travel before they were incorporated into literary romance, the changes to which they were subjected in passing from one race, one civilisation, to another, is graphically suggested by the four stories under

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discussion. Whether they afford a clue to the strange recurrence in Arthurian romance of tomb stories[1] and its curious emphasis upon stones of one kind and another[2], is, doubtless, a matter for debate, but it is certainly one that challenges investigation and invites comparison with other cycles of mediæval story[3].

L. Hibbard Loomis.

Wellesley, U.S.A.

[1] In connection with the characteristic episode of the hero's raising the lid of a tomb, Nitze and Cross, *Lancelot and Guenevere*, Chicago, 1930, pp. 8, 72, suggest the influence on Chrétien's treatment of Lancelot's act of John xx, 1, 'lapidem sublatum a monumento,' and think the trait 'obviously Christian, not Celtic.' The Christian influence may be admitted without prejudice to the possibility that Celtic stories of heroes lifting great stones may have been the origin of the tradition. Cf. my article, p. 403.

[2] For instance, the stones from which Arthur and Galahad draw swords, the Grail stone in Wolfram's *Parzival*, the massive rain stone in *Yvain*, the testing stone seat in *Wigalois* (cf. Loomis, *Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance*, pp. 217 ff.), the testing pillar stone in Wauchier's *Perceval*, etc. It has often been observed that the 'Cult of stones,' the 'Veneratio Lapidum,' was anciently prevalent and to a surprising extent has persisted among Celtic people. Notable parallels for most of the Arthurian stones can be drawn from this ancient and modern Celtic stone lore.

[3] In contrast with the deliberate exploitation of the Gallo-Roman cemetery of Aliscamps at Arles which M. Bedier, *Les Légendes Épiques*, I, pp. 394, 412, has so illuminatingly traced in the late twelfth-century *chansons de geste*, it is of special interest to note the antiquity of the Arthurian legends connected with prehistoric antiquities (see above, p. 410), the still greater antiquity of the Irish legends connected with similar remains, and the fact that in later Arthurian stories the precise details of localisation become increasingly vague or are lost altogether.

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THE CHELTENHAM MANUSCRIPTS OF THE 'ROMAN DE LA ROSE'

As Langlois has made amply clear in the course of his monumental researches on the *Roman de la Rose*, it is inevitable that discoveries of hitherto unnoticed manuscripts of the poem will be made with some frequency for many years to come[1]. In fact, there is at present no possibility of estimating, even approximately, the number of such copies in the possession of private individuals. With reference to one of the most famous private libraries in the world, however, it has not been pointed out, so far as I am aware, that five manuscripts of the *Rose* are in Thirlestaine House at Cheltenham. Moreover, a sixth manuscript[2] as well once served to enrich the collection originally assembled by Sir Thomas Phillipps during the first half of the last century.

Apart from the scanty notes available in the rather inaccessible catalogue of the library, the only allusions (which have come to my attention) to Cheltenham copies[3] of the *Roman de la Rose* are mere casual recordings by Haenel, Migne, and Durrieu[4]. It is through the kindness and courtesy

[1] Cf. E. Langlois, *Les manuscrits du Roman de la Rose, description et classement* (Lille-Paris, 1910), p. 2. This work will henceforth be referred to as *Manuscrits*. Verses from the poem will be numbered as in the edition for the Société des Anciens Textes Français (*Le Roman de la Rose par Guillaume de Lorris et Jean de Meun, publié d'après les manuscrits* par Ernest Langlois, 5 vols., Paris, 1914–24).

[2] Sir Thomas mentions this manuscript with the following notice in his catalogue (*Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum in bibliotheca D. Thomae Phillipps, Bart.*, A.D. 1837; p. 33*):

'2896 Roman de la Rose. *large 4to.* V. S. xv.
Double Columns. Notae in initio de Vita Autoris.'

The fact that the entry is made with a group of titles under the heading *Incerti* would indicate that, before printing this page in his catalogue, Sir Thomas had forgotten where he had acquired the manuscript. I do not know where MS. 2896 may be found at the present time. It was sold May 1, 1903, at Sotheby's, as Lot 963 in an auction of Phillipps's possessions (cf. p. 126 of the sale catalogue).

[3] Sir Thomas has made the following entries in his catalogue:

'129 Roman de la Rose. *4to. vel.* (1375).'
'2838 Roman de la Rose (*with autograph of* Abbé Rive).
Les Dits de Robin de Compeigne. *f. ch. S.* xv.'
'4185 Roman de la Rose. *sm. fol. vel.* saec. xiv.'
'4357 Roman de la Rose, *with* 77 *miniatures.* 4to. v. s. xiv.
1375. *Red morocco. Arms in 1st page*: Argent, a bend lozengy G. a border S. bezantée. *Olim Nicolai Gilles Secretarii Regis, cum autographo ejus.*'
'4363 Roman da (*sic*) la Rose. 4to. s. xiv.'

The application of the date 1375 to MSS. 129 and 4357 is, of course, without justification. Furthermore, the number of miniatures in MS. 4357 is 38, and not 77.

[4] Cf. G. Haenel, *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum* (Leipzig, 1830), col. 805: '129 Roman de la rose; membr.' This same notice appears again in the *Dictionnaire des manuscrits* (c. 159) included by the abbé J. P. Migne in his *Nouvelle encyclopédie théologique* (vol. XLI). Similarly brief references are made by Haenel in *Archiv für Philologie und Pädagogik*, VII (1841), p. 600 (to MS. 4185) and p. 610 (to MSS. 4357 and 4363). For a note on MS. 4357, cf. P. Durrieu, *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, L, 400.

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of Mr T. Fitzroy Fenwick, grandson of Sir Thomas Phillipps and present owner of the collection, that I have been enabled to examine these manuscripts at Thirlestaine House.

Description of the Manuscripts.

129. In view of the catalogue number of this fifteenth-century manuscript, it is reasonable to conclude that it was among the first to enter the Phillipps Library. The vellum leaves, of which there are 171, have two-column pages measuring 31·8 × 26·2 cm. The calligraphy is a clear and careful cursive. On a loose sheet kept with the volume appears a fairly detailed description which indicates that each column contains

> toujours à peu près trente-trois ou trente-quatre vers, excepté les pages où sont laissées des places en blanc destinées aux miniatures dont aucune n'est exécutée. Ces places sont au nombre de trente-neuf....Les divisions du sujet ne portent ici aucun titre, ni le nom des Interlocuteurs; mais la place en blanc en est toujours réservée ainsi que pour le premier titre du Livre qui n'en a aucun....La première lettre de chacune des divisions est capitale, et peinte alternativement en vermillon ou azur....Le Livre est fort bien relié en maroquin—et doré sur tranche.

Like the other Phillipps *Rose* manuscripts, 129 offers but few linguistic traits of a regional nature, as in *jone*, *tendera* (= *tiendra*), *milleur*, *ligier* (= *léger*), *pou*.

The poem of Guillaume de Lorris extends from f. 1*a* to f. 33*b*, and that of Jehan de Meun from f. 33*c* to f. 170*d*. For additional aid to identification, it may be noted that the second folio begins with *Ens en mon lit couchiez estoie* (v. 86), and the last folio with *Et se vous plus largettement* (v. 21685).

2838. Purchased in Paris probably in the early 1820's[1], MS. 2838, executed on paper, seems to be the least valuable copy of the *Roman de la Rose* in Cheltenham. This is also true in spite of the note (opposite f. 1) asserting that the volume contains the 'very rare' *Dits* of Robin de Compiègne, for, at the end of the *Rose* proper, this manuscript contains merely the *Testament* of Jehan de Meun. The volume measures 28·7 × 19·8 cm., and has 155 leaves with pages of two columns containing 40 lines each. The names of speakers in the allegory are indicated by rubrics. The copyist, whose writing is ordinary fifteenth-century cursive, is not often guilty of regional traits (cf. *lignaige*, *saige*, *espicialment*, *mansonge*).

The poem of Guillaume de Lorris is to be found in ff. 1*a*–25*c*, Jehan de Meun in ff. 25*c*–135*c*, and the *Testament* in ff. 136*a*–155*c*. The second

[1] Since MS. 2838 was entered by Sir Thomas on a page (33*) inserted as a sort of addendum in his catalogue, the date of acquisition cannot be determined. Haenel, who visited the library in 1827, has never recorded this manuscript, but the number of the manuscript would, however, argue for its appearance in the Phillipps collection prior to 1825.

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folio begins with v. 159 of the *Rose* (*Com ses deux et dautel faitture*), and the last folio with v. 2124 of the *Testament*[1] (*...de nous la cur...*)[2].

4185. What might have been Sir Thomas's most important version of the *Rose* is the set of fourteenth-century fragments which make up MS. 4185. The manuscript was well written and carefully executed, but subsequently it was badly mutilated and its pages considerably smirched before coming into the possession of Sir Thomas[3], to whom, incidentally, its present binding is due. Its vellum pages measure 22·9 × 16·3 cm. and they each contain two columns of 29 lines apiece. Rubrics are utilised to indicate the names of speakers. The copyist reveals almost no regional habits apart from a tendency to employ *a* for *e* before *n* + consonant.

There is only one leaf (f. 1) in MS. 4185 which preserves any of the poem of Guillaume de Lorris. This fragment of 110 verses corresponds to vv. 3550–659 of the Langlois edition. The next leaf begins with v. 4064, the sixth line of Jehan de Meun. The following fragments of his poem are preserved:

f. 2	vv. 4064–4185
3–41[4]	4284–8819
42–43	9271–9492
44–105	12090–19376.

There are no miniatures at present in this manuscript, but it is possible that a small one was once on f. 11*c*. A part of this column has been scissored out and there is apparently no interruption in the text, for v. 5256 (*Et pour uiure en beneurtes*) is above the excision and v. 5257 (*A douces richesces mortex*) below. In f. 11*b*, however, on the reverse side, the gap corresponds to the missing vv. 5230–41.

4357. Durrieu[5] dates the cursive calligraphy of this vellum manuscript during the reign of Charles VI. It is, in fact, safe to assume that it was written early in the fifteenth century, but scarcely before the very last years of the fourteenth. Durrieu contends that the miniatures[6] were not executed until late in the fifteenth century.

According to an entry at the end of the book (f. 137 r°), Sir Thomas presumably acquired it in 1828. The grouping of the manuscripts in his catalogue indicates that both MS. 4357 and MS. 4363 had previously

[1] Cf. Méon's edition of the *Testament* in his *Roman de la Rose...Nouvelle édition*, Paris, 1814, vol. IV.

[2] The volume is in good condition except for the fact that water once seeped into certain parts: although traces are noticeable throughout the book, no letters have been obliterated except at the top of ff. 154 v°, 155 r°, 155 v°.

[3] Sir Thomas classifies 4185 in his catalogue as a Longman manuscript.

[4] A tear has removed a certain amount of material from the lower quarter of 3*b* and 3*c*.

[5] Cf. *supra*, p. 425, n. 4.

[6] A note in the manuscript states that 'it contains thirty-eight excellent miniatures.'

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passed through the hands of the Parisian bookseller Debure. In all likelihood the two books entered the Phillipps collection at the same time. The elaborate armorial bearings of an unknown French marquis, which appear on both front and back cover of the red morocco binding, have yielded me no solution as to their identification[1]. In the border ornamentation of the first folio a similarly unidentified coat-of-arms is to be found. As to other previous owners of the manuscript, its purchase in Paris by Nicolas Gilles in 1482 is recorded on f. 136*d*, and also its presentation by him to one Perdrier, September 3, 1493.

The volume measures 28·5 × 20·8 cm. and each of the pages contains two columns of 39 or 40 verses apiece. Although the occasional folio numbers indicate a total of 137, only 136 are now preserved. This difference is explained by the loss of f. 12 (vv. 2141–308) from the manuscript after the introduction of the present pagination. In addition, the volume shows that two leaves (corresponding to vv. 129–359[2]) between f. 1 and f. 2 were lost prior to the folio numbering. Apart from these losses in Guillaume de Lorris, the manuscript is in satisfactory condition except for the last 18 verses of Jehan de Meun, from each of which the first three or four letters have been torn out. In the language of the copyist I have noticed no dialectal particularities which warrant mention.

Guillaume de Lorris covers ff. 1*a*–24*c* and Jehan de Meun ff. 24*c*–136*c*. The speakers in the poem are indicated by rubrics. The lost second folio probably began with v. 129, and the last folio commences with *Et pour ce my sui embatus* (v. 21670). After the poem of Jehan de Meun and after the notes of ownership, the manuscript contains two short and unrelated stanzas, the first on f. 136*d* and the second on f. 137 r°:

I. Par la grant hayne diuerse
qui dedens faulx semblant conuerse
fu clopinel aulx champs couuert
pour ce quil ot voir descouuert
de faulx semblant li maulx traitres
qui maint jour vit dedens chapitres
mais puis par luniuersite
en dedans paris rapporte
Et enterre honnestement
Maugre faulx semblant le puant.

II. Honny soit qui ja mais
Croira pour nulle chose
que dessoubz simple habit
nait mauuaitie enclose

[1] On the problem of solving French *ex libris*, cf. Walter Hamilton, *Dated Book-Plates*, London, 1895, I, p. 40.

[2] As an average leaf in the manuscript contains 160 verses, it is probable that the loss of this passage of 231 verses was accompanied by the removal of one or more miniatures as well. Observe that the same line (v. 128) terminates the first folio not only in MS. 4357, but in MS. 4363 as well.

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Car tel vest rude robe
ou felon cueur repose
Le rosier est poignant
Et souef est la rose. hᶜ rostebeuf, cod'tpc[1].

4363. In *Manuscrits* (p. 129) Langlois refers to the list of copies of the *Roman de la Rose* utilised by Méon early in the nineteenth century. One of these copies was never mentioned by Méon except as the 'MS. daté de 1375.' No manuscript described by Langlois bears the date 1375, and he admits being unable to solve Méon's label. At the end of the Cheltenham MS. 4363 (f. 209 rº) is the following note: *Ce liure est*[2]*...et lescrist de sa main et fut parfait le second jour doctobre lan de grace mil ccc lxxv.* It is likely that an examination of the annotations to the copy (written in Méon's hand) of the *Roman de la Rose* owned by Langlois during his lifetime would demonstrate that the Phillipps manuscript is indeed Méon's 'MS. daté de 1375.'

As Sir Thomas's oldest complete text of the *Rose*, MS. 4363 is the most important copy now preserved in Thirlestaine House. It was apparently acquired from Debure (cf. *supra*). It is written on vellum, and its pages (with two columns of 32 lines each) measure 23·1 × 19·3 cm. There are 209 leaves, with names of speakers appearing at the top and in the margins. The copyist, whose writing inclines somewhat toward a cursive, shows few orthographic traits which are not in conformity with modern conceptions of central French. The glide *d* is occasionally omitted between *n* and *r* (as in *tenra*) and *ar* sometimes appears in place of *er* (as in *pardu*).

The poem of Guillaume de Lorris occupies ff. 1*a*–33*a*, and that of Jehan de Meun ff. 33*b*–175*d*, while the *Testament* (ff. 176*a*–209 rº) concludes the volume. The second folio begins with *Quant joi vn po auant ale* (v. 129), and the last with *Se ie di guerez plus ie me doubt quil nennuit* (*Testament*, v. 2153). The final strophe of the *Testament*, both in this manuscript and in MS. 2838, is that which Méon incorporates as the last in his edited text (vv. 2173–6).

Notes on Classification.

An exhaustive study of the classification of the Cheltenham manuscripts of the *Roman de la Rose* would in no sense lead to results of sufficient value to justify even remotely the prolonged labour thereby entailed. The essential facts bearing upon these versions may be derived from a study of the principal passages utilised by Langlois to determine his groupings.

[1] vv. 45–8 of *Le dit des Jacobins*; cf. *Oeuvres complètes de Rutebeuf*, ed. A. Jubinal, I, p. 212.
[2] The suspension points represent an obliteration due to some extremely thorough erasing.

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Guillaume de Lorris. The first part of the poem contains one passage (vv. 2833–67), perhaps more important than any other, according to which Langlois has divided all the manuscripts into two great groups[1]. The four Phillipps manuscripts[2] giving the work of Guillaume all belong to group II, as they are all guilty of the common error (in vv. 2835–7, 2859–65, 2867) by virtue of which the group is established:

2835[3] Vne femme et vn villain homme
2836 Li homs (129 Comme) male bouche se nomme
2836*a*[4] Nez fu sachiez en (4357 de) normendie
2836*b* Cest vns villains que dieux maudie
2837 Et la femme si a (*other MSS.* ot) nom honte.

2859–62, considered authentic verses by Langlois, are not present in any of the Cheltenham manuscripts, which conclude the passage as follows:

2863 Or (2838 Ov) sont aus roses (129 *and* 2838 au rosier) garder troy
Pour ce que nuls senz leur (2838 nul) ottroy
Ne roses ne boutons nem (129 ne) port
Je feusse arriue a bon port
2867 Se des (*other MSS.* deulz) trois ne (129 ni) feusse agaitiez (129 guettiez).

In addition to vv. 2833–67, Langlois considers vv. 109–10 to be of paramount importance toward the classification of manuscripts within group II. He enumerates 21 sets of variant readings[5], which constitute the point of departure for his study of group II relationships. The Cheltenham manuscripts give this couplet as follows:

129 Descendoit liaue comme celle
Qui venoit bruiant clere et belle.
2838 Dessendoit leaue grande et raide
Clere estoit et auxi fraide.
4357 Descendoit grant et belle leue
Et venoit bruiant clere et belle
4363 Venoit clere comme fonteinne.

It is now possible to associate MS. 129 with the sub-group N[6] in the system of Langlois, for this manuscript (*a*) errs in v. 2834 where it reads *Auec lui ot ij compaignons*, (*b*) is correct in not giving vv. 2836*a–b*, and (*c*) gives variant 20, the N reading, in vv. 109–10.

MS. 2838 is correct in v. 2834 and does not give vv. 2836*a–b*. Its reading in vv. 109–10 is in its favour, but does not lead immediately to

[1] *Manuscrits*, pp. 241–3. Group I, the more accurate of the two, contains 18 of the manuscripts classified by Langlois, and group II the remaining 97. Langlois also speaks provisionally of a group III, of which, however, he assigns 3 manuscripts to group I and 10 to group II.

[2] For MS. 4185, cf. *supra*.

[3] Unless otherwise specified, readings are taken from MS. 4363.

[4] Vv. 2836*a–b* are not present in MS. 129 nor in MS. 2838.

[5] *Manuscrits*, pp. 266–8.

[6] Cf. *Manuscrits*, pp. 265 f., 287 f.

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precise classification. It agrees exactly with two manuscripts[1] which are associated with variant 6, but the difference between this reading and several others among the first ten in the Langlois list are too slight to be taken very seriously. MS. 2838 is seen to be nearer to group I than many of the other *bona fide* members of group II. Further precision could best be realised after a detailed comparison of readings in MS. 2838 with passages treated in *Manuscrits*, pp. 295–329.

MS. 4357 is readily linked with the sub-group L[2], inasmuch as it is correct in v. 2834, gives the interpolation vv. 2836*a–b*, and presents vv. 109–10 in the form of variant 18.

MS. 4363 is deserving of a little more comment than its three companions. In the first place, it is correct in v. 2834, but it gives vv. 2836*a–b*, and variant 21 of vv. 109–10. Langlois has noted only two manuscripts, τa and $\gamma\epsilon$[3], which coincide with MS. 4363 in all of these three instances. He has associated both τa and $\gamma\epsilon$ with the sub-group L. Like τa and L, but unlike $\gamma\epsilon$, MS. 4363 in vv. 1240–2 reads *El fu clere comme la lune Enuers qui les autres estoilles Ressemblent petites chandoilles*[4]. That L is the sub-group to which MS. 4363 is the most closely related is scarcely open to doubt[5]. Yet it should be noted, for example, that in vv. 2391–2 the reading of MS. 4363 agrees with that of *Gê* alone[6]: *Et sil auient que tu truisses Tamie en lieu que tu la puisses.*

Jehan de Meun. As in Guillaume de Lorris, there is a single passage in the second part of the *Roman de la Rose* which determines a division of the manuscripts by Langlois into two large groups[7]. The error which the manuscripts of group II have in common is the interpolation of two lines between vv. 8178–9[8]. Again as in Guillaume de Lorris, the Cheltenham manuscripts—with the addition of MS. 4185 as well—are without exception in group II.

The fifteenth-century manuscripts 129 and 2838 are no more signifi-

[1] Cf. *Manuscrits*, p. 266, n. 4.

[2] Cf. *Manuscrits*, pp. 265 f., 279, 289, 295. Observe that Langlois argues the descent of N from L (pp. 279 and 289 ff.); whence it follows that MS. 4357 belongs to a tradition superior to that of MS. 129.

[3] Cf. *Manuscrits*, pp. 329–30. Of all the variant readings, the twenty-first (a reduction of vv. 109–11 into a single line) involves by far the most radical modification. Observe that Langlois in one instance (p. 268) denotes τa as containing readings from both group I and group II in vv. 2833–67, whereas in another (p. 330) he indicates that $\gamma\epsilon$, and not τa, exhibits this peculiarity.

[4] Cf. *Manuscrits*, pp. 294, 330.

[5] Cf. also vv. 592 and 1547–70, where MS. 4363 again is with L, but likewise with the majority of manuscripts as well.

[6] Cf. *Manuscrits*, p. 323. Langlois points out that this variant is a development from the version of sub-groups LM.

[7] Langlois has admitted 26 manuscripts to group I, and 86 are relegated to group II.

[8] Cf. *Manuscrits*, pp. 351–2. In the Phillipps copies the interpolation reads *Et ceulz qui poures apparront Leurs propres freres les* (2838 *en*) *haront.*

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cant here than in the poem of Guillaume de Lorris. MS. 129 continues to show relations with the sub-group N: for example, no other Phillipps manuscript contains the long litany[1] between vv. 4400–1; MS. 129 interpolates a passage of 152 verses between vv. 11222–3, a passage with the same choice of lines as in sub-groups MN[2]; and at the end of the poem it is the only Phillipps manuscript which gives the 24 unauthentic additional verses due to the sub-group N[3]. A precise classification of MS. 2838 must again be deferred to a detailed examination, which, even if successful, will scarcely be remunerative. This manuscript, for example, does not contain any interpolation between vv. 4400–1, and appears to be in a position analogous to that which it occupies in the first part of the poem.

For his classification of the manuscripts within group II Langlois centres the discussion about five salient passages[4], which should be considered in connection with the three remaining Cheltenham manuscripts. First of all, none of these versions introduces the KMN litany between vv. 4400–1.

Of the other four passages, the fragmentary MS. 4185 no longer contains either v. 9628 or vv. 11222–3. It does, however, contain vv. 14169–74 and vv. 15015–16, being in particular agreement with N in each instance[5]. MS. 4185 reduces the first of these passages to two lines (*Car li amant orent tel honte Quau dieu tindrent deulz leur conte*) and in the second passage differs from N but slightly (*Bien sauons que ele ne traciez Ne dautre*[6] *chose ne sachiez*).

As in Guillaume de Lorris, MS. 4357 is again to be linked with L. Its reading in v. 9628 (*Et touz et toutes lui baillerent*) agrees with LMN; like L, it is correct in not giving the interpolation between vv. 11222–3; in vv. 14169–74, MSS. 4357 and 4363 and but three L manuscripts are with 33 other copies which follow the accepted version[7]; in vv. 15015–16, MS. 4357 varies but slightly from the verses (inverted however) of the accepted text[8] (*Bien sauons que vous ne traciez Quel seruise vous y faciez*). Thus the

[1] Found also in sub-groups KM. Cf. *Manuscrits*, p. 425.

[2] The arrangement corresponds exactly to the seventh variant enumerated in *Manuscrits*, p. 430.

[3] Cf. *Manuscrits*, p. 10.

[4] Cf. *Manuscrits*, pp. 425–35.

[5] Cf. *Manuscrits*, p. 432 (second variant) and p. 434 (fifth variant).

[6] *Dautre* is a conjectural reading; the word is difficult to decipher in the manuscript, although the last three letters are assured.

[7] MSS. 4363 and 4357 give the passage as follows: *Car* (4357 *Que*) *les dieux qui tel honte en orent Quant il virent que tous le sorent Firent des lors a huis ouuers Ce quil faisoient a couuers Nonc puis de leurs fais* (4357 *Noncques puis du fait*) *norent honte Que les dieux tindrent deuls* (4357 *dieu en t.*) *leur conte.*

[8] Cf. *Manuscrits*, p. 433 (second variant), and observe that, of the five manuscripts which support MS. 4357, *Bo* and *Mar* are in exact verbal agreement as well.

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Cheltenham manuscript is related to L, but is at the same time apparently superior to the L tradition.

MS. 4363 also continues to be somewhat attached to the sub-group L, and in four of the five critical passages selected by Langlois it follows what he considers to be the correct tradition. Having no interpolation either between vv. 4400–1 or between vv. 11222–3, it is likewise correct in v. 9628 (*Et cenz et rentes li baillerent*) and in vv. 14169–74 (cf. *supra*). In vv. 15015–16, MS. 4363, giving the variant common to LM[1], reads *Or tost ailleurs vous pourchaciez Bien sauons que vous ne traciez.* In the five passages MS. 4363 and L manuscripts agree three times on the correct reading and once on an incorrect reading, while in the remaining passage (v. 9628) it is MS. 4363 which is correct and L which is in error. Closer relation than this to L, MS. 4363 shows to no other group in the poem of Jehan de Meun.

EDWARD BILLINGS HAM.

PRINCETON, N.J., U.S.A.

[1] Cf. *Manuscrits*, p. 433 (third variant).

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G. J. THORKELIN AND THE REV. JAMES JOHNSTONE

THE Library of Trinity College, Dublin, contains forty-nine volumes of Icelandic manuscripts, mostly eighteenth-century transcripts, catalogued under the general heading:

989–1037. Icelandic MSS. The following collection of Icelandic MSS., selected chiefly with reference to the history of the relations between the Northern nations and Great Britain and Ireland, was made by the Rev. James Johnstone, M.A., Chaplain and Secretary to the British Embassy in Copenhagen, afterwards Rector of Magheracross, in Ireland, author of Antiquitates Celto-Scandicae, and other works[1].

Little is known of Johnstone's early life[2]. He became a Master of Arts, but his university has not been identified. It was evidently not Dublin; possibly Edinburgh, as he was a Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and Thorkelin refers to him as 'Scotus' and makes a mild jest on the ubiquitous Scot. He became Chaplain to Morton Eden (afterwards Baron Henley), British Envoy Extraordinary in Copenhagen from 1779 to 1782, and it was presumably during these years that he made the acquaintance of the famous transcriber of *Beowulf*. In 1782 and 1783 Johnstone was certainly in England, but whether for good, or only temporarily, is not clear. Two of his books, *The Robbing of the Nunnery* (a translation), and *Antiquitates Celto-Normannicae, containing the Chronicle of Man and the Isles*... were published in Copenhagen in 1786, the latter with a dedication to John Hotham, D.D., Lord Bishop of Clogher. Johnstone was by this time Rector of Magheracross in Co. Fermanagh, and he subsequently became Prebend of Clogher, apparently in 1794. He died in 1798, and his library was sold by auction in Dublin in 1810. His published works, in addition to the two already mentioned, are (1) *Anecdotes of Olave the Black, King of Man, and the Hebridian Princes of the Somerled Family, to which are added XVIII Eulogies on Haco King of Norway, by Snorro Sturlson Poet to that Monarch, now first published in the original Icelandic from the Flateyan and other Manuscripts with a Literal Version, and Notes*..., 1780. (2) *Lodbrokar-Quida; or The Death Song of Lodbroc; now first correctly printed from various Manuscripts, with a free English translation. To which are added, the various readings; a literal Latin version; an Islando-Latino glossary; and explanatory notes*..., 1782. This book is dedicated to Morton

[1] T. K. Abbott, *Catalogue of the MSS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin*, 1900. For a more detailed description see O. Skulerud, *Catalogue of Norse Manuscripts in Edinburgh, Dublin, and Manchester*. Kristiania, 1919.

[2] See *Dictionary of National Biography*.

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Eden. (3) *The Norwegian Account of Haco's Expedition against Scotland; A.D. MCCLXIII. Literally translated from the original Islandic of the Flateyan and Frisian MSS. With Notes...*, 1782[1]. (4) *Antiquitates Celto-Scandicae; sive series rerum gestarum inter nationes Britannicarum insularum et Gentes Septentrionales ex Snorrone; Land-nama-boc; Egilli Scallagrimi-saga; Niála-saga; O. Tryggvasonar-saga; Orkneyinga-saga; Hriggiar-stikki; Knytlinga-saga; Speculo regali, &c. Compilavit Jacobus Johnstone, A. M., Ecclesiae Magherae-crucis Rector; Legationis Britannicae apud serenissimum Aulam Danicam secretarius; Academiarum regiarum Edinae & Havniae socius.* Havniae, 1786. The dedication to the Marquis of Carmarthen is dated 'Copenhagen, August 22nd, 1786.' The text is in Icelandic and Latin.

In the preface to *Anecdotes of Olave the Black* Johnstone acknowledges his indebtedness to Thorkelin in these words: 'The translator wished to have openly acknowledged his obligations to a worthy, and ingenious native of Iceland, who assisted him in this performance; that gentleman's delicacy, however, prevents the Editor from even having the satisfaction of mentioning his name.' There is a similar reference in a postscript to *Lodbrokar-Quida*: 'A very learned native of Iceland prepared both the text and the glossary for the press.'

On returning to England in 1782 Johnstone appears to have maintained a friendly correspondence with Thorkelin, to judge by the following three letters which have been casually preserved in T.C.D. MS. 1016.

I.

Ragnars Quida edr Kráku mál
sive
Poema Morticinum
Quod
Ragnar Lodbroka Rex
moribundus cecinit
ad
Plurimum Reverendum,
Dnum Jacobum Johnstonum.

Habes hic amicorum optime! Poema cujus fatum pro vario lectorum gustu varium fuit, nam

Laudatur ab his culpatur ab illis.

Wormius noster primus erat, qui venustate stili, sententiarum gravitate et dictione simplici captus, illud dignum judicavit luce publica. Hinc Litteraturae Runicae Havniae 1651 inseritur. Sed Proh dolor, textus mendis, versio erroribus scatet. Nec aliud fieri potuit aevo, quod bibliothecis caruit, ubi plura ejusdem Scripti exemplaria, quae conferri potuerint, asservare haud necessum putavere docti, artis

[1] This work was reprinted by William Brown, 149 Princes St, Edinburgh, in 1882 in a limited edition of 250 copies. The dedication runs: 'To Archibald Macdonald, Esq., Member of Parliament for Newcastle under Line; This fragment of ancient Scottish History, containing several anecdotes of his ancestors the Lords of the Hebrides is inscribed.'

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criticae minus curantes praecepta, quam ratio sana docet. Wormium sequebantur omnes, sed paucis exemplo fuit. Peperit tamen Editio Wormiana Editionem et translationem, 1° Anglicam inter *Five Pieces of Runic Poetry translated from the Icelandic Language* London 1763 in 8vo et saepius. 2° Translationem Danicam Petri *Septimi* inter Poemata Heroica *Kiempeviiser* Kiöbenhavn et N. *Sandigii Samling af Danske Sange af det aeldste Tidsnit Kiöbenhafn* 1779. Diversa est Editio textus et ipsa quoque gemina Er. Iulii *Biörneri* Svecica et Latina in *Nordiska Kaempedater*, Stockholm 1737. Sed minime negandum Sardvigii versionem, etsi imperfectam, caeteris multum praestare.

Sed jam audiendi sunt, queis hoc poema nihil est. 1° Dicunt temporibus *Ragnaris Lodbrocae* longe recentius esse, adeoque suppositium. Epitheton afferunt pugnae, quae *Odda messa* Stroph. XI audit[1]. Et nemo negare potest *missae* cum fide primum Christiana orbi nostro innotuisse. At cedo! una vox, sexcentas alias sat vetustas efficiet novas? Quo argumentandi modo ad fabulas redigentur optima antiquorum scripta, queis inscitia aevi sequioris et scribarum mutandi studium nova inseruere 2°, Affirmant Dictionem esse humilem et poesi veterum dissimilem. Sed haud uno metienda est pede vetus poesis, in aetates secundum illas classes dividenda est. Quo facto inveniemus eam quae antiquior est, recentiori ut aetate, ita venustate praestare. Haec artificiosa est, illa naturalis, filia naturae dictione luxuriat simplici, sed numerosa, sed gravi. Epithetis rerum caracteristicis utitur. Flosculos longe quaesitos nescit. Ratio. Poesis ista foetus est ingenii naturalis, quod objectorum, ut sunt, non qualia enthusiasmus poeticus fingit consideratione alitur. Haec omnia Poema nostrum habet. Cujus dictio est simplex, sed suavis, tersa, et simul numerosa. Epitheta caracteres rerum allatarum produnt. Sine ambagibus gesta narrat. Et dogmata quae recensentur ethnicismum arguunt, Dogmata, quae majores fide christiana imbuti angue pejus et cane oderunt. Verbo: Antiquissimum est et inter optima aureae poeseos Bardicae aetatis locum obtinere debet. Caeterum Te vindice nunc tandem eo venit, ut meliori habitu, quam unquam apparuit, litterato orbi sistere se olim queat. Textus collatione exemplarium Bibliothecae Magnaeanae, cum editionibus Wormii et Stockholmiense instituta nitori pristino quam proxime accedit, quem ad modum versione mens auctoris clarius, quam prioribus factum est, eruitur. Vale decus meum, et ut cepisti, ama

Tuum totum

Havniae die x Junii MDCCLXXXII. G. I. Thorkelin.

Here follows a Latin transcript on five folios (10 pp.) beginning *Krakae Sermo. Concidimus gladio...*, and ending Stropha xxix...*Jam subridens moriar.* The transcript, which is in Thorkelin's own hand, is accompanied by marginal notes in Latin. The text is not the same as that printed by Johnstone in his edition of *Lodbrokar-Quida.*

II.

G. Thorkelin Dno J. Johnstono salutem.

Libros Dno Eden[2] et Tibi mittendos tradidi Dno Ferguson cistula et fasciculo involutos. Utinam et illi et tibi placeant, quod solum erit pretium. Doleo meliori ligamento aut nitidiores acquiri non potuisse. At quod maximi interest, materiae sunt bonae et haud maculatae. Leges Aulicae, et Cimbricae maxime raro occurrunt, praesertim Cimbricae nunquam nitidae veneunt; causa est antiquitas. Tractatulos Juridicos dignos judicavi, qui mitterentur et raritatis, et contenti causa. Omnium exemplaria, valde pauca fuere, ut mos est apud nos. Trecenta non egrediuntur, et quorundam centena tantum lucem aspexere. Orcadensium historia forsan non inutilis tibi erit, quam Manu scriptam mitto. Et Arngrimi Grönlandia nunquam impressa est. Meam collationem expeditionis Haconianae certe obtinebis. Proxima vice tibi

[1] 'Attom odda-messo
Vid uppruna sólar.'

[2] William Eden, afterwards the famous Lord Auckland, elder brother of Morton Eden.

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majora mittam, quae spero me nacturum. Richardi Wels Dictionary mihi mittere curabis. Opuscula Societatis Regiae Hafniensis tibi mitto, volumen sc. 1m; erunt ibi quaedam digna translatione. Heruarar Sagae exemplar mutabis alio libro, Richardi Lexico Wallico, nam duo exemplaria habere aveo. Jus Ecclesiasticum vetus a me editum destinavi dno Wilh. Eden, si certus sis id non displicere fautori Tuo, ejus fratre, oro illi id offeras. Collectionem poematum Jslandicorum medii aevi sacram in promtu habeo, post amissos ad te libros acquisitam. Eam habere gestis? Donec ad me longam scripseris Epistolam, ne verbum plus addam nisi quod semper orem velit te Deus in bonum ecclesiae suae conservare. Me vero amicorum suavissime, ut coepisti semper ama.

Vereor Dno Eden displiceant libri, unde in te spem colloco, interpres sis optimus.

Libri tibi a me missi in rationes non veniunt. in aere tuo sum. sint igitur gratae voluntatis monumentum: nec aliter aestima.

Si singulorum Dnus Eden librorum [pretia?] quaerit, dic, oro, emtos esse 50 imperialibus, quos mihi ejus nomine dedisti, quod cariores erant, nihil est, de quo multa scribantur. Omnes istos ipse habes, at noli credere te eosdem care emisse aut posse semper iisdem pretiis acquiri. Et haec inter nos ambos. alios non referunt.

Cistula schedulas duas habet pergameni cum inscriptione

a Mr *J. Johnstone a London*,

et praeterea incissae sunt ligno literae

J *J* ab utroque latere pergameni

Here follows a list of thirty-eight books for Mr Eden and ten for Mr Johnstone, including four manuscripts:

Libri in usus Illustris et generosi Dni Wilh. Eden comparati.

In folio.

No. 1, Johann. Ihre Glossarium SvioGothicum 2 Vol. in uno.
2, 3, Chr. Gott. Halthaus Glossarium Germanicum. 2 Vol.
[1]4, Ol. Verelii Index Linguae Veteris ScandoSchyticae.
5, Institutio Regum Principumque.
6, Ol. Verelii Introductio ad Runographiam Antiquam.
[1]7, Heruarar Saga. [Erased.]
8, Gudmundi Andreae Lexicon.

In Quarto.

1, Ius aulicum Norvegicum.
2, Ius Cimbricum Waldemari II. Ripis.
3, Andr. Hoyeri Idea Ilti Danici.
4, Ch. Lud. Scheidii de Regio Wandelor. titulo Schediasma.
5, Petri Kofod Ancher de Indole Iuris privati pro habitu imperii Dano-Norvegici tractatus.
6, B. Mölmanni Meditationes ad Ius feodale Saxonicum.
7, —— Elementa Processus Iudiciarii DanoNorveg. Specimen.
8, Fr. Chr. Sevelii dissertatio de prorogatione termini retrahendi bona gentilitia in Norvegia.
9, I. Bing Dons de jure retractus gentilitii.
10, —— de delictis carnis jure Norvegico antiquo.
11, —— de delicto furti jure Norvegico antiquo.
12, Ius ecclesiasticum Vicensium cum curis posterioribus.
13, I. O. Stiernhöök de Iure Sveonum vetusto.
14, Ioh. Schefferi de antiquis Regni Sveciae insignibus.
[1]15, 1, Historia Olavi Tryggir filii.
[1] 2, Zamolsis C. Lundii.
[1]16, Gunnlogi Vermilinguis et Rafni Poetae vita.
17, Speculum Regale.
18–21, Johannaei historia Ecclesiastica Jslandiae Vol. 4.

[1] These titles appear in the Auction Sale Catalogue of Johnstone's library, 1810.

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22, Ioh. Olavii Syntagma de Baptismo.
[1]23, Ott. Sperlingi de regis nomine et titulo tractatus.
[1]24–25, Biörnonis de Scardsa Annales.

In Octavo.

1, J. Loccenii Lexicon Juris Sveoici.
2, Gothrici et Rolfi Regum vitae ut et Bosa saga.
[1]3, Hungurvaka.
4, I. Olavii diatribe de cognatione spirituali.
5, Egg. Olavii de natura et constitutione Jslandiae enarrationes.

Libri Dno Johnstono missi.

In fol.

[1]1, Novum Testam: Islandice. Holis. 1584.
2, Institutio Regum et Principum. Holm.
3, Historia Orcadensium. MSS.

In Quarto.

1, Pontoppidani Atlas Danicus. Vol. 7.
[1]2, Scriptorum Societatis Danicae Regalis. Vol. 1.
3, Eysteini Asgrimii Lilia.
[1]4, I. Schefferi Lapponia.
5, Arngr. Ionae Grönlandia. MSS.

In Octavo.

1, A. Winthers history of the Kings and Queens of England. MS.
2, Pauli Widalini de Orcadibus Tractatus. MS.

III.

Havniae d. viii Julii 1783.

G. I. Thorkelin Dno J. Johnstono salutem!

Litteras tuas amice suavissime Londini die 6 May scriptas accepi, at tibi pro iis ut et omnibus aliis nihil habeo, quod offeram, nisi pauperem, quae tamen constans erit, amicitiam. [*Erasure*] Apologiam scribis, et tu nulla indiges, omnes quippe hic sciunt, esse te, ut officio, ita ingenio Integrum vitae scelerisque purum, oduntque (?) δενδρο-υλου[2] verba. Quod tibi sat erit. Sed miror te, mihi ne vel unicum jota scripsisse de duabus meis, et cistula tibi missa. Utrasque Dno Fergusonio tradidi. Cistulam interiisse doleo, siquidem libris referta erat rarioribus Dno Eden offerendis. Junxi tamen nuper iis allatam ex Islandia Editionem Bibliorum Jslandicorum Principem et Historiam Britannorum latine translatam: haec tuis adnumeretur jubeo, illam Patrono tuo et meo, Dno Eden meo nomine offeras magnopere rogo. Collationem Historiae Haconianae certo exspectabis ad finem Augusti. Discrucior negotiis, quae a musis me longius abripiunt. Ast brevi redibo. Pro Societate Scotica libros forsan impetrare antiquos possem, sed scis eos care hic emi respectu recentiorum, viliori tamen semper pretio quam in Anglia. Versio tamen Bibliorum Jslandica et Lexicon utrumque Gudmundi Andreae et Verelii alios omnes raritate antecedunt. Mandatum igitur exspecto quod ante hiemem, si libri emendi sunt, oro obtineam, siquidem in auctionibus publicis tales libri solum inveniuntur, id quod tibi notum est. Super specimine legum Jslandicarum tuam sententiam exspecto, magnam partem earum paratam habeo. Rolfgongii sagam tibi mittam ad finem Augusti, et quae potuero alia. Acta Societatis Danicae Regiae cujus nunc membrum es, circa id tempus praela linquent. Exemplar juxta leges tibi transmitti debent. Praeses societatis est dominus *Luxdorphius* eques

[1] These titles appear in the Auction Sale Catalogue of Johnstone's library, 1810.
[2] The sense is obscure; possibly there is a disparaging reference to some contemporary scholar whose name would be familiar to Johnstone in this disguise. Read 'oderuntque' (?).

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Ordinis Dannebrogici Cancellariae director alter. Membra: Comes *Tott*, Minister Status *Schack-Ratlau*. Comites, *Cajus*, *Rantzau*, *Friderich*, et *Joachim Moltke*, Baro *Frideric Wilhelm Wedel*, *Hoegh Guldberg*, *Henrich Stampe*, *Suhm*, *Carstens* Eques Dannebrog: et Cancellariae Germanicae director *P. Kofod Anker*, Theod. *Holmskiöld*, *Erichsen*, etc. Omnes viri in scientiis et literis humanioribus veterani. vellem nostram litteraturam, et scientiarum in Dania statum conspectus instar tuis notum faceres, quippe multi sunt queis nostra sunt incognita. Nullum mihi reservavi exemplar expeditionis Haconianae ultimae, quam edidisti. Scio te non passurum esse, illa me carere. Dno Christiani Professori Historiarum celeberrimo, olim Goettingae nunc vero Kiliae constituto opuscula tua, tuo nomine obtuli. Gaudebat magnopere in Scoto invenisse, quae Germanis post Gallos propriam esse credit, humanitatem. Inseret ista omnia breviter descripta actis menstruis Kilionensibus, honore tuo ut fieri debet. Sed quorsum rapior. Tune Scotus pati deberes majorum facta? Inveni nuper lepidas de Scotis tuis in Norvegia seculo xvi relationes quae cum quaerelis Scanensium eaedem sunt. Vos in vestram partem omnia tunc rapuistis commercia, tam in nundinis quam in diversoriis et omnia Scotorum erant plena. Hinc conclusum Bergis circa 1520 non debere posthaec civitatem Scotis dari. Ista tibi etiam mittam, ut videas, quam multum ab eis distes, quem omnes maxime cupimus habere et amicum et civem. Ignosce quaeso, quod et barbare tibi scribam et stulte. Nunquam magis invita Minerva scripsi. Causa est iter hesternum per Christiansholmiam, ubi nemo *Eden* nemo *Johnstone* lacrymas solabatur, quae mihi cadebant vos animo revocanti. Res vera est, non blandior. Tu animae pars dimidia meae es, cujus amorem nec frigora nec ignes minuent, sive Siculi fuerint, sive Islandi. Ut novum quid habeas. Insulam nuper enixum est Islandicum mare natam patre Vulcano Triquetro s. Trinacrio. Distat ab Islandia Australi ad Promontorium Reckianes milliaribus decem. in circuitu milliare unum et dimidium. Profunditas maris olim erat Passuum lxxx, hodie tantum xliv circa novam Jnsulam. fundus exustis lapidibus squalet. Ignes tres insulam e longinquo subterranei, conspici faciunt. Sub nomine *Nye Oe Insulae Novae* Rex noster Augustissimus eam solenniter occupari jussit. Res eo magis mira est, quod incolis Jslandiae ignota erat, nec tumultus subterraneos senserant, nullaque ignis in montibus Islandiae irruptio nota est. Vale decus meum et me ut soles ama.

N. B. Mense Aprili Insula primum visa est et inventa, sed paulo ante editam esse res ipsa loquitur.

Quod me saepius monuisti, te quoque moneo, meas literas necui monstres nisi qui urget officinas, Vulcano.

I have not yet been able to discover whether the chest of books and manuscripts despatched by Thorkelin in the charge of Mr Ferguson ever reached its destination. The presumption is that it did, as certain of the works mentioned, including apparently some of the volumes destined for William Eden, were sold at the auction of Johnstone's library in 1810. A copy of the auction catalogue is in the Trinity College Library and it has the price obtained for each item and the name of the purchaser carefully entered in the margin. The title page reads:

Catalogue of an extensive and valuable collection of Books, Antiquities, Books of Prints...and Manuscripts, being the Family Library of a Gentleman of Distinction (Deceased)....Also the Northern Part of the Library of the late Rev. James Johnstone Chaplain to his Britannic Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary at the Court of Denmark....And will be sold by Auction, by Thomas Jones (Bookseller and Auctioneer) at his Sale-Room, No. 6, Eustace-Street, Dublin, on Monday, April 16th, 1810, and continue until all are sold.

The first collection mentioned was that of W. Burton Conyngham, and its sale lasted thirty-one days. The list of Johnstone's books begins on

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p. 202 of the catalogue and is preceded by the following introductory note:

The following rare and valuable books of Northern Literature were part of the Library of the late Rev. James Johnstone, the translator of Antiquitates Celto-Scandicae: Celto-Normannicae, and other scarce Northern Books, who was many years Chaplain to his Britannic Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary at the Court of Denmark, and in strict habits of Friendship with the justly celebrated Thorkelin, whose hand writing is in many of the Books—it is thought necessary to remark that so large a collection of Literature in this way, is rarely to be met with, and should engage the attention of those who preside over Publick Libraries and of Collectors. It may also be proper to state that during the late siege of Copenhagen, a vast number of books was destroyed, particularly the valuable Library of Professor Thorkelin, the inference therefore is, that many of the following must now have become extremely rare.

Of the books published by Johnstone himself copies of *Antiquitates Celto-Scandicae* and *Antiquitates Celto-Normannicae* were purchased by Mr Watson for £6. 16*s*. 6*d*. (2 vols.). Mr Sirr acquired the two works in one volume for £3; Mr Triphook paid 8*s*. for *Haco's Expedition* and Dr Priestly 7*s*. 7*d*. for *Lodbrokar-Quida*. Amongst the other items I notice the following:

4068. *EDDA ISLANDORUM An. Chr. MCCXV. Islandice conscripta per Snorronem Sturlae, Islandice, Danice et Latine opera et studio P. J. Resenii.* Hauniae. 1665. This copy of the EDDA ISLANDORUM is a most remarkable one, it was Professor Thorkelin's copy and is enriched with a vast number of notes in MSS., it is now become extremely rare.

This book was purchased for £11. 18*s*. 6*d*. by Mr Triphook, a persistent buyer, whose name first appears as a bidder on the ninth day of the sale.

4102. *Knytlinga Saga, sive Historia Cnutidarum Regum Daniae, in Icelandic and Latin.* This very rare and curious book was a present from that celebrated Antiquarian: Professor Thorkelin, to Mr Johnstone. Mr Thorkelin has written a note in the book, in which he mentions its rarity, and that there are only Thirty Copies in existence, the remainder being destroyed by the Printer, Christopher Hoffner, for which he was cited before the Tribunal of the King. No mention is made *who* printed it, *where* printed, nor *when* printed.

The person who used this particular copy of the Auction Catalogue writes the total £225. 15*s*. 1*d*. in the margin and observes dryly:

The above collection of Northern Books were sold to Jones by the Widow of the late Mr Johnstone for 12½ guineas, for the Manuscripts he got 40 Gs. prior to the present sale[1].

One last point of interest remains to be recorded. The purchaser of the above-mentioned copy of *Knytlinga Saga* was—W. Scott. As the name is distinguished from those of all other purchasers by a careful double underlining, there is a strong presumption that this volume and the others

[1] These are presumably the forty-nine vols. in the Library of Trinity College.

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contained in the following list were purchased to the order of the poet himself. These are the items, with the prices paid[1]:

3982. Speculum Regis Magni Crudelis Infelicis Exulis sive de rebus Christierni II Daniae Regis. Francf. 1658. 10/-.
3985. Britannicarum Gentium Historiae Antiquae Scriptores tres, Ricardus Corinnesis, Gildas Badonicus, et Nennius Banchorensis, cum notis C. Bertrami. Haun. 1757. £2. 13. 0.
3995. Gesta et Vestigia Danorum extra Daniam, praecipue in Oriente, Italia, Hispania, Gallia, Anglia, Scotia, Hibernia, Belgio, Germania et Sclavonia, 3 tom. in 1. Lips. 1740–44. £2. 18. 0.
3997. Jo. Magni Gothorum Sueonumque Historia. 1617. 13/-.
4001. Thorstens Viikings Sons Saga, Icelandic and Danish. Ups. 1680. 16/6.
4002. Hungurvaka, Pals Biskups Saga, and Thorvalldi Vedforla Saga, etc. Haff. 1778. £1. 8. 2.
4003. Kristni Saga, sive Historia Religionis Christianae in Islandiam introductae. 1773. 18/6.
4023. Torffaei series Regum Daniae et Trifolium Historicum. £1. 6. 0.
4073. Eyrbyggia-Saga, sive Eyranorum Historia, an Icelandic Chronicle... Published with a Latin version by Professor Thorkelin. Copenhagen. 1787. £2. 0. 0.
4074. Viga-Glums Saga, sive Vita Viga Glumi. Copenh. 1786. £2. 10. 0.
4102. Knytlinga Saga...(See above.) £10. 0. 0.
4103. Wilkena Saga, et Niflunga Saga. Stockh. 1725. £2. 5. 6.

One of these volumes, No. 4073, was evidently used by Scott in the preparation of his *Abstract of the Eyrbiggia-Saga; being the early Annals of that District of Iceland lying around the Promontory called Snæfells*, written at Abbotsford in 1813 and contributed to Jamieson and Weber's *Illustrations of Northern Antiquities*, Edinburgh, 1814. The introductory paragraph contains the following acknowledgment of Scott's indebtedness to Thorkelin:

> Of the various records of Icelandic history and literature, there is none more interesting than the Eyrbiggia-Saga, composed (as has been conjectured by the learned Thorkelin) before the year 1264, when Iceland was still subject to the dominion of Norway....The learned Thorkelin published a correct edition of this history in 1787, executed at the expense of Suhm, the illustrious and munificent patron of northern literature. A Latin version, supplied by the well-known accuracy of the editor, assists the difficulties of those who are imperfectly acquainted with the original Icelandic.

He refers to the same legend again in the note to Vol. II, chap. ii, of *The Pirate*, and a copy of the book, together with a copy of the *Viga Glums Saga* (No. 4074), was listed by Cochrane in his *Catalogue of the Library at Abbotsford*, 1838. Only an examination of the Abbotsford copies can show whether they were bought at the Dublin auction or not. It is rather disappointing that only two titles from the above list of twelve are in the Abbotsford catalogue. Two other volumes sold at the auction, *Rymbegla sive Rudimentum computi Ecclesiastici et Annalis Veterum Islandorum*,

[1] The Advocates' Library and a Mr Laing, of Edinburgh, presumably the bookseller, William Laing, also appear among the purchasers. The Advocates' Library also acquired a collection of Icelandic MSS. from Thorkelin direct.

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1780, and *Islands Landnamabok*, 1774, are at Abbotsford, but Scott's name does not appear as the purchaser in 1810.

Scott certainly possessed a copy of Johnstone's comprehensive *Antiquitates Celto-Scandicae*, but it will not be easy to discover how much of his knowledge of Icelandic literature he owed to Thorkelin and Johnstone on the one hand, and to Olaus Magnus[1] and Robert Jamieson on the other.

G. WATERHOUSE.

DUBLIN.

[1] *Compendious History of the Goths, Swedes, and Vandals, and other Northern Nations. Translated by J.S.*, London, 1658.

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MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

Gogol and English Literature.

Though writing at a time when Russian literature was still under the strong influence of western European letters, Nicolai Vasilevich Gogol (1809–52) was himself scarcely touched by this influence. Except for Italian and French, he had small knowledge of foreign languages, and the intense, subjective nature of his genius almost precluded any great sympathy with writers in or outside of Russia[1].

To be sure, in his early productions we can observe the influence of some of the western Romanticists[2], but in each case the borrowings are very slight, and in the period of *Dead Souls* he soon left behind him all artistic dependence in creating for himself a place as the 'first great realist in European fiction.'

As for the influence of English literature on Gogol there is very little evidence. It is not at all unlikely that in his famous tale, *The Portrait*, Gogol was indebted to Maturin's *Melmoth the Wanderer* for at least one important feature[3]. The portrait of the old usurer in Gogol's story (the usurer is really an evil spirit) that brings destruction on all who possess it, is very similar to the supernatural portrait of the long-deceased Melmoth in Maturin's novel. One may remember Maturin's description of this evil figure: 'There was nothing remarkable in the costume, or in the countenance, but *the eyes*, John felt, were such as one feels they wish they had never seen, and feels they can never forget[4].' Likewise, Gogol stresses this very factor in his portrait: '...his eyes were large, dark, and dull, but together with this there was noticeable in them a certain strange liveliness[5].' And Tcharkov in *The Portrait*, like John in *Melmoth*, experiences the baleful influence of these remarkable eyes[6].

[1] In his youth Gogol poked fun in a superficial way at German, French, and English productions, though later on his attitude changed somewhat. Cf. А. Веселовскій, *Западное Вліяніе*, Москва, 1896, pp. 210–11.

[2] His poetic idyll, *Hans Küchelgarten*, is indebted to Voss's *Luise* for its setting; his *St John's Eve* shows the influence of Tieck's *Liebeszauber*; and several of the more eerie tales in *The Evenings on a Farm Near Dikanka* and in *Arabesques* smack of the fantasies of Hoffmann.

[3] Gogol undoubtedly knew Maturin's works and was attracted by his 'terror' type of novel. Cf. В. В. Виноградов, *Эволюция Русского Натурализма*, Ленинград, 1929, p. 90. *Melmoth* had been translated into Russian as early as 1833—*Мельмотъ Скиталецъ* (Соч. Матюреня, Перев. съ Франц.).

[4] *Melmoth the Wanderer*, Edinburgh, 1820, I, p. 30.

[5] *Соч. Н. В. Гоголя*, изд. десятое, Н. Тихонравовымъ, Москва, 1889, V, p. 157.

[6] A brief has been made for the influence of *Melmoth* on Gogol's masterpiece, *Dead Souls* (cf. В. Виноградов, *Эволюция Русского Натурализма*, p. 90), but the evidence is very thin.

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The historical novel of Gogol, *Taras Bulba*, may owe something to Scott, whose works at this time, in translations or imitations, were very popular in Russia. On the whole, however, there is little similarity between Gogol's work and anything of Scott. The Russian author's attempt to re-create the Cossack life of the seventeenth century lacks much of the convincing verisimilitude in historical background so skilfully obtained by Scott. Only in the complete subordination of the love element in *Taras Bulba* does Gogol seem to have learned something directly from the great romancer.

But in one instance, at least, we have what looks like a case of the direct influence of an English work on Gogol, and the use he made of this source presents an interesting problem in literary borrowing. This is the influence of De Quincey's *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater* on Gogol's well-known tale, *The Nevsky Prospect*.

The *Opium-Eater* was first translated into Russian in 1834[1], and the authorship was then very strangely attributed to Maturin. Ever since the time of Catherine II, no little confusion had obtained in Russian translations or adaptations of foreign works. Not infrequently authors were confused with authoresses, authors with editors, and sometimes the hero of the title became the author of the novel[2].

Perhaps, however, it was not downright negligence that caused the ascription of the *Opium-Eater* to Maturin. De Quincey had scarcely been heard of in Russia by this time, and it is quite certain that the Russian version of his masterpiece was based on a French translation with the initials of Alfred de Musset attached to it (*L'anglais mangeur d'opium*, traduit de l'anglais par A.D.M., Paris, 1828)[3]. Owing to the fact that Maturin was well known, and that de Musset's translation did not bear de Quincey's name, we can see some reason why a confusion of authors occurred. Furthermore, the general cast of the *Opium-Eater*, and particularly the interpolations of de Musset[4], are not unlike the

[1] *Исповедь англичанина употреблявшего опиумъ*, Соч. Матюрена; автора Мельмота, СПБ., 1834.

[2] Cf. Н. Бѣлозерская, 'Вліяніе переводнаго романа и западной цивилизаціи на русское общество XVIII вѣка' (*Русская Старина*, 1895, I, p. 126).

[3] The fact that the Russian version of the *Opium-Eater* is based on de Musset's translation does not seem to be generally known among Russian critics. V. Vinogradov, in the book cited above, *The Evolution of Russian Naturalism*, pp. 92–4 (*Эволюция Русскаго Натурализма*), in trying to show that Gogol's *Nevsky Prospect* did not appear before the Russian translation of the *Opium-Eater*, seems to be under the impression that the Russian translation is based on the original English, whereas Gogol might easily have used the much earlier French version.

[4] See, for example, the bizarre interpolations of the dream of Seville, the ball scene and the duel, and the weird episode of the medical school in de Musset's translation, *L'anglais mangeur d'opium*, ed. by A. Heulhard, Paris, 1878, pp. 75–9, 83–95, 120–5.

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traditional 'Gothic' subject-matter of Maturin. Indeed, a Russian critic of 1834, in commenting upon the Russian version of the *Opium-Eater*, felt that at last the secret of Maturin's fantastic imagination was revealed. He writes: 'Now, finally, it appears that Maturin was quite addicted to opium[1].'

The *Nevsky Prospect* contrasts the adventures of two friends, Pirogov and Pisarev, the former's ending comically, and that of the latter in tragedy. While Pirogov eagerly pursues his pretty blonde girl, the young artist Pisarev timidly follows the statuesque brunette, only to discover that she enters a brothel. Sick at heart after a short interview with her, he returns home, and still fired with the memory of her exotic beauty, he falls asleep and dreams. In the dream his peerless beauty sends for him and he finds her, in altered circumstances, at a splendid ball. Here she is beautifully dressed and more alluring than ever, the perfect fulfilment of his idealised woman. On awakening, the bitter reality of the situation so tortures Pisarev that he has recourse to opium in order that he might live in a world of dreams in the presence of his charming infatuator. Finally, he is found a suicide in his own dingy room, apparently preferring death to the intolerable reality of an unattainable ideal.

From this brief outline of the *Nevsky Prospect* one would not suspect that it had much in common with the rambling narration of the *Opium-Eater*. Of course, the use of opium common to both works suggests a borrowing on the part of Gogol. Like Pisarev, De Quincey employed the drug to escape from the reality of life and indulge himself in delightful dreams[2]. Yet Gogol, in the use he made of opium in his tale, might easily have been inspired by other literary works with which he was acquainted[3].

The treatment of London in the *Opium-Eater*, however, seems to have directly influenced the Russian author. The great metropolis, with its mists and age-old wonders, its pleasures and sorrows, looms up as the background for all De Quincey's shadowy narration. In roaming its streets and meeting its outcast inhabitants, De Quincey found the reality which was transmuted in his dreams into entrancing visions or horrible nightmares. For him London is at once the gateway to sublime pleasure and terrifying despair.

In a similar fashion Gogol portrays St Petersburg. His treatment of

[1] *Сев. Пчела*, 1834, no. 258, quoted by V. Vinogradov in his book already cited, p. 90.

[2] I am not suggesting that this was the only reason De Quincey used opium. As he tells us himself, the drug probably helped to relieve the terrible pains in his stomach.

[3] He might have obtained his idea for the use of opium from Jules Janin's romance, *La confession*, or *L'âne mort et la femme guillotinée*, which latter may otherwise have influenced the *Nevsky Prospect*. For information on this score see Vinogradov, pp. 91–2, 153–204.

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the Russian capital in this respect was quite unique. The Nevsky Prospect is Oxford Street. In the daytime, along this thoroughfare, all the busy Russian life throngs, but as the shadows darken nondescript characters appear, mingling with the elegantly dressed figures, and tragedy lurks in the night. Here Pisarev strolls and meets the unfortunate brunette, quite like De Quincey meeting and walking with his unhappy Ann along Oxford Street. And both Pisarev and De Quincey thrust aside the cruel reality of the occupations of these two women, and meet them in their dreams as idealised creatures.

The possibility that the *Nevsky Prospect* was influenced by the *Opium-Eater* is further supported by the striking similarity between the ball scenes. The whole ball scene is a curious interpolation of de Musset in his translation of the *Opium-Eater*, and its appearance in the Russian version (along with several other original things from de Musset's pen) proves rather conclusively that the Russian translation is based on the French. Alfred de Musset was only eighteen years old when he translated the *Opium-Eater*, and the strictly French quality of his genius bursts forth in digressions not in his original, digressions that he would scarcely have allowed himself in his more mature artistic life.

In the interpolated ball scene, de Musset completely misses the refined feelings, nice morality, and deep pathos that characterise all of De Quincey's relations with Ann. Entirely omitting, and apparently insensible to, the exquisite beauty of De Quincey's pathetic farewell to Ann, de Musset gives his own cavalier version of the *dénouement*. He tells how De Quincey, while walking along Oxford Street in a melancholy frame of mind, is met by a young officer friend who persuades him to attend a ball *à la française*. In the brilliantly lighted hall he hears the marquis de C. announced and perceives on his arm the long-lost Ann. She is gorgeously dressed, pale, and covered with diamonds. Avoiding a meeting with him at the ball, she arranges a rendezvous, by means of a note, for the next day. At this meeting Ann tells him of her experiences since he had departed two years ago. Forced from her lodgings she had wandered about in a weak and desolate condition until the marquis de C. had beguiled her and kept her as a virtual prisoner. Ann and De Quincey plan to escape, but at that moment the marquis appears. A typical French duel ensues with the marquis crying, 'Mort et damnation!' Wounding the nobleman, the lovers flee, and de Musset then returns to his original, oblivious of how false he had been to the spirit of his English author.

In the *Nevsky Prospect* a similar ball scene takes place. Gogol's early

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rhetorical style, and the fact that the whole scene is part of Pisarev's dream, lend a different atmosphere to this part of the tale; yet several noticeable similarities in the two accounts suggest that de Musset's interpolation in the *Opium-Eater* provided Gogol with more than a hint for the scene in his own story.

Pisarev, having entered the hall, and bewildered by the splendid gathering, 'leaned in awe against a column, appearing to be quite disconcerted[1].' 'I, dressed in black, and my arms folded, leaned against a column at the end of the hall[2],' De Quincey narrates (according to de Musset) as he enters the ball room. Suddenly Pisarev catches sight of a beautiful young woman surrounded by a group of dancers. He 'used all his power in order to separate the crowd and look at her; but to his great vexation, an enormous head with black, curly tresses hid her continually...' (p. 266). Likewise, De Quincey catches sight of a beautiful young woman, 'whom several young people surrounded. A slight feeling of curiosity seized me; but at the moment I stretched forward, although head-dresses and feathers bothered me...' (p. 84).

Pisarev, becoming aware of his paint-bedaubed trousers, longs to get away. Suddenly raising his eyes he found her standing before him. 'But what is this? what is this? "It is she!" he cried almost at the top of his voice. In truth it was she—the same one he had met on the Nevsky and who had led him to her dwelling' (p. 266). De Quincey, after having observed the young lady in the crowd, feels sad at heart. 'I found in my memory only a satin robe, a bosom white as ivory, and tresses black as ebony.... It is she, I said to myself, I have seen her' (p. 84). But she has disappeared among the dancers and De Quincey, like Pisarev, had to wait for the end of a long dance before he could approach his beloved.

From this point on the two accounts of the ball scene diverge, for Pisarev succeeds in speaking to the beautiful brunette and then wakes from his dream, whereas De Quincey is unable to speak with Ann but gets a note from her appointing a rendezvous for the next day.

The similarity, nevertheless, between the *Opium-Eater* and the *Nevsky Prospect* does not end here. The subsequent dream life of Pisarev with his beautiful brunette has its prototype in the visions of De Quincey in

[1] *Соч. Н. В. Гоголя*, изд. десятое, Н. Тихонравовымъ, Москва, 1889, v, p. 265. Since I have been unable to obtain a copy of the Russian translation of the *Opium-Eater*, I am indebted to Vinogradov's treatment of this similar subject in his *Evolution of Russian Naturalism* (pp. 89–102) for the detailed comparisons between the two ball scenes. Vinogradov, as already noted, however, is under the impression that this scene, in part at least, was written by De Quincey.

[2] *L'anglais mangeur d'opium*, p. 83.

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which Ann appears. In his opium dreams Pisarev lives an idyllic existence in the country in a little cottage, with the brunette by his side. All is serene and quiet (p. 270), and then he awakes and reality again blasts his dream of bliss. De Quincey, also, is transported in an opium dream to the country where he finds Ann seated beside him. She seems more beautiful than ever (like Pisarev's brunette), but her face is tranquil and sad. Then, suddenly, the scene shifts to Oxford Street and the tawdry surroundings of his first walks with Ann[1].

It is not to be denied that all these analogies may be the result of pure literary coincidence, and if so, they would be interesting as examples of the curious and similar dream psychology projected into the works of two great artists. But in the face of other contributory evidence, such as the known popularity of the Russian translation of the *Opium-Eater* and Gogol's possible familiarity with it[2], it is very likely, then, that Gogol was directly influenced by it in his *Nevsky Prospect*[3].

E. J. Simmons.

Cambridge, Mass.

Notes by George Meredith on Grillparzer's 'Ahnfrau.'

George Meredith's interest in German literature is well known. It began, no doubt, during the years he spent as a boy (1842–4) at the Moravian school in Neuwied on the Rhine. In 1849, at the age of twenty-one, he published, in the *Monthly Observer*, English translations of five German poems[4]: Heine's *Du schönes Fischermädchen*, Eichendorff's *Mondnacht* ('Es war, als hätte der Himmel'), Goethe's *Freudvoll und leidvoll* and *Geständnis* ('Was ist schwer zu verbergen? Feuer!'), and Uhland's *Der Wirtin Töchterlein* ('Es zogen drei Bursche wohl über den Rhein'), and in *The Leader* of September 14, 1850, there appeared his translation of Mörike's *Schön-Rohtraut*, which in the following year he included in the first collection of his poems. In the autumn of 1870, during the Franco-German war, he sent his son Arthur to Stuttgart to have him

[1] *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater*, ed. R. Garnett, London, 1885, pp. 143–5.

[2] For evidence of this fact, see Vinogradov, p. 94 n.

[3] Curiously enough, Gogol has left us the fragment of a tragedy, *Alfred*, the subject-matter of which was drawn from English history. Gogol gathered the material for this drama on Anglo-Saxon times while holding the chair of history in the University of St Petersburg (1834). It is well established that Gogol obtained his historical facts for the play from a French translation of Henry Hallam's *Europe in the Middle Ages* (*L'Europe au moyen âge*: traduit de l'anglais de M. Henry Hallam, par M. M. Dudouit, Paris, 1821). For the text of the fragment and the use Gogol made of his source, see *Соч. Н. В. Гоголя*, изд. десятое, Н. Тихонравовымъ, Москва, 1889, v, pp. 466–85, 637–49.

[4] The first four of them were reprinted by R. Galland in his article on *Meredith et l'Allemagne*, *Revue de Littérature Comparée*, III (1923), p. 463.

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'thoroughly grounded in German,' and in a letter dated December 23, 1870, urged him to try for a Taylorian Scholarship in German at Oxford[1]. Writing to a friend in September, 1901, he mentions among the German poets whom he knows, Goethe and Schiller, Heine, Geibel, Freiligrath, Lenau, Herwegh and 'the bards of the Freiheitskrieg,' and in his seventy-ninth year, in a letter of April 5, 1906, to Dr H. R. D. Anders, after thanking him for the gift of his book on *Shakespeares Belesenheit*[2] he continues: 'You ask of my readings of the formative kind. They were first the *Arabian Nights*, then Gibbon, Niebuhr, Walter Scott; then Molière, then the noble Goethe, the most enduring. All the poets, English, Weimar and Suabia, and Austrians.' To the Schiller Centenary Number of the *Litterarische Echo*, May 7, 1905, Meredith contributed a letter (not included among those collected by his son) which shows an intimate knowledge of Schiller's plays. It concludes: 'Schiller is to me the forceful pure well-spring, Goethe the Alp of the Upper Snows and flowering vales; the one poet and hero; the other poet and sage. Happy is Germany in having such a couple to lead and inspire her young. Changes there must be, but the Germany that could produce those two, assures the world that she has in her breast others to follow.'

John Morley, who knew Meredith intimately, tells us in his *Recollections*[3] that 'Heine's songs thrilled him with pleasure' and that for *Faust* he felt 'wonder and admiration.' He records that after commending to him (1877) Goethe's 'ever noble psalm of life,' *Das Göttliche*, Meredith wrote 'that he had read it once more with a feeling of new strength,' adding 'This is the very spirit of Goethe. I have many times come in contact with it and been ennobled. Fault of mine if not more. This high discernment, this noblest of unconsidered utterance, this is the Hymn for men.' Morley also mentions that on another occasion, when speaking of 'the still nights' at his little chalet on Box Hill, Meredith said: 'After midnight I sat at my porch and thought of Goethe, and of the sage in him and the youth.'

The influence of German writers on Meredith has been pointed out by all his biographers, that of Goethe and Jean Paul has been made the subject of special studies[4]. Nothing, however, seems so far to be known of his interest in Grillparzer.

[1] *Letters of George Meredith*, collected and edited by his son W. M. Meredith, Edinburgh, 1912.

[2] *Schriften der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, Band I, Berlin, 1904.

[3] 2 vols., London, 1917.

[4] M. Krusemeyer, *Der Einfluss Goethes auf George Meredith*, *Englische Studien*, LIX (1925); E. Dick, *Deutschland und die Deutschen bei George Meredith*, *Germanisch-Romanische Monatschrift*, Jahrgang VI (1914). See also Susanne Howe, *Wilhelm Meister and his English Kinsmen*, New York, 1930, which contains a chapter on the influence of *Wilhelm Meister* on Meredith.

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Some time ago I acquired a copy of the sixth edition (published at Vienna in 1844) of Grillparzer's *Ahnfrau* from the library of George Meredith at Flint Cottage, Box Hill. It contains a number of marginal pencil notes in Meredith's own writing which show that at one time, judging by the handwriting probably about 1850, he thought of translating this play, or of reviewing it in some magazine, with translated passages.

The first note is on Jaromir's blustering outburst after the ghost of the Ahnfrau has appeared to him, beginning:

> Ei bei Gott, ich bin ein Mann!
> Ich vermag was Einer kann.
> Stellt den Teufel mir entgegen
> Und zählt an der Pulse Schlägen,
> Ob die Furcht mein Herz bewegt! (II, 822 ff.)

and runs as follows:

> This speech in the acted drama would be both too long and too high-sounding to produce the effect intended. A man, soldier or civilian, does not in such a situation stand and bully his own fear. The awe that would arise from this solemn entry of the Ancestress is by no means depicted in the words that Jaromir is here made to utter. Besides, the Devil should be the last person to be challenged by a hero—as it is notorious how often he has been thrashed.

Meredith's next note: 'Rather too Austrian, these premonitory stipulations as to his personal prowess,' refers to Jaromir's words:

> Es gibt Menschen, welche leichter
> Zu erschüttern sind als ich. (II, 971–2.)

The lines which Jaromir addresses to the old count in reply to his warning to leave the castle before being engulfed in the doom of the family:

> Möge was da will gescheh'n,
> Ich will Euch zur Seite steh'n,
> Muss es, mit Euch untergeh'n! (II, 1011–13.)

are rendered by Meredith: 'Happen what will, I'll stand by Thee, tho' all should perish with Thee,' and commented upon:

> A Triplet like this must certainly take away from the natural effect of dramatic representation; couplets are more excusable and frequently give a swiftness and boldness to the delivery and dialogue, highly dramatic and beautiful;

adding, with regard to the metre generally employed in the play:

> but altogether this octo-syllabic system is an encroachment and a failure. At least in English it would be impossible for a first-rate dramatist, one who fully appreciated the dignity and plastic nature of our blank verse, to continue it any length of time.

Then follows a note on the character of the heroine:

> The exquisite beauty, tenderness and truthfulness of Bertha is never once violated throughout. From the moment you see her fatal likeness to the Ahnfrau, you know her doom.

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The lyric passages in the play, particularly Bertha's prayer for the safety of her lover, beginning:

> Heil'ge Mutter aller Gnaden,
> Lass mich dir mein Herz entladen! (IV, 2214.)

arouse Meredith's admiration:

> It is in these pathetic and melodious lyrics that the genius of Grillparzer shines most brilliantly.—This scene where Günther is watching for the break of dawn and calculating on the capture of the robbers, while Bertha, who has just learnt that her lover is their chief, kneels praying to the Virgin for his safety, may rank in pathos and sentiment almost amounting to anguish with the highest situations of modern tragedy.

At the end of this scene Meredith puts: 'This is most finely worked.' In Jaromir's long monologue, Act v, 2914–3061, Meredith marks the passage ll. 2957–2975 with a vertical pencil line, putting against it: 'Let three lines express all this in a translation.' At the beginning of the last scene (Grabgewölbe, ll. 3184–3304) he writes: 'This scene as the most dramatic one in the whole tragedy will bear translating in full.'

H. G. Fiedler.

Oxford.

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REVIEWS

Studies on English Place and Personal Names. By EILERT EKWALL. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup. 1931. 110 pp.

In this valuable series of studies and notes Professor Ekwall, by skilful use of the great mass of material for the study of English place-names which he has gradually accumulated, happily clears up some of the outstanding problems of our place-names and throws fresh light on others. The neatest, and probably the most widely helpful study, is that which deals with O.E. personal names in *-en*. It has long been recognised that there are numerous English place-names such as Cuddesdon, O.E. *Cuþenesdun*, which could best be explained by assuming extension of simple name stems by the addition of the suffix *-en*, e.g., *Cuþen* from *Cuþ-*, *Ecgen* from *Ecg-*, but only one such name, viz., *Cymen*, is actually on record. Ekwall shows that the final *n* of these names would early be lost in the nominative singular, giving rise to a series of O.E. names with final *-e*, and that the one survival of final *-en* is an archaism due to the great antiquity of the name, but that the old genitive singular *Cuþenes-*, *Ecgenes-*, might well be preserved as a fossil survival in early place-names, replaced in later place-names and in independent usage by a new genitive in *-es*, formed straight from the now *n*-less nominative.

The next study is devoted to the problem of how it comes that in Kent we have a whole series of old place-names in *ham*, in which the first element is clearly the genitive of a personal name, but that element ends in *-a* rather than *-an*, the usual weak genitive suffix, e.g., Barham, O.E. *Bioraham*; Elham, O.E. *Ulaham*. This he suggests is due to loss of *n* before following *h* while *h* still had its fricative value, and would be accounted for by the extreme age of these Kentish settlements.

In the discussion of the element *church* in English place-names he corrects certain errors of interpretation in the discussion of these names by the present writer in the *Place-Names of Worcestershire* (p. 106), and shows that we must be very careful in suggesting derivation of English *church*-names from an anglicised form of O. Brit. *cruc*, 'hill,' but he leaves us with a small residuum of names such as Churchill in Malborough (Devon), earlier *Curcheswille*, *Corcheswille*, where confusion between the ordinary English *church* and the common British word has clearly been at work. Occasionally, in his effort to prove the presence of the English *church* element, Professor Ekwall suggests lines of argument which can hardly be held valid. It does not give much additional force to his interpretation of the lost *Churchill* in Shipston-on-Stour to note that it was by the Fosse Way and that there may well have been a church or chapel near by, or to suggest that certain *church*-names may owe their existence to the resemblance of a hill to a church, or the mistaking of some prehistoric building for a church.

Occasionally Professor Ekwall is perhaps inclined to push a good discovery rather too far. He shows good ground for believing in the

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presence of an O.E. **bēos*, 'bent grass,' or the like, in various English Beestons and other similar names, but it is very doubtful if he is justified in finding a derivative **bēosuc* in Bestwood (Notts.). Here he overlooks a form *Beiskewode* which suggests that we have rather to do with M.E. *bezzsk, baiske*, 'sharp, bitter, dry,' from O.W. Scand. *beiskr*, than with any English word.

One noteworthy feature of the volume is the way in which, under the skilful handling of Professor Ekwall, many of those names, such as Cheddar, Chard, Dinder, Blean, Worgret, which have been regarded as distinctive marks of Celtic survival, tend to stand forth as names of purely English origin. Whether all these etymologies will stand the test of further comparative evidence remains to be seen, but it is clear in the meantime that again and again we have rather glibly branded a name as Celtic when we could not readily understand it, with little or no justification from the linguistic evidence.

Professor Ekwall has in this volume increased still further the indebtedness of all serious students of our place-names, and our debt to him is largely one of soundness of method. He is specially happy in bringing together the philological, historical and topographical data which can alone solve many of our worst problems.

ALLEN MAWER.

LONDON.

Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company, 1576 *to* 1602—*from Register B*. Edited by W. W. GREG and E. BOSWELL. London: The Bibliographical Society. 1930. lxxxii + 144 pp., with four facsimiles.

The Stationers' Company have granted to the Bibliographical Society the privilege, denied to Dr Arber, of printing the volume of records known as Register B; and (if the names of the editors were not enough) the briefest examination of this volume makes it evident that the Company's professional credit could not have been entrusted to safer hands. A reviewer must place on record this first and last impression, of the technical pleasure and the sense of security given by the obvious competence of the editing. Firstly, the editors give a diplomatic text (with the four facsimiles to check it by); then (blessings on them!) make it easy to use, by marginal notes—cross-references, references to Arber's transcript of Registers B and C, to the S.T.C. numbers for books, brief notes on persons (usually the date of their freedom of the Company), and even the days of the week on which the dated entries were made—and by an extensive and comprehensive index. In this they set a standard which future editors will swear by and at: for all who embark on this hateful business of indexing should study it. The text is a transcript turned into type as nearly as type will represent manuscript, presenting the matter of the book exactly but in a form easier to read. Here, with all due deference, one must voice a misgiving. Might it not be as well to extend suspensions and contractions in italics? After all, one often has to make a visual translation from type

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back into script forms in order to grasp the meaning of an apostrophe or other type symbol: such forms as *dyn'*, *pñt*, *m'she*, *lres*, slow down one's reading more in type than in script, where one expects them. Also the thin *-es* contraction does not marry with the rest of the type and so breaks off from the body of the word, which is, then, no more precisely represented than if printed with *-es*, since the word is a unit in the original. This is a slight cavil, and betrays one's own inexpertness, but one hopes the book will be consulted by many who are not experts, or not yet.

As for the matter, it is varied and interesting. One gets on unexpectedly close terms with those old worthies through their Clerk's pleasantly unmethodical recording, and one realises more clearly what 'The Company' meant—the amenity of it, its care for the interests of all its members, of the allied tradesmen and (though unexpressed) of their trade as a living whole to which they belonged and for which they were responsible—above all, the English wisdom of compromise, by which no member, even erring, was made to bear too severe a loss and the sinner remained a Brother still. There is a certain professional tenderness about work done and printed paper. The convicted pirate might be amerced in damages, but worked matter was never destroyed, was allowed for by arrangements to dispose of sheets printed, and even to sell finished copies. Quarrels were usually made up on some such terms, and then the wardens 'hereby doo Inioyne order and Award the said p*ar*ties to be lovers and freind*es* as heretofore they have ben.' Assistance is given to widows and students, and there is thought for poor Brethren who are to be provided with work. Of more technical interest are the notes of elections, regulations regarding the number of apprentices, of order taken where the rules were infringed, of the discovery and defacement of secret presses, and dealings with other contraventions. There is some hint also of solemn junketings on civic occasions—we learn the name of the Company's Cook as well as of its Master—and of the civic and national duties in taxation and in hosting, for the Company had also its armourer, and presumably contributed its quota to the lusty trainbands. Such things are judiciously emphasised by Dr Greg in his introduction, in which he discusses the light thrown by the Register on such questions as procedure, copyright, the Officers of the Society and so on. On such ground one does not presume to 'review' Dr Greg, but only to admire his judicial skill and judicial caution in summing up the evidence and directing the reader's attention to its important points. This is not a re-interpretation, but a definite and valuable addition to our knowledge.

W. L. Renwick.

Newcastle-on-Tyne.

The Shepherd's Calendar. By Edmund Spenser. Edited by W. L. Renwick. London: Scholartis Press. 1930. viii + 244 pp. 8*s*. 6*d*.

It required no little courage to embark on a complete edition of the works of Spenser, and Professor Renwick may be congratulated on this his third volume. In it he has been especially put upon his mettle, having to follow that great classical and English scholar, the late Professor

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Herford, who in 1895, in days when an editor was less restricted by questions of cost, produced at half-a-crown that almost ideal edition familiar to us all. However, if the new edition comes a little short of Herford's in scholarship and grace of presentation, it has compensating features which make it of great value.

One respect in which the new editor will probably be thought to have improved on his predecessor is that, like the original edition, he prints 'E.K.'s' annotations after the eclogues to which they relate. Herford had combined E.K.'s notes with his own, and commented on them if necessary under the line of the poem to which they referred. Professor Renwick's method involves two sets of notes, one set on Spenser's text, the second on E.K.'s comments. But very unfortunately, a new numeration being introduced, it is far from easy to relate E.K.'s comment, or Renwick's note on the comment, to its place in the original eclogue. It seems to me that it would have been far better to number E.K.'s comments and the editor's notes on them under the lines of the original poem, if necessary using smaller figures than those used in the first place. I have found that the system adopted leads to a great waste of time in tracing a note back[1].

It will again probably give satisfaction that Professor Renwick is less under the influence of Grosart than Herford was in 1895 and does not believe that Spenser wooed his Rosalind in N.E. Lancashire. 'Dr Grosart's argument for Lancashire seems to be based largely on a desire—perhaps unconscious—to claim Spenser for his own parish' (p. 197). On the other hand it is a coincidence that in August, 1576, a month after Spenser's admission as M.A. and his leaving Cambridge, Gabriel Harvey bought a book in York[2]. Why was Harvey in York? If Spenser was travelling northwards (not necessarily to Lancashire), nothing would have been more likely than that he should have had Harvey as his companion.

Herford again was unaware that Spenser in 1578 was Secretary to Bishop Young of Rochester, the late Master of his College, a fact that throws a new light on many passages in the *Shepherd's Calendar*, and which only became known after 1895. On the whole, Professor Renwick is cautious of speculation, where known facts are insufficient to base speculation on, and though he does suggest on rather slight grounds that Diggon Davie of the *September* eclogue represents Mr Harrison of Radwinter, author of the *Description of England*, he does not provide fresh identifications of Rosalind, Thenot, Palinode, etc. This may be disappointing to some of us, but will probably be thought sound. He thinks 'Wrenoc' means 'Mulcaster,' but does not refer to a wild guess I made years ago that some of his schoolboys, trying to anagrammatize their headmaster's name, produced the result, 'Mowncaster' (a possible form) = 'Mast. Wrenoc.' His own explanation that Wrenock is 'perhaps a perversion of the initials R.M.' is by no means clear.

I do not understand the editor's preference of 'Elisa Nord' (= North)

[1] It would also have been helpful if the pages of the commentary had had the number or month of the eclogue printed at the top.

[2] Harvey's *Marginalia*, pp. 16, 174.

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over the other possible anagrams of 'Rosalind'—the anagram being such a very bad one, and it being so unlikely that Rosalind's hill-country was in the vicinity of Cambridge. In *June* Hobbinol clearly considers Cambridge to be in the dales. But the choice of Elisa Nord implies that Rosalind's home was at Kirtling, near Newmarket, while it entirely disregards her being the daughter of a widow. It is hopeless, however, to speculate about Rosalind and where and for how long Spenser courted her. Even Herford seems to have forgotten himself when he speaks (p. xvii) of 'E.K.'s statement that Rosalind was of the North country.' I cannot trace any such statement, and Professor Renwick seems to know nothing of it. If the interesting lines at the end of *August* were written with reference to Rosalind, it must have been before Spenser had been dismissed. They turn simply on a lover's grief when his lady leaves her home on a visit and are full of happy hopes for the time after her return.

Professor Renwick argues that the *February* and *November* eclogues have been transposed from their original positions in the *Calendar* on the ground that, in *November*, l. 16, the sun is said to have 'taken vp his ynne in Fishes haske,' whereas he properly enters Pisces towards the end of February. But the whole context in *November*, 'But nowe sadde Winter welked hath the day', agrees much better with November than with February, and similarly the opening couplet of *February* with its expectation of winter's assuagement and the later reference to the 'rather lambes,' agree with February and not November. It seems simpler then to impute to the poet an error in astronomy. (The difficulty pointed out at *November*, l. 161, is solved by the easy emendation of 'Yet' to 'Yt' = 'That.')

Still more speculative is Professor Renwick's attempt (p. 167) to determine the order in which the eclogues were composed. He begins with saying that in *June* we have a 'record' of Spenser's becoming secretary to Bishop Young. Yet the only 'record' is Hobbinol's exhortation to him to leave the north for the more promising south. Accordingly those eclogues in which Colin is described as the southern *shepheardes boy*, or in which Kent is mentioned, are later than *June*: that is, *February*, *April*, *September*, *October*. But in *February* the mention of Kent is quite unconnected with Colin Clout—at any time Spenser might have associated Chaucer with Kent, or spoken of 'a Kentish lasse.' And in *October* there is no mention of Kent at all. In *April* 'the southern shepherds boy' is a more definite 'record' than anything in *June*, in fact makes the *June* exhortation meaningless. On the other hand, in *April* Colin seems still to be courting Rosalind, and in *June* he has been rejected for Menalcas. So it is hard to find a satisfactory order. Professor Renwick then adds *May* and *July* as later than *June*, since they belong to the same circle of interests as *February* (originally *November*) and *September*. But were eclogues of similar interest necessarily written together? *January* from its place in the love story must, he thinks, precede *June*—(then why must not *April* also?). Again, the poems in which Thenot appears are later than *November* (originally *February*), since Spenser took Thenot from Marot; these are *February* and *April*. The argument again fails to convince.

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March and *December* are said to be so appropriate to their months that probably they were written last, after the Calendar scheme had been devised. Hence as a tentative scheme of the order of composition we have *January, November; June; April, October, February, July, September, May; March, December,* with *August* not placed, and perhaps written at more than one time. Whatever ingenuity there is in this, one is doubtful of its solid value. But the editor has spent more time and thought on the matter than his critic.

Professor Renwick, as the times demand, pays more attention to bibliographical minutiae than did Professor Herford. He gives a careful account of the different editions of the book, points out the significance of its having been first printed by Hugh Singleton, and bases his text on the British Museum copy of the first quarto, compared with those in the Bodleian and in Trinity College, Cambridge. He adds a list of the corrections introduced (in most cases corrections of obvious errors in spelling or punctuation), and some textual notes.

Spenser's obligations to his predecessors have been very closely examined, and a host of fresh illustrations have been supplied from Petrarch, Mantuan, Marot, etc. For some the editor is indebted to Professor Mustard's work, but his critical attitude is right when he sometimes rejects the remoter sources in favour of those more accessible to the poet. He has made it highly probable that Spenser made use of the pseudo-Chaucerian *Plowman's Tale.* It might perhaps have been noted that in l. 69 of *September* Spenser had in mind the proverb: 'Seldom comes the better.'

There are a rather surprising number of *errata* whether of the printer or of the editor. I would suggest, in some cases with diffidence, that we should read:

p. 173, top, 'was [the first to introduce]'; l. 17 from bottom, 'provokingly': p. 174, l. 16 from bottom, 'prolatio': p. 175, l. 17, '*Deffense*': p. 176, l. 18, 'Actius': p. 178, l. 8, 'quatuor [diebus]': p. 185, l. 20 from bottom, 'Ac iam': p. 186, l. 8, 'are 211–212'; l. 22, 'urbana': p. 188, l. 21, 'τῷδε': p. 190, l. 8, 'pertineant': p. 191, l. 21 from bottom, 'feracis praedicamus'; l. 4 from bottom, 'vagantur': p. 196, renumber notes on ll. 75–195: p. 199, l. 5, *for* 'pater adhuic' *read* 'huic pater': p. 200, l. 3, 'τρεῖς': p. 203, l. 13 from bottom, 'pascua': p. 206, l. 3, 'ἔσχατον': p. 207, l. 21, 'Amœbœan': p. 211, l. 21 from bottom, 'Poenituit'; l. 11 from bottom, *for* 'uis' *read* 'hic'; l. 8 from bottom, 'poteras': p. 212, l. 2, 'maius [reddit]': p. 214, l. 4, 'faciam': p. 216, l. 14, *for* 'quando' *read* 'aliquando'; l. 18, 'fugis'; l. 6 from bottom, 'potes': p. 217, bottom, 'molliter': p. 220, l. 17 from bottom, 'hanc sine tempora': p. 224, l. 15 from bottom, 'semblable': p. 225, l. 9, 'pedibusque': p. 230, l. 13 from bottom, 'saepe quibus mandauimus'; l. 10 from bottom, *for* 'dominantur' *read* 'nascuntur': p. 231, l. 19 from bottom, 'Divinatione'. It is a pity that there is no index, especially as much matter which Herford gives in a clearly arranged Introduction is here scattered under the different eclogues, and is not so easy to find.

G. C. Moore Smith.

Sheffield.

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The Life of Christopher Marlowe. By C. F. TUCKER BROOKE. *Dido, Queen of Carthage.* Edited by the same. London: Methuen. 1930. x + 238 pp. 8*s.* 6*d.*

This is the first volume of *The Works and Life of Christopher Marlowe*, to be issued in six volumes under the general editorship of Professor R. H. Case, on the model of the well-known 'Arden' *Shakespeare*[1]. As I am contributing one of the volumes, I cannot say more about the edition as a whole than that I believe that a fully annotated reissue of the plays and poems, in the light of recent research, will be welcome. For a justification of the modernised spelling of the text, which will be a stumbling-block to some, and which has, of course, certain disadvantages, reference may be made to Professor Case's general preface.

Professor Tucker Brooke of Yale needs no introduction to students of Marlowe. By his Oxford edition of the plays and poems and by such articles as those on 'The Marlowe Canon' and on 'The Reputation of Christopher Marlowe,' he has long since won his spurs as a Marlovian scholar. It was therefore fitting that he should be entrusted with the first volume of the present edition which will, it seems, take the place of the single-handed edition that he at one time contemplated.

It is needless to say that Professor Brooke is fully posted up in the most recent results of Marlovian research, that his conclusions are tersely and lucidly set forth, and that they are amply documented. He has made no thrilling discovery like that of his countryman Professor Leslie Hotson, nor such an important 'find' as the unsigned Kyd letter concerning Marlowe first printed by another Transatlantic investigator Mr Ford K. Brown. But from the Canterbury Consistory and Archdeaconry Registers he furnishes details of the wills of Richard Marley (1521) and Christopher Marley (1539/40), who may have been great-grandfather and grandfather of the dramatist, and from the parish registers of St Andrew's and St Mary Bradman, Canterbury, new particulars about the baptism of the dramatist's youngest brother Thomas on April 8, 1576, and the marriages of three of his sisters in 1590, 1593, and 1594. Professor Brooke notes that when the wedding of Ann Marlowe took place on June 10, 1593, 'the news of Christopher's death and burial was very fresh—if any news was sent.' Later in the same summer the plague carried off in two months Christopher's maternal uncle, Thomas Arthur, with his wife and four children. But though tragedy befell not only the poet but his kinsfolk, Professor Brooke, with an inclination to optimism which colours his *Life* of Marlowe throughout, finds evidence in such facts as are known of the careers of his parents and in their testamentary dispositions that 'he was brought up in the odour of conventional piety and domestic tranquillity.' In any case his account of the family origins and relationships in Canterbury is fuller than is to be found elsewhere.

The facts about the dramatist's schooldays and his career at Cambridge are lucidly set forth, though nothing of substance is added to what we

[1] Two further volumes have now been published, *The Two Parts of Tamburlaine*, edited by Miss Ellis-Fermor, and *The Jew of Malta* and *The Massacre at Paris*, edited by Mr H. S. Bennett.

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have learnt from J. H. Ingram, in the one permanently valuable section of his tendencious volume and from Professor Moore Smith. Professor Brooke accepts the Privy Council's letter of June 29, 1587, as relating to the Christopher Marlowe of Corpus Christi, though he does not indicate that there were two (not only one) contemporary 'Christopher Morleys' at Trinity. He makes, I think, a good point in urging that the terms of the letter, to whatever public service they may relate, are scarcely consistent with the employment of Marlowe as a government spy. 'If he had been, and had proved useful in that capacity, the Privy Council would never have urged action to put an end "by all possible means" to popular rumours of disloyalty so obviously useful in a spy. He was employed in duties considerably more respectable, and probably much duller than those assigned by Walsingham to men like Robert Poley.'

If I may borrow Professor Brooke's epithets, my chief criticism of his picture of Marlowe's later career in London is that it is more respectable and duller than the evidence suggests, especially as he holds (as I think, rightly) that most of the statements of Kyd and Baines 'have the ring of authenticity.' He lays stress on Marlowe's familiarity with well-to-do associates, among them Raleigh and Sir Thomas Walsingham. Of the intimacy with the latter there is sufficient proof, but on what grounds can we say that his 'friendship' with Raleigh is 'very well attested'? Kyd states that Marlowe 'conversed' with Hariot, whom Baines calls 'Sir W. Raleigh's man,' and Cholmley reports that Marlowe told him that he had 'read the atheist lecture to Sir Walter Raleigh.' There is not sufficient evidence here of 'friendship' between the playwright and the courtier. On the other hand, is not Kyd unduly belittled for Marlowe's benefit when they are compared to Mercutio and Dogberry writing in one chamber?

There is an interesting discussion of the identity of Kyd's 'lord,' for whose players Marlowe wrote. Professor Brooke thinks that he was Lord Strange during the period when his company and the Lord Admiral's men were acting together, and that the consequence of his 'break' with Marlowe was that the latter wrote no more plays for Alleyn to act, but provided Pembroke's men with *Edward II*, 'in the interest of a company not possessed of any star performer but capable of good ensemble effects.'

Professor Brooke, however, finds in *Edward II* not 'a mere *tour de force* of adaptation,' but in it and in *Hero and Leander* 'a sane and rounded tolerance,' while the poem 'forbids us to believe that Marlowe was fundamentally or finally intemperate as Kyd called him, or of a cruel heart.' Again 'passages like the last soliloquy of *Dr Faustus* and the miraculous response to the invocation of dreams in 2 *Tamburlaine* are,' in his biographer's view, 'not consistent with the idea that Marlowe was a cynical sceptic concerning the doctrine of the Trinity.' Such inferences must, of course, be speculative, and in my opinion they cannot weigh against the consistent contemporary and traditional testimony to Marlowe's revolutionary iconoclasm which was bluntly summed up by the Elizabethans as 'atheism.'

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In consonance with his conception of Marlowe's 'gracious mood' during the later months of his life, Professor Brooke takes a *couleur de rose* view of the proceedings of the Privy Council in May, 1593. From a comparison with other neighbouring entries in the minutes of the Council he deduces that Marlowe was summoned as a witness not as a malefactor. But if so, why did the warrant of May 18 order Henry Maunder to 'apprehend' him, and 'in case of need to require aid'?

With respect to the last scene in Eleanor Bull's tavern at Deptford, Professor Brooke does me the honour of quoting me in his preface as being independently 'on the side of the unspectacular interpretation' he has given of the circumstances of Marlowe's death. I am glad to find that we agree in not challenging the verdict of the coroner's jury. But with Robert Poley present, I think it improbable that the long talks between ten and six o'clock on May 30 were concerned mainly with Marlowe's 'financial necessities,' and still more unlikely that 'Frizer went to his grave in total ignorance of the stir created by the homicide.' If Marlowe is to be 'whitewashed,' he could find no more adroit apologist than Professor Brooke, but I am not one of those to whom such a presentation carries conviction. I prefer the Italianate Englishman to this bland and somewhat anæmic figure.

The edition of *Dido, Queen of Carthage* forms the second half of the volume, and on this part of Professor Brooke's work there can be no two opinions. He has provided an excellent commentary on the play, embodying the fruits of his own scholarship as well as much of the critical work of his predecessors, especially Knutowski and Dr McKerrow. On the authorship of *Dido* he takes the generally accepted view that the marks of Nash's hand are 'few and generally indefinite,' and that the style is essentially that of Marlowe in his earliest period. The play may date in large part from his Cambridge days when he was under predominantly classical influences. Professor Brooke traces in detail the relation of the various scenes and the individual speeches to the corresponding passages in the *Aeneid*, to illustrate 'the impact of Vergil's splendid gravity upon the most exuberantly romantic of the Elizabethan dramatists.' And he has shown, what is of particular interest, how influences from Ovid, especially from the *Metamorphoses*, and occasionally from the mediæval Latinists mingle in *Dido* with the main Virgilian material. The notes on points of prosody and vocabulary are a valuable feature of this edition, which by a pleasant coincidence has appeared during the celebration of the bi-millenary of Virgil's birth.

F. S. Boas.

London.

Shakespeare-Jahrbuch. Herausg. im Auftrage der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft von Wolfgang Keller. Band lxvi (Neue Folge, vii). Leipzig: B. Tauchnitz. 1930. iv + 293 pp. 8 M.

Another volume of the *Jahrbuch* bears evidence of the continued devotion of German scholars to the task of interpreting Shakespeare, and contains at the same time a complaint from the editor that English

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scholars too often disregard the work of their German collaborators and as in a recent case are given credit for discoveries of what has been known and accepted in Germany for many years. There may be something to be said on the other side, but the protest is made with such admirable moderation (the very book which is the cause of offence is called 'one of the most important contributions to Shakespearian research in England') that it behoves us all to take it seriously to heart.

It is the editor, further, who contributes what is perhaps the most notable article in the volume—the address on *Troilus and Cressida* delivered at the Weimar meeting of the society last year. Professor Keller does not concern himself with the question of two dates in the composition of the play. He dates it roundly 1602 and so differs from Mr G. B. Harrison who in his *Second Journal* considers that some of the criticisms on Achilles' abstention from fighting have their background in Essex's abstention from the court in 1600. But Keller collecting the versions of the Troilus story reflected in Caxton, Henryson, and *The Paradise of Daynty Devices* (1580) and in Dekker and Chettle's 'plot' in the *Henslowe Papers* of *c.* 1599—it was their play, he thinks, which gave the impetus to Shakespeare's—removes many of the difficulties which confront the reader of the play. It is a wise and erudite article. Professor A. O. Meyer of Munich contributes an illuminating study of King James I, but perhaps lays too little stress on the personal impression made by the ungainly King and his unpleasant weaknesses. Dr Ernst Weigelin in a slight article argues that when Hamlet killed Polonius, he did not think he was killing the King. Dr Agnes Henneke examines Shakespeare's English kings in the light of the contemporary views of monarchy asserted by the absolutist Bodin and his democratically minded opponents. She comes to the conclusion that Henry V was Shakespeare's ideal, and that in his picture of that King both views were combined. Dr Gertrud Hille gives a careful account of the London playhouses of Shakespeare's time, their origin, form, dimensions, etc. I think, however, that she misunderstands (p. 46) a line in William Parrat's 'Sonnett upon the pittifull burneing of the Globe playhouse' (1613):

> This fearfull fire beganne above,
> A Wonder strange and true,
> And to the stage-house did remove
> As round as taylors clewe!

The author's comment is 'Das Strohdach fängt an einer Stelle Feuer, das Feuer läuft im Rund weiter bis zum Bühnenhaus. Die Ausdrucksweise des Berichterstatters spricht dafür, dass das Bühnenhaus dem Ringbau eingefügt ist.' But the poem says nothing about the circular form of the playhouse. 'As round as taylors clewe' means merely 'as quick as lightning,' with the play on the two meanings of the word 'round' seen also in P. Stubbes, *Anatomie of Abuses* (1585) (reprint, 1836, p. 140): 'to Bocardo goeth he as rounde as a ball,' R. Greene, *Pinner of W.*, II, 3, 418: 'goe as round as a top to the pound,' and *Club Law* (? 1599), l. 523: 'Ile carrie him to the feast, as rounde as a Julers boxe.'

G. C. Moore Smith.

Sheffield.

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The Dialogue concerning Tyndale, by Sir THOMAS MORE. Reproduced in Facsimile, edited with a Modern Version and an Essay on the Spirit and Doctrine of the Dialogue by W. E. CAMPBELL, with an Historical Introduction and Philological Notes by A. W. REED. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode. 1927. 120 + 186 + 324 pp. 30*s*.

The Apologye of Syr Thomas More, Knyght. Edited, with Introduction and Notes by A. I. TAFT. London: Published for the Early English Text Society. 1930. lxxxvi + 365 pp. 30*s*.

The Life and Works of Thomas Lupset, with a critical text of the Original Treatises and the Letters. By J. A. GEE. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1928. xvi + 357 pp. 23*s*.

Minor Works of Walter Hilton. Edited by DOROTHY JONES [with a foreword by A. W. REED]. London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne. 1929. lxvii + 232 pp. 5*s*.

'How little,' Mr P. S. Allen wrote in December, 1918, 'has England done to cherish More's memory! The house that he made at Chelsea is clean gone out of sight; even his tomb in the old church there, with its long plain inscription, is hidden in darkness, almost as though he had died a death of shame. Heroic efforts could not save Crosby Hall from transplantation, and the great Holbein portrait of the Chancellor, immeasurably more beautiful than any reproduction of it, was allowed to go out of the country without a single word of protest. No one has collected More's letters, and there is no critical edition of his English works. It is time that reparation should be made.'

Since those words were written, some reparation *has* been made. Dr Elizabeth Rogers has undertaken the task of collecting the letters, and as a first step has published a most excellent, indeed invaluable, *Calendar of the Correspondence of Sir Thomas More* (*English Historical Review*, XXXVII, 1922). Professor A. W. Reed has shown how much the origins of Tudor drama have to do with More and his circle. Mr Gee's edition of Lupset is a most valuable addition to our knowledge of that circle. And, thanks mainly to the enthusiasm of Mr W. E. Campbell, a beginning has been made towards a complete edition of More's English works, which will be the first issued since 1557.

More's reputation as a writer has undergone strange fluctuations. He was regarded in his own century as one of the greatest of English authors. He wrote books, says the editor of his collected works, 'so many and so well as no one Englishman (I suppose) ever wrote the like, whereby his workes be worthy to be hadde and redde of everye Englishe man, that is studious or desirous to know and learne, not onelye the eloquence and propertie of the English tonge, but also the trewe doctryne of Christes catholike fayth.' This may be a partisan judgment, but Ascham, who belonged to the other camp, spoke of More's *Richard III* as a book which 'doth content all men': and similar phrases used by other people show that it was regarded as a pattern of historical writing. Ben Jonson, in his *Grammar*, quotes it more often than any other prose book—he evidently regarded Chaucer, Gower, Lydgate and More as the four recog-

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nised English classics. Samuel Johnson, Sir James Macintosh, Henry Hallam, have re-echoed the praise of More. But in our own day critics, led by Professor Saintsbury, have strangely decried him. 'More did not do much of real importance in English,' we are told. 'More's place in the strict history of English literature is very small, and not extraordinarily high.' Yet, whether it be high or not, the place of an English writer of the early sixteenth century whose collected English works fill some 1478 closely printed black-letter pages in double columns, can hardly be small. Meantime, Mr and Mrs Allen have demonstrated, in the best possible way, the high place of More among sixteenth-century English prose writers, by publishing their little book of selections. That book ought to do more than any amount of argument, to prove the extraordinary variety and power of More's prose.

But the mere bulk of More's prose is such, that no one has had the courage to undertake a complete edition, since Rastell's labour of love in 1557. Indeed, there is so much of it, that it would be almost hybristic for any editor to undertake the task. 'My Soul,' such an editor must needs say to himself, 'thou hast much good English prose, laid up for many years: transcribe, collate, and be merry.' As beseems admirers of Sir Thomas More, the editors of the volumes under review have kept the Four Last Things before their eyes, and have laid their plans on that modest scale which does not tempt Nemesis. Mr Campbell is concerned with *A Dialogue concernynge heresyes*, the first and most important of all More's controversial works, which forms exactly one-eighth of his total extant output in English. Mr Taft has edited the *Apology*, the only one of More's books of controversy which can compare in interest with the *Dialogue concernynge heresyes*. But it is obvious that Mr Campbell hopes to follow up his first venture with further labours, which may ultimately give us a complete *Corpus* of the English works of Sir Thomas More. Mr Taft's objective seems to have been limited to the book that he has now so excellently edited. Yet a corporation which has before it the long life which we may hope for the Early English Text Society, may, and in course of time probably will, follow up this text by editions of More's other works.

It is therefore peculiarly fortunate that these two editions, although apparently prepared in complete independence, supplement each other in a very remarkable way. If the whole of More's works are ultimately printed, first on the plan followed by Mr Campbell, and then on that followed by Mr Taft, there will still be nothing superfluous in the service thus rendered to the study of the English language and of English history. There may be financial reasons why it is not desirable that two editions should be published simultaneously. We hope that Mr Campbell will proceed with his plans, in which case there would be no harm done if in the meantime the Early English Text Society were to mark time. The Society has plenty of other things to do: and it is a great thing to have produced such an edition as that of Mr Taft, which should serve as a model to any future editor, if the Society ultimately decides to proceed further with the publication of More's works.

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There are three ways in which an editor may set to work. The most obvious and usual is that followed by the Early English Text Society, and therefore necessarily by Mr Taft—a verbatim reprint of the earliest edition, reproducing its spelling precisely, with collations from the later edition.

On the other hand, the most strictly accurate verbatim reprint does not reproduce the atmosphere of the original in the way that a facsimile does. And sometimes there are peculiarities, misprints and strange spellings, which only become intelligible when we have before us the actual page, as originally printed. An exceptionally long spelling, for instance, may be explained by the desire of the printer to pad out his line. There is room, and indeed need, for a facsimile of More's works. For the 1557 edition has now become a rarity beyond the reach of most scholars. A series of facsimiles of More's first editions would prove expensive and cumbersome. The obvious course is a reproduction, section by section, of the 1557 volume. This is the course pursued by Mr Campbell, whose book gives us, in facsimile, pages 105 to 288 of Rastell's great folio. It is much to be hoped that the whole of the volume of 1557 will be reproduced in this way. For there are not enough copies left of the original to meet the demand which will certainly be made in the course of the next generation, when every great library in England and the United States will need a copy, original or facsimile, of this great book.

But black letter is difficult for modern eyes to read continuously. And many people are interested in More who are not philologists or historians, and who would find the spelling, and sometimes the language, of More a serious impediment, even in modern print. This growing interest has led Mr Chesterton to write: 'Blessed Thomas More is more important at this moment than at any moment since his death, even perhaps the great moment of his dying; but he is not quite so important as he will be in about a hundred years time.' To meet the wants of those who wish to follow More's thought, but care nothing about his spelling, Mr Campbell has given a modernised version of the *Dialogue*. He has prefixed to this an essay on the spirit and doctrine of the *Dialogue*. Now it was as a layman that More stepped forward to defend the Church, and therefore this essay, by a Roman Catholic layman, is particularly valuable in these days, when admirers of More are at the same time often puzzled to understand him. For example, Mr Campbell's essay is useful and instructive to those of us who have failed to see why More should have got so excited over the fact that Tyndale preferred the word *congregation* to *church*, and *love* to *charity*. There is a valuable, but all too short, Introduction by Professor A. W. Reed, and (lest the philologist should feel that the modernised version has cheated him of his due) there are thirty pages of collations by Miss Beatrice White, showing the most striking variations of the editions of 1529, 1530–31, and 1557, and an essay by Dr Reed on the spelling, punctuation and language. It is remarkable that, in these days of high prices, the publishers should be able to offer this massive volume at a price which might well have been charged for the facsimile alone.

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Dr Taft's edition of the *Apology* is, as has been indicated, a reprint of the first edition of 1533. Readings from the 1557 edition of the *Works* are given in the footnotes. The marginal summary (a most useful concession to the weaker brethren which, from the earliest days, has always been a feature of the Early English Texts) makes reference easy. In an appendix the text is given of *A Treatise concernynge the diuision betwene the spiritualtie and temporaltie*, the anonymous pamphlet written by Christopher Saint-German, which was the immediate cause of More's *Apology*. Dr Taft's long Introduction is an outstanding piece of work, by reason of its scholarship and sympathy; and his elaborate and careful notes complete a most useful volume.

It is surprising how, in the past, the Early English Text Society has neglected More. *A Supplication for the Beggars*, by Simon Fish, must have been reprinted a score of times: More's reply, *The Supplication of Souls*, has never been reprinted since 1557. Yet the Society chose to add one more to the numerous reprints of the railing and ill-balanced pamphlet, whilst ignoring More's noble reply. Dr Taft's work on the *Apology* atones handsomely for this past neglect.

Of the younger men who gathered round Colet and More and Erasmus, Thomas Lupset is one of the most important. His premature death, at the age of thirty-six, just when troubles were thickening in 1530, deprived English literature of a writer, to whose skill Dr Gee for the first time does full justice. Lupset was a young man in a hurry. Someone described him as *vir in omnibus festinabundus*; so Knight tells us in his *Life of Colet*. All Dr Gee's patient research has not enabled him to run this quotation to earth. But it is a very fair description of Lupset's impetuous genius. It seems safe to say that, if Lupset had lived on into the times of trouble, then, unless years had brought with them a discretion he never showed in youth, there were ropes or axes in store for the impulsive young man who had 'betrayed' Erasmus' secret of *Julius Exclusus*, and who published an unauthorised second edition of *Utopia*.

One-third only of Dr Gee's elaborate volume is filled by Lupset's all too scanty writings: this includes four letters which have never yet been printed. The greater part of the book is occupied by a very full Life of Lupset, and a discussion of his work. The few points at which one can cavil are on the periphery of Dr Gee's subject, and do not affect the excellence of his work. Thus he mentions Poynings and Morton as examples of the 'humble birth' of the statesmen of Henry VII; 'Poynings' father was Jack Cade's sword-bearer.' But Poynings' father, Robert de Poynings (killed in the Second Battle of St Albans, 1461), was the second son of the fifth Baron Poynings. He is mentioned more than once in the Paston letters: though a younger son, he was of sufficient importance to marry Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Paston. If he was Jack Cade's sword-bearer, that does not prove him to have been of humble birth: it proves that the whole truth about the Kentish rising is not to be gathered from the Jack Cade scenes of *King Henry VI, Part II*. The mediæval church, Dr Gee says, was 'basically democratic,' and any man of legitimate birth might hope to rise to a high position. Many examples

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of the elevation of clerics of 'humble birth' might be found, but Cardinal Morton is hardly one. He was a son of Richard Morton, a gentleman of Milborne St Andrew, Dorsetshire, who was great-grandson of Sir Robert Morton, of Morton, Lieutenant of Nottingham Castle in 1374. Richard Morton, the Cardinal's father, married the niece of John Lord Beauchamp of Hatch. The imposing pedigree of the Mortons of Milborne St Andrew will be found in Hutchins' *History of Dorset* (1864), II, pp. 594–5. Both Poynings and Morton were of gentle birth, with noble connexions. The determination of the Tudors to have no more king-makers did not mean that their officials were necessarily of humble birth.

Dr Gee is a little disturbed by the fact that Lupset's *Treatise of Charitie* is addressed to 'my entierly beloued sister,' whilst an investigation of the wills of Lupset's parents shows no trace of his having had a sister. 'This detail,' he thinks, 'must be considered as tending to raise a doubt that Lupset was the author.' Dr Gee does not, it is true, allow this doubt to stand in the way of his judgment that it is 'practically certain' that Lupset wrote the *Treatise of Charitie*. But does the dedication to a 'sister' in reality raise any difficulty whatsoever? Before the dissolution of the nunneries, it was almost normal to dedicate a devotional treatise to a 'sister.' Such a 'sister' might occasionally be the writer's sister or half-sister, as when Fisher in the Tower wrote his 'spirituall consolation' to his 'Sister Elizabeth,' or when Simon of Ghent, the fourteenth-century Bishop of Salisbury, adapted the *Ancren Riwle* for the use of his sisters, nuns at Tarente (Tarrent Kaines in Dorsetshire). Often the sister is named, so that we know that she was not actually related to the writer (as in the case of the 'right entierly beloued sister in Christ, Joyeuce Leigh' to whom More dedicated his *Life of Picus*, and in many other instances). But very often the sister is not named.

Very valuable is Dr Gee's Conclusion, in which he estimates Lupset's place in the development of English prose. He agrees with Dr Krapp that Chaucer's part in helping to produce an English prose technique is 'almost negligible.' Dr Gee finds Mandeville 'even more immature,' and Wiclif's writings reveal 'little if any trace of that effectiveness of expression which is the result of study and careful revision.' This being so, the praise he gives to Rolle, who, 'when his appeal is to the intellect, can write simply and directly,' assumes great importance, despite the limitations which have to be made. Dr Gee speaks in a footnote of the prose of Walter Hilton as 'usually clear, and seldom as crude as Rolle's prose.' But, if this be true (and true it indisputably is), then, considering the heights to which Hilton on some occasions rises, he is surely much too important to be dismissed in a footnote. For he is a fourteenth-century writer, was demonstrably read and studied earnestly during the fifteenth century, and his popularity continued during the whole of Lupset's life. Five editions of the *Scale of Perfection*, and seven of *Mixed Life* appeared between 1494 and 1533. From one point of view this gives Hilton an importance far surpassing that of Wiclif, Pecock, or Fortescue, whose time-honoured names loom so large in every history of English literature. For their English works were never printed till modern times,

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and can therefore have had little influence during the great formative period of English prose. To the man who is studying that most difficult subject, the continuity of national spirit, it may even enhance the significance of Wiclif and Pecock that, despite all that authority did to suppress their works, we seem to see their spirit in some ways reappearing, in the one case in English nonconformity, in the other in the Anglicanism of Hooker. But the suppression of their work—so that in the case of Pecock those books which have come down to us have each survived in a unique copy—has obviously a most important bearing on the influence they can have had upon succeeding English prose, when we compare it with that of Hilton, exercised steadily and continuously throughout five generations. Consequently, the publication of Hilton's *Minor Works* (in Dom Hudleston's series known as *The Orchard Books*) is very welcome. One of these minor works, *Mixed Life*, has often been reprinted; but the other four treatises are here printed for the first time, under the scrupulously careful editorship of Miss Dorothy Jones. Her Introduction is full of interesting bibliographical matter. It shows us a London citizen of considerable standing, having a work of Hilton copied out as an act of piety, so that the copy may be 'delyuerid and committid fro persoone to persoone, man or womman, so longe as the booke endurith.' Equally valuable are Miss Jones's notes which 'could only have been compiled by one who had lived with her text so intimately that it had become part of herself.'

The 'Foreword' by Professor Reed fills only some four tiny 12° pages: but it is of quite extraordinary interest. One passage must be quoted:

> No one who has read, for instance, his [More's] *Treatise of the Four Last Things*—'Death, Doom, Pain and Joy'—and is familiar with our early prose writers, can fail to observe that More's prose style is like nothing that preceded it so much as the natural lucid and easy prose of the school of Hilton. Nor is this surprising if we remember that More spent three or four years of his early manhood in the Charterhouse of London, where, and apparently when, Hilton's works were being copied.

These four important editions suggest that there is a good deal of hard work and hard thinking still to be done, in order to make clear the early history of English prose.

There are signs of hasty transcription and press-correction in Mr Campbell's version, and I can imagine a philologist complaining against him for having given a modernised version of the *Dialogue*, instead of a verbatim reprint of the first edition of 1529. I can imagine a critic grousing because Miss Jones has modernised Hilton's spelling. Yet the philologist who so complained would, in very truth, be biting the hand that feeds him. Protestant prejudice has led to a quite extraordinary neglect of the works of Hilton, Nicholas Love, and other writers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; and it is only within the last few years that they have become widely known in modernised texts, in the 'Orchard' series and the editions of Evelyn Underhill. Equally, Protestant prejudice has led to an extraordinary neglect of the work of Sir Thomas More. If such neglect is being tardily redressed, it is due to the

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initiative and devotion of enthusiasts like Mr Campbell and Miss Dorothy Jones, as well as to the patient labours of philologists like Professor Taft or Professor Gee.

R. W. CHAMBERS.

LONDON.

The Letters and Epigrams of Sir John Harington together with The Prayse of Private Life. Edited with an Introduction by NORMAN EGBERT MCCLURE. Foreword by FELIX E. SCHELLING. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1930. vii + 438 pp. $5.

Professor McClure's new volume gives us, besides the reproduction of his edition of Harington's *Epigrams* of five years ago, as many of the letters as it has been possible to collect from printed and manuscript sources, *The Prayse of Private Life* (now printed for the first time), and a biographical and critical introduction of fifty-eight pages. The essay—appearing simultaneously with Mr Lytton Strachey's study of Harington—challenges comparison. Although each is a foil to the other, substantially the same person emerges from both. Harington's character seems to be proof against serious misunderstanding, but it has its mysteries for the twentieth century. The greatest of these is perhaps his 'final and amazing effort to obtain honorable preferment' when in 1605 he found himself mortified in his 'vayn and ydle affections and apt for a more holly vocacion,' and proposed himself to Viscount Cranborne to be Archbishop of Dublin and Lord High Chancellor of Ireland. The request may have seemed as 'extraordinary' to Cecil as it does to us, but if it shocks us we miss the meaning of Harington's obstinate loyalty throughout his epigrams to everything Anglican: in *Against Paulus an Atheist* (Nos. 122 and 329), in the mockery of Predestination in *Of Free Will* (No. 128) and of Brownist bigotry in *Against Cinna* (No. 159), and in the concentration of Spenser's two-edged satire of the 'formall priest' of *Mother Hubberds Tale* into Harington's jibe at

> Brave Galla late a lofty prelate wedding
> Sumptuous at boord but sumptuous more at bedding.
> (No. 366)

Critically one may differ now and again from Mr McClure. His doubt of the felicity of 'the slang and proverbial expressions' in Harington's translation of *Orlando Furioso* seems questionable, especially when illustrated by Harington's use of his favourite figure of 'the hares head against the goose gyblets' in his rendering of the story (Canto XLIII, stanza 142) which 'mosse a riso Rinaldo':

> e diventar gli fece a un tratto il viso,
> per l'onta del dottor, come di fuoco.

As a critic of the evidence about Harington's life and correspondence, Mr McClure makes a large contribution. He has added several to the canon of the Letters and has cleared up some puzzling matters, notably with reference to Harington's connexion with Sir Griphin Markham, Thomas Markham, and others who were concerned with the forfeitures of

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land incident to the Bye Plot. His notes try skilfully to identify all the persons who figure in the Letters. Some persistent errors are corrected. Harington belonged to King's College, not, as the *Dictionary of National Biography* has it, to Christ's. The ghost of the attribution of *An Anatomy of the Metamorphosed Ajax* to Harington is laid. The old story about the circumstances of the translation of *Orlando Furioso*—how Elizabeth commanded it as a punishment for the effrontery of reading an off-hand rendering of the twenty-eighth canto to her ladies-in-waiting—is challenged, although Professor Schelling repeats the tale in his foreword. In the construction of his portrait of Harington, Mr McClure has worked with scepticism and insight. He does not attempt a synthesis or reduce his subject to any formula. Indeed, he seems bent upon avoiding the effect of finality which a fully articulated essay might give. His repetition (on pp. 27 and 50) of Elizabeth's remark to Harington, while he was reading some of his epigrams to her a few months before her death, 'When thou doste feele creepinge tyme at thye gate, these fooleries will please thee lesse,' has every indication of being inadvertent; but this casuality contributes something to the truth of his study of the man.

Exigencies of space may have decided Mr McClure to reproduce his notes to his former edition of the *Epigrams* substantially unchanged, but it is impossible not to wish that he might have annotated them on the scale that he has the *Letters*. It would be valuable, for example, to have some justification for his enormous extension of the list of the epigrams owing something directly to Martial beyond the limits set—rather summarily—by Professor T. K. Whipple in *Martial and the English Epigram* (p. 346). The slighting of problems of allusion is excusable, but it is annoying to find scores of such obvious annotations as '*Stellified*: made into a star, glorified,' while cruxes such as

> Pray God they bring us not, when all is done,
> Out of Gods blessing, into this warme sunne...

to which the *Variorum Shakespeare* devotes two pages of notes anent *Hamlet*, I, ii, 67, are passed in silence. Misprints like 'yvce' (p. 136) the reader will correct for himself, but he may cavil at *ingannaiti* for *ingannarti* (p. 354) in the Italian proverb, and at *sotio* for *socio* (p. 348), although here the spelling may represent Harington's pronunciation of the Latin. The garbling of the line,

> crede mihi, non est sapientis dicere, 'Vivam'

to

> crede mihi non est sapientis discere vivam

in the sixteenth chapter of *The Prayse of Private Life* will send him curiously to the note, where he will find the mistake repeated without comment, and then to the original Latin, muttering of Harington and his editor, 'A plague o' both your houses.'

MERRITT Y. HUGHES.

BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA.

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The Poems of Sidney Godolphin. Edited by WILLIAM DIGHTON. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1931. xliii + 78 pp. 10*s*.

To Mr John Drinkwater's discovery of a small manuscript book, and to Mr Dighton's editorial care, we owe the publication for the first time in separate form of Sidney Godolphin's poems. It is now twenty-five years since his work was first collected in print by Professor Saintsbury (whom little escapes) in the second volume of his *Minor Poets of the Caroline Period*. Before that time hardly more than a dozen of his pieces had appeared in print, and these in scattered volumes. A Cornish squire of weak physique and retiring disposition, he died a cavalier, at the early age of thirty-three, fighting for his king. A morning skirmish at Chagford in 1643, a stray musket ball, and he fell from his horse, 'too lively an instance,' as Clarendon writes, 'of the inequality of the contention, when such inestimable Treasure was ventur'd against dirty people of no name.'

In Godolphin's lifetime complimentary verses to Ben Jonson, to Donne, to George Sandys, and a doubtful poem included in Jonson's *Underwoods* were, apart from two insignificant Latin trifles, his only printed claims as a poet; but Falkland counted him with the heirs of Jonson, he is mentioned by Suckling in his *Sessions of the Poets*, his ability and charm of character are extolled alike by men so dissimilar as Clarendon and Hobbes. The promise discerned by his contemporaries was inadequately redeemed at his death; but the little Godophin left behind suggests that a larger measure of genuine poetry awaited him. If a great part of his verse soon slips the mind, there are pieces, the charming lyric, 'Or love me lesse, or love me more,' the well-phrased lines of 'On Ben Jonson' and 'On S. F. Carew,' and one or two others which remain.

Mr Dighton's introduction contributes some details to our knowledge of Godolphin's life which supplement the article in the *D.N.B.* In his text he has the advantage of using for the first time a manuscript now in the possession of Mr John Drinkwater, containing the bulk of the poems transcribed in the hand of William Godolphin, nephew of the poet. One poem, found only in this manuscript, is now published for the first time. Before this discovery the sources for an edition of Godolphin's poems were MS. Malone 13 in the Bodleian Library, MS. Harleian 6917 in the British Museum, and stray printed pieces, several of which were missed even by Professor Saintsbury. Mr Dighton's edition is, therefore, not only more complete, it gives also a close transcript of the manuscripts in place of Professor Saintsbury's modernised text; and all textual variants are carefully noted. Only a few unimportant oversights in pointing, or doubtful capitalisations, have been noted. It is curious, however, that Mr Dighton's description of the Malone MS. should be at fault. On page xxxiv of his introduction he says: 'The writing of the manuscript is in two hands....Pages 1–91, 253–258, and 291–311 are in one hand, and pages 91–102 are in other hands.' This is inconsistent with itself; and also inaccurate. Pp. 1–90 are in one hand, and pp. 91–102 are in other hands, apparently three. Mr Dighton was aware of more than two hands, as a note on p. 74 shows.

HAROLD WILLIAMS.

ASPENDEN, HERTS.

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Poets and Playwrights: Shakespeare, Jonson, Spenser, Milton. By E. E. Stoll. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1930. viii + 304 pp. $3.

The 'realist' attitude, which at the moment appears to be all-dominant in the sphere of Shakespeare criticism, may perhaps be thought at times to prove a trifle fettering and of unsatisfying content. It is, of course, well that romantic fervours should be checked or counteracted by a rigorous endeavour to read Shakespeare (or any early poet) in accordance with the spirit of his own times, to reject absolutely all efforts to read into his works ideas and conceptions alien to the Elizabethan age, to let an objective critical analysis take the place of subjective imaginings; but it may be that this endeavour can be carried overfar. Professor Stoll has done work of utmost importance for the adequate appreciation of Shakespeare, and such of his essays as are here devoted to the Elizabethan dramatist are eminently worthy of being regarded as supplements to his well-known *Shakespeare Studies*, yet, as we read them, we may confess to an occasional feeling of dissatisfaction. When, for example, we find the dogmatic statement that many of Shakespeare's characters 'are to be taken for granted, not to be interpreted, analyzed, or motived' and when, immediately after, we are informed that 'Posthumus is not meant to be a cad; nor Helena and Mariana to be man-hunters...nor Hamlet to be an insidious procrastinator,' even while recognising that there is a great deal of truth in the judgments, we are left questioning as to whether this indeed is the last word, whether it is possible thus to determine exactly, by a study of contemporary ideals, the precise attitude of Shakespeare himself towards his characters. This note of dogmatic assertion, based on and taking strength from a stern 'historical' foundation, runs through the course of Professor Stoll's book. It appears in the essays on Cleopatra and Henry V, as in those on Spenser and Milton.

Among these essays devoted to dramatic characters and to poets come two of a slightly different kind—*The Stage and the House, Then and Now* and *Certain Fallacies and Irrelevances in the Literary Scholarship of the Day*—and in many respects these are the most entertaining in the whole volume—entertaining because here, it seems, the author has for the moment escaped from the strict self-discipline imposed by his realist aim and permits himself suggestively to deal with larger subjects such as the modern theatre spirit, and to discourse lightly and soundly on the all too prevalent tendency towards minute and useless research and towards specious argumentation. One might wish, so good it is, that offprints of the essay on *Fallacies* might be presented to every candidate for a Ph.D. or for a reader's ticket to the British Museum. It is a scathing denunciation of the way of us moderns and testifies to the sound vision and the essential 'humanism' which, albeit obscured somewhat by the 'historical' method, forms the background of all Professor Stoll's critical writings.

Allardyce Nicoll.

London.

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A Life of Thomas Chatterton. By E. H. W. MEYERSTEIN. London: Ingpen and Grant. 1930. xx + 584 pp. 30*s.*

Chatterton. By W. MACNEILE DIXON. *Warton Lecture on English Poetry,* British Academy, 1930 (from the *Proceedings of the British Academy,* vol. XVI). London: H. Milford. 22 pp. 1*s.* 6*d.*

Thomas Chatterton the Marvellous Boy; to which is added The Exhibition: a personal Satire. By ESTHER PARKER ELLINGER. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press; London: H. Milford. 1930. 75 pp. 8*s.* 6*d.*

Of these three works, the first will take its place, no doubt, for some time to come, as the fullest, best documented and most critical, and hence the standard life of the poet; the second is an *éloge*, charmingly worded, which establishes Chatterton's key position in literary history in a way to quell dispute; the third invites to a new attitude towards the old problems, Chatterton's authorship of the Rowley poems and his suicide, which many scrupulous people will welcome. This work, which we put last, appeared in fact early enough to be noticed by Mr Meyerstein, who after nine years is still pursuing his researches and publishing minor discoveries[1].

Mr Meyerstein had two main purposes: to appraise 'Rowley' as English poetry, and through contemporary evidence to show the poet in his actual environment. Nearly a hundred pages go to the chapter headed 'Thomas Rowley,' and this is not only the most enjoyable part of the book, but one to make us realise better than ever before that Chatterton was truly a poet (even if not 'a great poet,' as Mr Meyerstein in his guarded way reminds us), and also that it is a sad mistake not to read these poems in their original spelling. On the life, he is at his best in dealing with three critical issues—the question of forgery, the alleged responsibility of Walpole for the poet's despair and suicide, and the whole set of circumstances and motives that led to this catastrophe.

Mr Meyerstein has had to clear away so many ill-founded suppositions and downright falsehoods that he may strike the reader as over cautious, more negative than positive, and rather too much inclined to display the facts and leave the conclusion unconcluded. It would be unfair to call him an unfriendly biographer; but he is the typical candid friend, and sometimes startles us into protest at his sheer unkindness—'ungracious,' 'ill-humour and spleen,' sound harsh. But reading on we see that this is all to the good. Chatterton remains at the end something of an enigma; it cannot be said that a complete and clear-cut portrait emerges; but all the evidence is there, and it is not likely that we shall exhume any further help in solving the riddles. Lort said that Chatterton's Bristol friends allow he was 'a sad lyar,' and Mr Meyerstein accepts this, not only without a murmur, but with the supplement that he deceived for fun, as well as for pride or for profit. Later on, in reference to his pamphleteering, Chatterton told his sister, 'He is a poor author, who cannot write on both sides.' He was a 'Puckish Romanticist,' delighting in make-believe for its own sake; 'not a cunning forger at all,' since he did not copy anything,

[1] See *Times Literary Supplement,* June 25, 1931.

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and his so-called imitations were childish bungles, transparent hoaxes that should never have taken anyone in. It will of course be objected that they did, in fact, take in quite a large number of people. But let Mr Meyerstein continue: 'It will be asked, For what end or purpose did he contrive such an imposture? I answer, From lucrative views; or perhaps from the pleasure of deceiving the world; a motive which, in many minds, operates more powerfully than the hopes of gain.' Over and over again our biographer insists that Chatterton's innate love of mischief, or something akin to it, was the chief motive, and acutely points out that the poet's older friend, the fishy antiquarian surgeon Barrett, from motives much less avowable, became virtually his accomplice and fellow-conspirator.

Here it is worth while to turn to the brief study of Miss E. P. Ellinger, who thinks that 'Adlerian psychology seems to offer an available mode of attack.' Perhaps it does, although the technicalities look suspiciously like a new-fangled statement of the plain view, that the boy felt out of tune with his surroundings, and took the shortest cut to get even with the world and then to get out of it. Chatterton, according to this, suffered from an 'inferiority complex,' which impelled him by fair means or foul to assert 'his superiority over an unsympathetic environment,' and 'attain the self-realisation which life seems to deny him.' Romanticist born by ill-luck in the wrong age, proud, and afflicted with what the psycho-analyst calls the 'will to power,' he had no more chance than would Keats, or Shelley, or Rossetti, if writing then, to impress such dull contemporaries with his genius. Chatterton's only hope of winning attention, and ultimately convincing the world of the greatness which he himself always firmly believed in, was to pass off his best work under the disguise of the mediæval priest; his second best must take care of itself. Perhaps he enjoyed the deception; anyhow, he had an intelligible motive, and his plan actually succeeded. Chatterton adopted the best policy for his purpose, though it meant abjuring honesty. Once, however, he had given birth to Rowley, Chatterton could not but identify himself with his offspring more and more as time went on. It undoubtedly became very soon a case of dual personality; and Miss Ellinger is surely very shrewd in calling our attention to the parallel of William Sharp and Fiona Macleod.

On Mr Meyerstein's review of 'Rowley,' we need only say that we share his enthusiasm. His account of Chatterton's metrical novelties, which were actually revivals of forgotten cadences and freedom of resolution and equivalence, is thoroughly well informed, and brings out well the influence of Chatterton on the romantics. His criticism is illustrated by comparisons that show wide reading.

The account of the poet's last weeks of life is full and detailed. Walpole is exonerated from any serious charge. By trying to impose upon him as he had successfully imposed upon an uncritical public at Bristol, the poet naturally put Walpole on the defensive. The pieces submitted to the great man had no merit, and Walpole, if he could have appreciated the beauty of 'Rowley' at his best, hardly had the opportunity. 'Chatterton's

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action in this matter was for the most part less that of a distressed poet than a bold, presumptuous decoy duck, on his mettle, and Walpole is to be pitied rather than blamed.' Chatterton, Mr Meyerstein contends, was determined on suicide before he left Bristol; 'he might...have taken his life almost at any time after breaking his indentures.' There are good reasons for believing that he did not kill himself for lack of bread, as popular legend has it.

It was in this latter period, when the poet's exasperations with the world were most acute, that he wrote nearly all his satires. Apart from personal grievances, he was stirred up by the Wilkes affair, and poured forth savage effusions in the style of Churchill, railing at everybody in the public eye, without much discrimination between the good and the bad, and glancing from Bute and the Tories to his old enemies at Bristol. It seems to us extravagant to compare this facile expression of 'misanthropic rage' to Dryden; only now and then does it equal Churchill's average. Probably the best of the satires is *Kew Gardens*; certainly the most corrosive is *The Exhibition*, which was apparently written to relieve his furious feelings and not meant for publication. Skeat and other editors ventured only to print samples of its unbridled denunciations. To know what Chatterton was capable of, and what was his state of mind during this final phase of his tragic career, it is worth while having this text, which has been printed from the transcript in the Bristol Museum and Art Gallery.

ERNEST A. BAKER.

LONDON.

Robert Browning und die Antike. Von ROBERT SPINDLER. (*Englische Bibliothek*, VI.) Leipzig: B. Tauchnitz. 1930. 369 and 382 pp. 50 M.

It is indeed astonishing that the subject of Browning's 'classicism' should have been so far neglected by his critics, apart from casual notices, as to leave scope for Dr Spindler's 750 closely printed pages. That such is the case appears indubitably from the formidable array of fresh material here assembled, which throws a good deal of light upon Browning's commentators as well as upon the poet himself. So far Dr Spindler's industry is amply justified in its results and he is to be congratulated upon the scholarly care and erudition devoted to his undertaking, which no future student of Browning can afford to ignore.

The first volume is concerned entirely with *Balaustion's Adventure* and *Aristophanes' Apology*, the second with the translations and shorter pieces related, directly or indirectly, to classical studies. Exhaustive analysis of the two longer poems leads to a sound and judicious estimate of Browning's attitude towards Euripides and Aristophanes, and of his affinity with the former as critic of life. The intricate thought and verbal obscurity of *Aristophanes' Apology* render necessary a prose paraphrase to clear the ground for discussion.

Was uns bei 'Bal.'s Adv.' gestattet schien, scheint uns hier unerlaubt. 'Bal.'s Adv.' ist sprachlich wie sachlich eine im grossen ganzen klare Dichtung, 'Arist. Apol.'

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dagegen, wie schon betont, teilweise so überladen von sachlichen—auch sprachlichen; doch sind diese nicht allzu störend—Schwierigkeiten, dass stellenweise Vers für Vers sein Kommentar erfordert. (I, 98.)

It could hardly have been necessary, however, for the paraphrase to extend over thirty-three pages, when the ensuing comment, devoted to each section of the argument, covers so much of the same ground.

The pieces treated in the second volume, apart from the translations, come off more lightly. If the first is to be chewed and digested, this is but to be tasted; and the disparity between the two parts emphasises a fundamental weakness in the whole dissertation. The wealth of Dr Spindler's material would suffice either for a constructive study upon the formative influence of ancient literature in Browning or for a reference book of allusions and analogues. In point of fact, his book falls somewhat awkwardly between the two kinds. His close investigation of Browning's debt to the classical scholarship of his time, both English and German, as evidenced in his correspondence with Miss Barrett and elsewhere, gives promise of a study comparable with Professor Lowes' *Road to Xanadu*; but the promise is unfulfilled. On the other hand, the listing of allusions and quotations under the names of separate poems, with the omission of a corresponding alphabetical list of classical authors, considerably detracts from the utility of his book to an annotator.

In discussing Browning's general attitude to the ancients and his mannerisms as a translator Dr Spindler makes a strong case against the customary charge of 'modernity,' citing as evidence to the contrary the poet's early schooling and life-long interest in classical literature. He urges Browning's acute perception of the community in spirit between the ancient and modern worlds, which renders his 'classicism' more authentic than that of Shelley, Swinburne or Matthew Arnold. On the other hand it may be questioned whether the superstructure of modern thought, which Browning erects upon ancient literature, particularly upon the writings of Euripides, is not quite as spurious as the sentimentality of those authors with whom he is contrasted. Nor is it easy to understand precisely what Dr Spindler means by 'das romantische Evangelium von der edlen Einfalt' when this is set in opposition to Browning's gospel of action and development, of which the *Herakles* provides a foretaste. It is just as open to argue that nineteenth-century individualism is a form of romanticism and that, from this aspect, if the *Herakles* be a fair instance, Euripides, the most modern of the ancients, is an exceptional rather than a typical classic. The *Weltanschauung* of the individualist, in fact, like that of almost every other school of thought, is affected by elements both 'classic' and 'romantic,' without completely submitting to either.

B. E. C. Davis.

London.

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The Forerunners of Feminism in French Literature of the Renaissance from Christine of Pisa to Marie de Gournay. By LULA MCDOWELL RICHARDSON. (*Johns Hopkins Studies in Romance Literatures and Languages*, XII.) Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins Press; Paris: Les Presses Universitaires de France. 1929. iii + 178 pp. $1.25.

The book before us, a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, gives a brief but always interesting account of the principal works to be found in French literature dealing with the status of women in France during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. We are not quite in accord with the author when she says: 'Feminism began in the sixteenth century, and has continued in an uninterrupted development until the present day'; we should rather have regarded it as a movement showing remarkable periods of arrested development. Perhaps one of the most notable features of its history in France is that that wonderful woman, Christine de Pisan, who may well be called the pioneer, still remains the best authority on the subject, all who come after her having borrowed largely and added little. Born in Venice in 1363, she was brought to Paris at the age of five. Her father held a Court appointment, and under his direction she received an excellent education and became a good Latin scholar, having also the advantage of knowing Italian as her mother tongue. Married at sixteen, she was left a widow with three little children at the age of twenty-five, and, her father having died previously, she found herself singularly friendless and unprotected. Her erudition and her natural gifts caused her to be attracted to literature, and probably the difficulties which she encountered as a lonely woman, struggling unsuccessfully to recover her husband's heritage, disposed her to a careful consideration of the position and disabilities of women. The skill with which she confutes the arguments of the detractors of her sex—Jean de Meung, Montreuil and others—her reasoned replies to the wholesale abuse poured out on women, and the learning which she displays, are even less remarkable than the moderation and calm with which she writes. She is often delicately ironical in her attacks, but always maintains her own dignity and gives her opponents a lesson in good manners of which they stood sorely in need. Her first book was purely controversial, her second, *Le Livre de la cité des dames*, is more constructive and consequently far more interesting. In the first place it is a chronicle of the women of all ages who have possessed great virtues and done noble deeds; these are to be the foundations of the city which the author prepares to build with the aid of 'Raison, Droiture et Justice.' Raison furnishes her with a long line of women famous as rulers, warriors and artificers of various kinds; Droiture with those famous for their virtues, but protests against those 'qui dient qu'il n'est pas bon que femme apprenne lettres,' declaring that women have the same aptitude for education as men. Then Justice proceeds to adorn the city with pictures of the Blessed Virgin and the saints who are to act as its defenders. Christine's last work, *Le Livre des trois vertues*, is the most interesting of all, for it deals purely with female education, and, while placing virtues and morals before everything else, she emphasises the

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necessity of a wide general culture without which, she says, no one can be truly wise. Yet the book is rather a treatise on good manners than on intellectual development; education is more an accessory than a principal, and this view we shall find in all French writers on the subject. The purely intellectual is always suspect. No Vittorino da Feltre ever kept school in France.

It is to Italy we must go to find learning valued for its own sake. In the great days of the Renaissance the Court ladies, without a trace of pedantry, played momentous parts in all the dramas that were being enacted. Equipped with learning, speaking various languages, versed in all social graces, accomplished in all the arts, of which they were both practisers and patrons, they were at the same time rulers, diplomatists and orators. French women, however highly educated, held firmly to the view that woman's chief asset was her charm and not her intellect. The most remarkable departure from this idea is to be found in the literary and intellectual life of Lyons, which was largely influenced and moulded by Marguerite de Navarre who was a frequent visitor to the city. It could not but be expected that the fame of her learning, her writings and her varied attainments and activities must have greatly influenced the women of France and the men who wrote of them. There was no nobility in Lyons, it was the rich bourgeois who were attracted by learning and culture, and in pursuit of these men and women took an equal part. Pernette du Guillet, whose poems were published in 1545, was said to have been proficient in Italian, Spanish and Latin, and skilled in all musical instruments. She died young and was celebrated in verse by Maurice Scève, leader of the Renaissance movement at Lyons, and the poem in which he extols her contains a graceful tribute to Marguerite:

> Si le blanc pur est Foy immaculée,
> Et le vert gay est joyeuse Espérance,
> Le rouge ardent par couleur simulée
> De Charité est la significance:
> Et si ces troys de diverse substance
> (Chascune en soy) ont vertu spéciale,
> Vertu estant divinement Royalle,
> Ou pourra lon, selon leur hault merite
> Les allier en leur puissance esgalle
> Sinon en une, et seule Marguerite.
> (*Délie*, Dizain 254.)

Another remarkable Lyonnaise was Louise Labé, for whom her father chose an *éducation à la mode italienne*. She became famous, not only for her learning and accomplishments, but also for her prowess in all physical exercises, and eventually her house was a sort of Académie, the meeting place of all the cultured of Lyons. She dedicated her poems to a contemporary poet, Clémence de Bourges, and in the dedication pressed upon her the duty of women to apply themselves to learning:

> De laquelle no devez esloigner ne espargner votre esprit, jà de plusieurs et diverses graces accompagné, ny votre jeunesse et autres faveurs de fortune, pour acquerir cet honneur que les lettres et les sciences ont accoutumé porter aux personnes qui les suyvent.

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The influence of the works of Erasmus and of More's *Utopia*, which were early translated into French, is very clearly to be seen in all the writers of this time, and still more that of the *Cortegiano* which moulded all contemporary thought; Héroët, in *La Parfaicte amye*, published in 1542, which has as its subject the theory of Platonic love, shows himself the disciple of Castiglione. But the most enthusiastic defender of women was François de Billon, whose book *Le Fort inexpugnable de l'honneur du sexe feminin* appeared in 1555. In construction it follows closely the plan of Christine's *Cité des dames*; his tower is to be peopled by women who have been great in invention. He speaks of them as inventors of weaving, of agriculture, of bells and trumpets, of the art of navigation, of warfare and of letters. He cites Aristotle as saying that women have better memories than men and are more alert, and Plato as declaring that they should be trained in all sciences, from which he deduces 'qu'il est indubitable que si tendres Pucelles étoient comme ieunes masles communément instruites es haux degres de science et vertu, et exercitées en exercices corporelz, autant ou plus se trouveroient de femmes doctes, vertueuses et fortes, que d'hommes de telle qualité.'

This would seem to be far the most interesting and comprehensive work contributed to the so-called *Querelle des femmes* which lasted all through the sixteenth century. De Billon was followed by another controversialist, Charles Estienne, who went one step further than he had done and entitled his pamphlet *Que l'excellence de la femme est plus grande que celle de l'homme*, but the work itself is lifeless and unoriginal: fifty years later Marie de Gournay was to take up a different point of view in *L'Égalité des hommes et des femmes*, in which she claims that man and woman are simply and solely two equal beings—a better and more original contention.

Altogether in the present work we have a very competent survey of the feminist publications in the two centuries under consideration; it is in no sense critical, but is a full and useful account of the various authors and their writings, and is furnished with a good index and an ample bibliography: the short concluding chapter gives an excellent summary of the whole. Perhaps nothing strikes one more forcibly in a treatise of this kind than the fact that the feminist question is one that is never resolved: the progress is always more apparent than real, and, while some outward changes are made, it would be difficult to assert that the whole body of opinion on the subject does not remain fundamentally much the same.

MAUD F. JERROLD.

LONDON.

Marguerite d'Angoulême, Duchesse d'Alençon, Reine de Navarre (1492-1549). *Étude biographique et littéraire.* Par PIERRE JOURDA. (*Bibliothèque littéraire de la Renaissance*, XIX, XX.) Paris: H. Champion. 1930. 2 vols. xiv + 1188 pp. 100 fr.

At last we have a full and authoritative account of the life and writings of Margaret of Navarre, as she is generally called in this country. Miss

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M. W. Freer's garrulous and untrustworthy life was first published as long ago as 1854, and Mme Duclaux's little book, which shows insight and sympathy but often goes astray in matters of fact, appeared in 1886. Lotheissen's *Margarethe von Navarre* (2nd ed. 1885) is of no importance for her life. Thus these two imposing volumes by M. Pierre Jourda, a professor at the Lycée of Montpellier, who is already well known as an active *seizièmiste* and especially for his work on Margaret, are exceedingly welcome. The plan of his book is a simple one—first an account of Margaret's life, then an analysis of (*a*) her poetry, (*b*) the *Heptaméron*, and finally a conclusion on her character and ideas. Of the account of her life I am not competent to give an opinion. It is founded on practically all the available material, whether printed or in manuscript, and the information thus obtained is always controlled by common sense and sound judgment. M. Jourda rightly recognises that, though Margaret's whole life was dominated by her devotion to her brother, Francis I, her political influence was *nil*. Such influence as she had, and it was great, was wholly directed to the thought and literature of her time. She was, in Michelet's happy phrase, 'the amiable mother of the Renaissance.' She not only patronised and gave material help to men of letters, but she turned their thoughts and activities into definite channels, a work for which she was well qualified by her own studies and especially by her interest in Italian literature.

Margaret's first appearance as an author was in 1531 when she published *Le miroir de lame pecheresse*, and this with other religious poems—notably the *Dialogue en forme de vision nocturne*—was all that appeared of her poetic work till 1547, when one of her *valets de chambre*, Symon Silvius, called De La Haye, published *Les Marguerites de la Marguerite des princesses*[1]. Margaret wrote a good deal of poetry after this, but nothing was known of it till M. Abel Lefranc discovered in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* a manuscript entitled *Les dernières œuvres de la Reine de Navarre* which he published with an admirable introduction in 1896. M. Jourda has made a careful analysis of all her poetry, and his judgment on it as a whole is just. She is wanting in technical skill. She has noble ideas and emotions, but her instrument is insufficient for their expression. For that reason 'she is no longer read.' But he recognises her as a pioneer. 'She inaugurates in France great lyrical and philosophical poetry.' 'As much and perhaps more than *Délie* and *La Parfaicte Amye*, her poetry paved the way for the Pléiade.' All this is true, but M. Jourda would have given his readers a better idea of Margaret's positive merits if he had printed in full one or two of her few really successful poems, such as 'Penser en la passion de Jesuchrist' (*Les Marguerites*, III, 131) and 'Hélas, mon Dieu, sauve moy,' which he compares to Verlaine's 'O mon Dieu, vous m'avez blessé d'amour' (*Sagesse*). And he should have given at least two stanzas of 'Seigneur, je suis la mignonne' (*Dernières Poésies*, no. 28), which he rightly praises. Of Margaret's longer poems the most interesting are the secular ones. *Les Epîtres des quatre dames et des*

[1] For a full bibliography of Margaret's publications, see P. Jourda in the *Revue du Seizième Siècle*, XII, 1925, pp. 209 ff.

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quatre gentilhommes, though very unequal, is really good in parts, and the narrative poem, *La Coche*, is, says M. Jourda, 'the most animated, the most true, and the most living of all her poems.' He might have added that it is much too long. *La Fable du Faux Cuider*, also called *L'Histoire des Satyres et des Nymphes de Diane*, a graceful poem founded on Sannazaro's sixth Latin eclogue, suffers from the same fault. Margaret's besetting sin is prolixity.

There is little attempt at dramatisation in her dramatic work, but she discusses her favourite topics with skill and liveliness. One of the most interesting of her pieces is the latest, the *Comédie jouée à Mont-Marsan* (on Shrove Tuesday 1547), first printed in *Dernières Poésies*[1], and of this M. Jourda gives a particularly good account (pp. 596–606). Of the four characters, which are purely symbolical, *La Ravie de l'amour de Dieu* represents Margaret's religious point of view at the end of her life: 'Je ne scay rien sinon aymer.' Her religion, as M. Jourda truly says in another place (II, p. 1059), was 'an outpouring of mystical love.' It is this mysticism, the nature of which is admirably discussed by M. Abel Lefranc in his *Grands Écrivains Français de la Renaissance* (pp. 147–193), that explains Margaret's attitude towards the Evangelical party, with whose doctrines she strongly sympathised, and towards the Catholic Church, which she never left. Religious forms and ceremonies meant little to one whose essential religion was absorption in the Divine love.

Her initiator in the way of mysticism was Bishop Briçonnet, and M. Jourda rightly insists on his influence. He also points out that much of her knowledge of mystical literature was probably due to the oral influence of Lefèvre d'Étaples. He might, I suggest, have paid more attention to the latter. For, long before Margaret began her correspondence with the Bishop (*c.* 1520), Lefèvre had become his secretary, and it was no doubt to Lefèvre that Briçonnet owed his interest in mysticism. As early as 1490 we find Lefèvre already acquainted with the writings of Nicholas of Cusa, and though it was at his patron's desire that he edited in 1514 the great Cardinal's works in three volumes, it must have been he—he was older than his patron by at least fifteen years—who prompted the desire[2].

M. Jourda's second volume, except for the conclusion and the appendices, is devoted to the *Heptaméron*. At the end of chapter II he summarises his views, which are more or less those of Gaston Paris and Abel Lefranc, as to the date of its composition. Possibly a few of the tales were written before 1540, but about 1540–1542, under the influence of Le Maçon's translation of the *Decameron*, which the translator read to her in manuscript—it was printed in 1545—she formed the project of writing a French *Décaméron*. By 1546 the greater part of the tales were written, and in the autumn of that year, a visit to the baths of Cauterets in the preceding May having given her the idea of a setting, she wrote the

[1] Recently edited with five other of her comedies by E. Schneegans in the *Bibliotheca romanica*, Strasbourg, 1924.

[2] I have given an account of Lefèvre's work on mystical literature, which was very considerable, in *The Dawn of the French Renaissance*, pp. 242–244.

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prologue and the conversations of the *devisants*. A certain number of tales were still required to complete the hundred. So in 1548 she added some more, but in 1549 the work was interrupted by her death. As regards the identification of the *devisants* M. Jourda adopts the very reasonable conclusions of Felix Frank, and he recognises, though with a little unnecessary hesitation, that their conversations are the most important part of the *Heptaméron*. They are in fact wholly admirable, partly from the life-like way in which they bring out the character of each speaker, and partly from the faithful picture that they give of the manners, morals, ideas, and general social atmosphere of the time. All this is well brought out by M. Jourda in chapters VI and X, though it would have been better, perhaps, if he had put X before VI, or better still if he had treated the two chapters as a single whole.

As for the tales themselves he points out that there is a certain dryness in the way of telling them, that there are no descriptions either of objects or places, and that there is no attempt at portraiture, either physical or moral. The last deficiency is surprising, because, as we have seen, Margaret is remarkably successful in giving individuality to the characters of the *devisants*. He further points out that her stories are put together without any preconceived plan. In fact, though they are interesting for the information they give us about social life, as stories they are not as a rule very entertaining. It is in the longer stories that she is at her best, as in *The Gentleman and the Princess* (iv), *Floride* (x), *The Shepherd who became a Wolf*, the tragic story of Sister Marie Heroet (xxii), and *The Secret*, a story about a Duchess of Burgundy. But the masterpiece for narrative power, told with commendable brevity, is lxi, the story of a lady who was reconciled to her husband after living for fourteen years with a Canon of Autun. Another good and fairly short story is xxvi, *La Folle et la Sage*, which is at once pathetic and interesting as an expression of Margaret's views on love.

On the other side of the account M. Jourda calls attention to the undoubted merits in Margaret's work. 'The chief novelty,' he says, 'in her book is its variety, the mixture of comedy with tragedy, of amusing and trivial anecdotes, which recall the tone of the *fabliaux* and the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*, with more ample and serious tales, which are inspired by the manner of Boccaccio and foreshadow that of Mme de La Fayette.' Further with felicitous insight he notes her faculty for observing a single isolated gesture as an indication of a mental condition. This comes from her love of analysing sentiment, which M. Jourda claims to be her chief original gift. 'The *Heptaméron* is the first of our collection of tales in which the interest in psychology makes itself strongly felt.'

On the question of style it is perhaps impertinent for a foreigner to express an opinion, but M. Jourda seems to me to do less than justice to the style of the *Heptaméron*. I admit that 'it has not the richness or colour'—and I should add the savour—'not only of Rabelais but even of Des Périers or Noël du Fail.' It is neither brilliant nor forcible nor imaginative, but it is clear, easy, unaffected, graceful, and above all well-bred. M. Jourda says that it is in the sixteenth century what Mme de La Fayette's

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was in the seventeenth. But is not this high praise? Mme de La Fayette's style has not, it is true, the brilliance or savour of Mme de Sévigné's, but by its clearness and precision it is extraordinarily well adapted to the nature of her work, and like Margaret's it is a true reflection of the writer's own character.

There is only one general criticism that I shall venture to make on M. Jourda's excellent and ample book. It is too long. His subject is no doubt of great importance, and he has treated it exhaustively. But he might have presented the results in a shorter form, in a form that would have attracted a larger number of readers. He is too conscientious in dealing with the foolish and groundless surmises of his predecessors. He has wasted a good deal of space in discussing the shadowy characters of the stories. And there is a certain amount of repetition, inevitable perhaps when the same field is surveyed from different angles. Then I have two trivial complaints both from the point of view of the ordinary reader. One, that there are no head-lines to the pages; the other, that dates are not readily ascertainable. But, when all is said, it is a remarkable piece of work, and I heartily congratulate M. Jourda on its achievement.

A. TILLEY.

CAMBRIDGE.

Tradition and Barbarism. A Survey of Anti-Romanticism in France. By P. MANSELL JONES. London: Faber and Faber. 1930. 168 pp. 7*s.* 6*d.*

One welcomes any attempt to unravel the complexities of contemporary literature, and this survey will be read with interest by all who desire information as to the standpoint of prominent French critics. In a series of short chapters Mr Jones outlines various aspects of the discussions for and against the Romantics and gives useful sketches of the views expressed by all the leading protagonists: Lasserre, Maurras, Reynaud, Benda, Seillière, Gide, Valéry, Brémond. Such a list suggests varied and competent soundings into the present French mind, of which we in this country know and hear surprisingly little. One would have nothing but gratitude for Mr Jones' information, if only he had paid more regard to accuracy and clarity in presenting it. We may put up with Shakespeare misquoted, but we do not expect to find the names of five or six important Frenchmen illspelt (who is the 'Edouard Dujardin' referred to on p. 164, surely not a confusion for Paul Desjardins, the author and leader of the Décades of Pontigny?). To most readers it will seem inconceivable that a book even as slight as this should appear on a subject of modern literature without either bibliography or index. Mr Jones sets out to 'grade and set in order the chief contemporary attitudes and reactions to what is the fundamental critical concern of the day,' yet he never enables his readers to acquaint themselves at first-hand with these reactions. The arrangement of the book is not of the clearest, and without an index how is one to remember that Maurras' opinions must be sought in chapter VII as well as in chapter II? Without even a summary bibliography how is

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one to have any idea of the course and development of this critic's thought? Mr Jones mentions three of his works, carefully giving the date of the third only, although it happens to have been written nearly ten years before the second.

About the matter of the volume it would be unkind to be critical; we are disarmingly told that most of it 'represents the gleanings and cogitations of one who may claim to have been a leisurely observer of the literary currents and cross-currents in France during the year 1927' (p. 151). Readers must not therefore expect much more of a survey than impressions gleaned throughout a single year may afford. These are interesting and give a good picture of the dramatic divisions of French criticism provoked by the Romantic centenary. The attack, as here presented, was if not stronger at least more clear-cut and outspoken than the defence. Mr Jones has a valuable chapter on those criticisms which refuse to point the dilemma: 'classique ou romantique.' One is grateful for the quotation from Paul Valéry, which might also stand for the view of Gide, 'Tout classique suppose un romantique antérieur.'

The quarrel is, of course, wider and deeper than a mere squabble about the merits of Romanticism, and is seen in real perspective only when coupled to the reaction against German modes of thought which has invaded French criticism since 1900. (It is perhaps unjust to remember Lasserre by his thesis, which he has constantly modified and adapted in later essays.) The background has been one of a narrow and increasing nationalism, produced no doubt by political and intellectual eclipse and showing itself in a tendency to restrict the French genius, admitting only its Latin descent and character; the quotation from Maurras (p. 133) really runs, I believe, thus: 'Je suis Romain par tout le positif de mon être.' Such an attitude is ready to revile Romanticism or any other manifestation of foreign influence in French. Its real antagonist, and the consequent champion, though indirectly, of a new classicism is the criticism of the *Nouvelle Revue Française* (which Mr Jones dismisses (p. 21) as lacking any 'definiteness of programme') and particularly that of Albert Thibaudet, who has steadily refused to ignore 'ce courant cosmopolite qui est une des richesses et une des puissances de notre littérature.'

W. G. Moore.

Manchester.

The 'De Jerusalem Celesti' and the 'De Babilonia Infernali' of Fr Giacomino da Verona. By Esther Isopel May. London: H. Milford. 1930. 133 pp. 4*s*.

This volume, a substantial contribution to the study of thirteenth-century Italian poetry and philology, has developed from a thesis presented for the Ph.D. at the University of London. Giacomino da Verona is one of the chief representatives of that group of Lombard poets—using the word 'Lombard' in its wider sense—who appeared in northern Italy contemporaneously with the poets of the 'scuola siciliana' and their

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Tuscan and Bolognese successors, but who wrote in slightly varying types of a vernacular which, if in no case precisely identical with their respective local dialects, had nevertheless clearly marked municipal characteristics, morphological and phonetical, and were much further removed from that 'vulgare illustre' that Dante sought and in part found in the lyrical poetry of the south and centre. An interest other than purely literary or linguistic attaches to the earliest of these poets, Uguccione da Lodi, inasmuch as he seems to reflect the doctrines of the heretical sects of the period. But Giacomino da Verona (like the later Milanese, Bonvesin da Riva) is unquestionably orthodox. There is no significance to be found in his silence concerning Purgatory in his representation of the spirit world, which is simply due to the fact that his poems on Heaven and Hell belong less to the class of Vision literature than to that of meditation upon the 'four last things' (Death, Judgment, Hell, and Heaven), among which Purgatory naturally finds no place.

Dr May has given us an excellent critical text of the two poems that alone can be unquestionably assigned to Fra Giacomino, based mainly upon the manuscript at Venice which (though not the archetype) is not only the earliest, but also linguistically Veronese. The three other manuscripts—of which one, the exemplar in the Bodleian, contains only the *Jerusalem*—have also been closely studied and collated. Their dialectical peculiarities are set forth at full on pp. 47–65, the usefulness of which extends beyond the limits of the special purpose of the book. The same applies to the bibliography, which is a valuable enumeration of published texts and critical studies covering the early types of all the chief dialects of northern Italy. Every student of early Italian, not merely of the curious group of writers to which Giacomino belongs, should possess himself of this work.

Two sections of the Introduction deal with the author of the poems, their date, and sources. I am not altogether convinced by the arguments here brought forward to show that Giacomino lived and wrote in Venice. Would the fact that in the first half of the thirteenth century, even within the province of Lombardy, 'the number of places where a Veronese would be welcomed was very limited' (p. 22), affect the position and movements of a Franciscan friar? With respect to the dates, Dr May would fix the composition of the *Babilonia* somewhere between 1226 and 1231, on the grounds of the *contrasto* between father and son coming from the sermon on the Last Judgment by St Antony of Padua and an apparent allusion to the second persecution of the spiritual faction in the Order by Elias of Cortona (pp. 25–6). This hardly seems sufficient evidence for accepting so unexpectedly early a date for the poem, and I am a little disposed to question whether, allowing for the diversity of subject, there is really so great a difference of spirit between it and the *Jerusalem* as Dr May here considers to be the case. This second poem she would assign to the early sixties of the century, the period when St Bonaventura was minister-general, finding the glorification of the Blessed Virgin in accordance with the liturgical statutes of the Chapter of Pisa in 1263, and, in the description of the heavenly knights of her court, a reference to the Frati

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Gaudenti, whose rule was approved by Urban IV in 1261. Dr May illustrates a number of parallels and connexions between Giacomino's poems and other works, and apparently he was acquainted with the *Libro* and *Istoria* of Uguccione da Lodi. But the Veronese friar's main source of inspiration seems to have been popular belief and tradition, though the relation between the *Babilonia* and the sermons of St Antony, here clearly established, is a point of some interest in the history of Franciscan literature.

EDMUND G. GARDNER.

LONDON.

Antonio Panizzi: Scholar and Patriot. By CONSTANCE BROOKS. Manchester: University Press. 1931. viii + 248 pp. 10*s.* 6*d.*

The University of Manchester has an honourably high standard for its doctorates, and the present work—the first thesis for the Ph.D. that has come to us from its comparatively young department of Italian—is no exception to the rule. The first Professor of Italian in University College, London, the restorer of the genuine text of Boiardo's great poem, and the virtual creator of the Reading Room of the British Museum, is assuredly an imposing figure in the annals of Italian studies in Great Britain. While not neglecting these aspects of his career, Dr Brooks has wisely concentrated upon the least known portion of Panizzi's activities: the part played by him in the unification of Italy, first as a reputed conspirator and as exile, and then, when his position in England became assured and his influence with statesmen increased, as Italy's 'unofficial' ambassador. Much of the work is based upon hitherto unpublished letters and documents, others of which are given in full or in part in the appendices; Dr Brooks has been indefatigable in her researches both in England and in Italy, with the result that we are now able to trace for the first time the full story of Panizzi's patriotic activities, and appreciate his judgment (frequently critical and more in the spirit of an English Liberal) of the men and events that shaped the making of Italy.

A final chapter is devoted to 'Panizzi as a man of letters.' Here his great achievement, still of fundamental importance though to some extent superseded by more recent studies, was his editions of the *Orlando Innamorato* of Boiardo and the *Orlando Furioso* of Ariosto, introduced by the *Essay on the Romantic Narrative Poetry of the Italians.* For the first time since early in the sixteenth century, the text of Boiardo was presented in something approaching its authentic form, instead of the *rifacimento* of Francesco Berni—that Florentine travesty of the great Ferrarese poem. Pavonians may remember that it appeared in time for Algernon and Morgana to make love over Boiardo's stanzas, and for the creator of those young persons to append a learned note to the relevant page of *Gryll Grange*, pointing out that Panizzi had 'overlooked one fearful perversion in the concluding stanza' (reading *valore* for *furore*), a 'perversion' which nevertheless seems to correspond with the earliest texts and still holds its place in the critical edition of Fòffano. Dr Brooks well emphasises the stimulating character of Panizzi's search for sources in

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his study of romances of chivalry. Here—as his great successor in this field, Pio Rajna, generously pointed out—he was a true pioneer. In the list of Panizzi's contributions to Reviews and Magazines (pp. 235–6) might perhaps have been added an article on Rimini that appeared in the *Landscape Annual* as a section of Roscoe's *Tourist in Italy* for 1831 (attributed to him by Dr Paget Toynbee, *Dante in English Literature*, on the authority of I. C. Wright), where Dante's line in the episode of Paolo and Francesca, 'soli eravamo e senza alcun sospetto,' is for the first time traced to a passage in the prose *Tristan*. Panizzi's refutation of the elder Rossetti's fantastic theories concerning the supposed hidden meaning of Dante's works has a certain fresh interest to-day, when what Dr Brooks fittingly calls 'a flimsy erection' has been laboriously rebuilt by Luigi Valli in his *Linguaggio segreto di Dante e dei fedeli d'Amore*.

EDMUND G. GARDNER.

LONDON.

Notes on the Spanish Renaissance and *The Character of Cervantes*. By AUBREY F. G. BELL. 1930. 333 and 64 pp. (Extracted from the *Revue Hispanique*, LXXX (1930), pp. 319–652–717.)

The *Revue Hispanique* has been the mainstay of Spanish scholarship since its foundation, and it is not unhappy that its last regular number should contain monographs of high merit on the most significant aspects of our studies, monographs worthy to rank with those of its first twenty years. Mr Bell's treatise on the Spanish Renaissance is, in fact, a work of the greatest interest and, along with the first three chapters of his *Luis de León*, indispensable to all students of that greatest of all epochs. To its issue in a periodical it owes, no doubt, a certain irregularity of outline and repetition of detail; but it also owes the overflowing fullness of its notices, which might otherwise have been pruned to our loss. Brilliant, indeed, is the documentation which Mr Bell has gathered concerning Greek studies in Spain. That is, perhaps, an achievement which might have been rivalled, *longo intervallo*, by Dry-as-Dust; but everywhere in the essay are passages begotten by the unique sensitiveness of Mr Bell's literary taste. The growth of colour in the poetry of Góngora's age, for instance, is not only well documented by the author, but is given a startling significance by being brought into relationship with contemporary advances in painting. We admire and enjoy Mr Bell not merely because he is scholarly, but because with all his scholarship he remains *sui generis*.

Starting from Prescott's strange assertion, Mr Bell has little difficulty in proving that Spain was not 'shut out from the light of the Renaissance.' In a material sense the Renaissance is Iberocentric. Gold, for instance, was 'born in the Indies and interred in Genoa,' but only because Spanish enterprise extracted it from the Peruvian mines, and Spanish extravagance pledged it to the Genoese bankers. The word 'material' suggests the antithesis of 'intellectual.' It is by no means asserted that Spain was the intellectual centre of the Renaissance, but it would be as absurd to deny her a share in the intellectual movements of the age as to

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deny London part or lot in the Gallocentric civilisation of our own day. English critics should be made aware that every slur on Spanish civilisation in that era has an English relevance to-day! Greek studies are among the few aspects of the Spanish Renaissance to have been judged by an expert (Sir Richard Jebb), and so Mr Bell devotes many brilliant pages to the Hellenism of Spain. If scholarship be justified by life, if it is to be measured by the fidelity of readers of all classes and by its outlet in conduct, then few countries would appear to have derived more benefit than Spain from Greek studies. But it may be proposed to estimate such work technically, by the output of texts. Mr Bell is willing to concede this point to the critics, and he may be right. Yet I doubt whether the technical achievements of Spanish scholarship have really been examined. The circle of Fray Luis de León busied itself with Persius, Horace and the *Somnium Scipionis*; but which among the editors of these works has consulted and judged the editions of Salamanca? Hebrew scholarship perhaps is not a mark of Renaissance mentality, but it is a part of the truest Humanism. Mr Bell is the first, to my knowledge, to have praised the lucid and musical language of the Spanish Bible; he might, I think, have gone further and noted with how much assurance the translators treat the Old Testament in passages where our own translators prefer to be nebulous. In respect of Hebrew scholarship, which had a continuous history in Spain from the time of Alfonso the Sage, León and his associates were, almost certainly, the great luminaries of their age.

The Renaissance in Spain was never abstracted from conduct. The heartlessness of Ariosto had no imitator, though many aped his brilliance; poet after poet protested, in Spain as in England, against 'vain fabling,' 'fábulas vãs sonhadas.' Nor does the Spanish Renaissance imply rejection of the Middle Ages. Vives, indeed, is outstanding in the onslaught on the Aristotelians, but that may be due to his long absence from his own land; and even Vives would preserve Bede and St Thomas, Froissart, Commines and Valera as well as the whole of mediæval science. Spanish thinkers are all eclectic. Like Fox Morcillo they reconcile Plato and Aristotle, or like Suárez they build up a new Scholasticism. They purify and deepen their mediæval Christianity; they reprint and refashion their mediæval romances; they sing old ballads to the notes, new and old, of their *vihuelas*. Above all they do not, and apparently cannot, abstract thought from life. Man, the whole man, is their preoccupation. Salamanca gives ear to both Ptolemy and Copernicus, but occupies itself only with thoughts that clothe themselves with flesh and blood.

If we define the Renaissance as a new Paganism, or adopt some other narrow formula, it may be possible still to exclude Spain from the light. To do so we should emphasise the antithesis of Spain with certain Italian phases, but we should strip the Renaissance of its moral significance. The same restrictions would exclude England from the Renaissance, and the high suggestiveness of Mr Bell's essay lies in its most important relevance to our own history.

The typical figure of the later Spanish Renaissance is that of Cervantes. Mr Bell's second essay has many observations which supplement those

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already discussed, but he is chiefly anxious to refute Sr Castro's charge of hypocrisy. In this he commands general applause. I fear, however, that he is ready to lose that which Sr Castro has gained for us, namely, a means of entry into the mind of Cervantes, together with a demonstration of its essential orderliness.

WILLIAM J. ENTWISTLE.

GLASGOW.

Grundzüge evangelischer Lebensformung nach ausgewählten Schriften Martin Luthers. Herausgegeben von A. E. BERGER. (*Deutsche Literatur: Sammlung literarischer Kunst- und Kulturdenkmaler in Entwicklungsreihen.* Reihe: *Reformation*, Band I.) Leipzig: Philipp Reclam, jun. 1930. 341 pp. 7 M. 50.

Die Entwicklung der deutschen Selbstzeugnisse. Von MARIANNE BEYER-FRÖHLICH. (Same series. Reihe: *Deutsche Selbstzeugnisse*, Band I.) 276 pp. 7 M.

Selbstzeugnisse aus dem Dreissigjährigen Krieg und dem Barock. Herausgegeben von MARIANNE BEYER-FRÖHLICH. (Same series. Reihe: *Deutsche Selbstzeugnisse*, Band VI.) 331 pp. 7 M. 50.

Märchen. Band II. Herausgegeben von ANDREAS MÜLLER. (Same series. Reihe: *Romantik*, Band XV.) 317 pp. 7 M. 50.

The impression of the unequal value of the volumes of this series expressed in the previous volume of this Review (XXV, p. 372) is fully borne out by the new instalment chronicled above. The most satisfactory of these four volumes is undoubtedly that by A. E. Berger which is in effect a selection from the chief polemical writings of Luther. It is prefaced by a well-balanced introduction, and a glossary of difficult words increases the practical value of the volume. None was better fitted than Professor Berger to undertake the editing of the six volumes which are promised on the Reformation, especially in the sense in which the whole series is conceived, for he was one of the pioneers of 'Geistesgeschichte' at a time when philological æsthetic methods still prevailed in the German universities.

Unfortunately the first volume of *Deutsche Selbstzeugnisse* is not of the same practical level. The 276 pp. of this introductory volume are out of all proportion in a series intended primarily for popular consumption. To scholars, on the other hand, the book will prove indispensable, and the notes in themselves provide an invaluable bibliography. Dr Beyer-Fröhlich has written a comprehensive survey of autobiography, not only in Germany, but in Europe as a whole, starting with St Augustine and ending only with Goethe. Indeed foreign names—Abelard, Petrarch, Cellini, Bunyan—are almost more predominant than German, and a third of the volume is taken up with the examination of foreign influences. As a piece of academic research the volume is admirable, but it is out of place in this series.

Nor have the extracts from Madame de la Motte-Guion and de la Rochefoucauld, which make up 40 pages of vol. VI of these *Deutsche*

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Selbstzeugnisse, much relevance. And even the German snippets are of unequal value. As 'Kulturkunde' the extracts from Arnold's *Kirchen- und Ketzergeschichte* are not devoid of interest (they were among Goethe's favourite reading as a boy). The passages from the German translation of the *Exemplar Humanae Vitae* of the Jewish philosopher Uriel Acosta have a direct bearing on the growing plea for religious toleration which culminated in *Nathan der Weise*. Friedrich Lucae's *Eigentliche Lebens- und Todesgeschichte*, and the astronomer Keppler's *Glaubensbekenntnis* have some historical value. But the nine other German authors represented in this volume are completely unknown to literature—they are not even mentioned in Kosch, *Deutsches Literaturlexikon*—and are, moreover, such dull reading that they might well have been left in their obscurity.

The fourth volume under review, vol. XV of the series *Romantik*, calls for little comment: it contains reprints of some of the best known German Märchen (*Peter Schlemihl*, *Der goldene Topf*), some lesser known, but very delightful stories of Eichendorff (*Die Zauberei im Herbste*, *Eine Meerfahrt*), and a romantic story of 'Waldzauber,' entitled *Das Gastmahl* by a now almost forgotten Serapionsbruder, C. W. S. Contessa.

L. A. WILLOUGHBY.

LONDON.

Die Prophetenübersetzung des Claus Cranc. Herausgegeben von WALTHER ZIESEMER (*Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft*, Sonderreihe, Band I). Halle: Max Niemeyer. 1930. viii + 414 pp. (With 13 Plates.) 25 M.

Professor Ziesemer has long been known to students of matters mediæval as a sympathetic interpreter of the work of the Teutonic Order in Eastern Germany and as a conscientious editor of texts which bear on his special subject. He has now increased our debt to him by a careful edition of the translation of the Prophets attributed—by means of an acrostic in the rhymed preface—to a certain Claus Cranc, *Custos* of the Franciscan Order in Prussia.

Undoubtedly, this translation resulted from the desire of the Teutonic Order to possess the bible in the German tongue. The knights were forbidden to converse during meal times, and portions of the bible were regularly read out to them. Since they did not know Latin, translation was imperative. But whereas previous versions of biblical matter—Hesler's *Apokalypse*, *Daniel*, *Job*, *Maccabees*, *Judith*, *Esther*, *Esra*—had been in verse, Claus Cranc chose the medium of prose. He does not inform us whether he elected to translate into prose or whether he was bidden to do so by Siegfried von Dahenfeld, High Marshal of the Teutonic Order from 1347 to 1359, at whose request the work was undertaken. The translation naturally owes much of its terse beauty to the Latin original; yet Claus Cranc refused to bow slavishly to the word-order of the Vulgate and shows considerable skill as a translator.

Charming as the version often is, its importance to us lies rather in the light thrown on the development of the modern *Schriftsprache*. Claus

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Cranc wrote the East Middle German *Kolonialsprache*, and there are some striking verbal parallels to Luther, which Professor Ziesemer attributes not to any plagiarism on the part of Luther, but to the fact that both Claus Cranc and Luther hail from East Middle Germany. Of special importance to the story of German vocabulary is the admirably compiled glossary which enumerates 464 words unknown to Lexer, among them many compounds now in daily use: *abwendig machen, arbeithus, dinstbote, entheiligen, glichsitig, grunt stein, hartherzig, kleiderkamer, menschenherz, menschenson, reinlichkeit, schribwise, wirbilwint, wirtschaftshus* and many others.

The short introduction merely summarises the results Professor Ziesemer has published in his scholarly treatise *Studien zur mittelalterlichen Bibelübersetzung* (*Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft*, v, 5. Halle, Niemeyer, 1928).

F. NORMAN.

LONDON.

Lessing: Das Erwachen des deutschen Geistes. Von A. M. WAGNER. Leipzig: Horen-Verlag. 1931. 276 pp. 9 M.

This volume, which may be regarded as a somewhat belated contribution to the literature of the Bicentenary of Lessing's birth, is a glowing *éloge* of the manliest personality of the German eighteenth century; its perusal cannot but warm the hearts of all who hold Lessing in honour. And yet I cannot but feel that what might be quite in place in a 'Festrede' is hardly what one looks for in a volume of this size; I have found myself in reading these pages tempted again and again to ask: was Lessing the kind of man about whom such an *éloge* was necessary? To me he has always seemed to stand too high in his blunt and sterling integrity of character, in his own loyal endeavour to live up to the maxim *Amicus Plato amicior veritas*, to require to have incense burned round him; to have the *milieu* from which he sprang reduced to a negative and merely hostile background, and his contemporaries from Gottsched onwards presented as bunglers and ineffectual pigmies. Would he himself have approved of it? This is somehow the impression, whether intended or not, which Professor Wagner's book leaves behind it. So far from Lessing being here one of the pillars of the great movement of the 'Aufklärung,' he appears as an 'Überwinder der Aufklärung'; he is lifted above his contemporaries as a 'Kämpfer um die Kunst'; in his religious thought as something not far removed from the 'Gottsucher' of the latest German fashion, and as a man who had 'Sorge um unser Volk und unsere Zukunft,' 'Dieser hellste Stern der deutschen Geistesgeschichte erscheint uns gradezu in mystischem Licht.' Thought on these lines does not seem to me likely to be very fruitful or furthering to right understanding. The book—and here one suspects something of a pedagogic purpose—is dedicated to the 'Hamburger Jugend,' and its hero held up to them as an inspiring exemplar.

Under these circumstances it would perhaps not be fair to measure the work too closely with the philological measuring tape, or expect from it a serious revaluation of Lessing. Necessary as such a revaluation is, it is

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surely not to be attained by dissociating Lessing from the 'Aufklärung,' and making a kind of twentieth-century hero of him. In dealing, for instance, with Lessing's æsthetic views Professor Wagner takes over without much question or criticism the body of traditional opinion that has gathered round Lessing, notably that idea which Germany is most unwilling to relinquish, that he was, above all things, a champion of English ideas against French, and a whole-hearted vindicator of Shakespeare. There was, in fact, very much in Shakespeare of which Lessing could not have approved at all; and had Shakespeare not been so effective a cudgel to belabour Voltaire with, we should have been deprived of a good deal of the comparatively little he has to say of him[1]. Lessing, too, we are told, is inspired by the 'Ästhetik eines freien Volks von Bürgern'; but there is no attempt to prove this ill-founded allegation. As a matter of fact, the ruling ideas of his *Laokoon* are of French inspiration (e.g. Marmontel); and his interpretation of Aristotle was largely based on the advanced—and not always advanced—French thought of his time. Even the brilliant anti-Cornelian criticism of the *Dramaturgie* was a reflection of the long-smouldering revolt in France against the art of Corneille: there were French critics in Lessing's lifetime who proclaimed Corneille an inferior poet to Shakespeare and Racine to Otway. Until it is frankly recognised that Lessing's debt to England was very much smaller than that to France—his knowledge of our literature was never great—it seems to me the right appreciation of Lessing's position in the movement of the eighteenth century is not likely to be attained.

The best of Professor Wagner's book is the warm and infectious enthusiasm which pervades it; and perhaps in these times when the mid-eighteenth century and the great ideas for which it stood seem to be particularly remote, this is a quality which goes far to indemnify us for that revaluation of Lessing which we should have liked to find.

J. G. Robertson.

London.

Ludwig Tieck und die Brüder Schlegel: Briefe. Mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen herausgegeben von Henry Lüdeke. (*Ottendorfer Memorial Fellowship Series*, xiii.) Frankfurt a.M.: Joseph Baer. 1930. 252 pp. 7 M.

Many years ago the late G. L. Klee announced his intention of editing the correspondence of Ludwig Tieck; and, as is too often the case when German scholars peg out claims long before they are prepared to work them, the effect of this announcement was to put an embargo on the publication of Tieck's correspondence. Indeed, the only considerable

[1] A characteristic example of Professor Wagner's attitude is where he quotes the familiar remark, in the *Beiträge zur Historie und Aufnahme des Theaters*, that salvation for the German theatre lay in following England rather than France. He leaps to the conclusion that Lessing is thinking primarily of Shakespeare; as if the Lessing of 1750 knew any more about Shakespeare than that he had written a Roman tragedy which had been deemed worthy of comparison with Gryphius! There is nothing in Lessing's claim which might not have been subscribed to by the author of *Der sterbende Cato*. Lessing was still in 1750 a good Gottschedian.

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collection of his letters in print until quite recent years was the four volumes published as far back as 1841 by Holtei of *Briefe von und an Tieck*. This postponement has been unfortunate in more ways than one; for Tieck's reputation has hardly gained by the reconstruction and revaluation of the Romantic movement in the twentieth century; and the interest in his letters is slighter now than it might have been thirty years ago.

Professor Lüdeke, to whom we owe a debt for his edition of Tieck's unpublished Shakespeare papers and an excellent study on Tieck and Shakespeare, recently edited the correspondence between Tieck and the publisher Brockhaus; he now collects the correspondence between Tieck and the brothers Schlegel, thus providing an important supplement to Professor Körner's edition of the correspondence of the Schlegels. Lüdeke's volume is supplied with an excellent introduction—which might, however, have been fuller for the period lying within the new century—and an exemplary commentary which affords all necessary elucidation.

Down to about 1801 the correspondence is largely concerned with Tieck's literary activities, and especially his preoccupation with Shakespeare; it brings many little details which will be valuable to the future biographers of the three writers in question. Later, however, when a more intimate relation was established between the friends, their correspondence gains in human interest, until it culminates in the remarkable 'confession' which Tieck wrote to Friedrich Schlegel on December 16, 1803. This, Professor Lüdeke suggests, was probably the longest letter Tieck ever wrote; it is surely the most interesting and illuminating. Friedrich Schlegel died in 1829—Tieck gives a poignant account of his last hours—and from that year on the letters to and from August Wilhelm are few and far between. There were temperamental limits set to the intimacy of Tieck with both brothers; often we feel that his impulsive advances were not reciprocated as he would have liked them to be; but his ties with Friedrich were the closer. Few as are the last letters between Tieck and August Wilhelm—both now old men—little glimpses emerge from the latter's which put him in a kindlier light and soften the asperities of the portrait of the ageing critic which tradition has handed down to us.

We have also, it might be added, received an offprint from the *Germanic Review* of seven unpublished letters from Tieck to Friedrich von Raumer contributed by Edwin H. Zeydel and Percy Matenko (New York: Columbia University Press; London: H. Milford. 1930. 35 pp. 5*s.*— surely an unreasonably high price for a pamphlet of its size!). The letters are not of very great interest.

J. G. Robertson.

London.

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SHORT NOTICES

Professor Putnam F. Jones has placed all students of the works of the Venerable Bede under a heavy obligation by providing them at the cost of enormous labour with *A Concordance to the Historia Ecclesiastica of Bede* (published for the Concordance Society by the Medieval Academy of America. Cambridge, Mass. ix + 585 pp. $6.50), which, so far as we have tested it, appears to be accurate and full in its references, and practical in its method. The concordance is based on the text of C. Plummer's *Baedae Opera Historica*. Plummer's variants are included, except in the case of proper names. Where so much work has been done, and done well, it may seem ungracious to lament the absence of a concordance of the vocabulary of Bede's scientific works, whose presence would have added greatly to its value. It is significant that this book is the work of a Professor of English and not of a Professor of Latin, and we heartily agree with the author when he says that we may expect the next considerable advance in our knowledge of Old English literature to come through a systematic examination of the Latin writings of the period. This concordance will be of great service to students of the vocabulary and grammar of eighth-century Latin; but it ought to prove almost equally useful to the student of Anglo-Saxon England. We hope that the Concordance Society will continue its good work in conjunction with the Medieval Society of America and provide us, among other things, with an equally accurate and workmanlike *Concordance to the Vulgate* at a price which will place it within the reach of private scholars as well as public libraries. S. J. C.

Mr P. H. Reaney's expert work on *Walthamstow Place-Names* (Walthamstow Antiquarian Society, No. 24. 1930. 55 pp. 7*s*. 6*d*.) should prove useful to place-name students generally despite its very localised interest, for besides the place-names and field-names of Walthamstow parish a great deal of comparative material from other parts is included. In particular one might refer to the article on Walthamstow itself (pp. 18–23) and the light there thrown on the meaning of *stow* in place-names. Place-name students have many opportunities of collecting interesting details of parish and family history, and Mr Reaney has taken the opportunities. This is a practical background for the main etymological work, as many of the place-names are of manorial origin. The name Walthamstow ('place of welcome') is probably the most interesting, but one notes unusual developments in other names like Hagger Farm (from O.E. *hangra*), Galloons (from *Calowlands*, 'bare lands'), Mitchley Marsh (from *myncen*, 'nun'), to mention only a few. A. H. S.

Pronunciation, a Practical Guide to American Standards (London: Oxford University Press. 1930. viii + 198 pp. 10*s*.), by T. Larsen and F. C. Walker, as its title indicates, is a guide to the standard English and

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American forms of pronunciation and discusses these forms along the usual lines; that is, each separate sound is furnished with a discussion and a number of examples which are cited without partiality by the authors and the current usage of which is vouched for by great authorities like Professor Krapp and Professor Jones. The book is written primarily for the American layman who is conscious of and wishes to correct errors in his own speech; notes on the English usage can therefore only be included as a matter of interest. English readers would in the same way find the account of American pronunciation of interest, and this should be of value in correcting some prevalent confused notions of American speech. The authors have adopted the system of phonetic notation evolved by Mr H. W. Fowler in his *Modern English Usage*, but its limitations are often in evidence, especially where one symbol like *aw* is used actually to represent two sounds, called the English *aw* and the American *aw* without further explanation. A. H. S.

Mr H. S. V. Jones' *A Spenser Handbook* (New York: F. S. Crofts. 1930. x + 420 pp. $2) is of uneven merit. The most useful chapters are those which deal with the separate poems. The introductory chapter on the Age of Elizabeth attempts what is almost impossible, a view of the political and religious condition of England in sixteen pages, and does not succeed; and the Appendix, a 'selected list of poems' which illustrate Spenser's influence on English poetry from Drayton to Keats, is very oddly selected. Professor Greenlaw's 'suggestive' comparisons between Sir Guyon's temptation in the Cave of Mammon and Christ's temptation in *Paradise Regained*, Sir Guyon's adventure in the Bower of Bliss and Adam's temptation, are surely pieces of scholarly ingenuity with which students need not be troubled in their early years. In the same way we are told that *The White Doe of Rylstone* is reminiscent—in what real sense?—of the story of Una and her lamb; but there is no reference to *The world is too much with us* or *The Prelude*. On the other hand, the reading lists at the ends of the chapters are useful, but there is one omission which should be supplied: though Professor W. L. Renwick's editions of the *Complaints* and *Daphnaïda* are included, as well as some of his articles, there is no reference to his *Edmund Spenser*.

E. C. B.

In neat and inclusive compactness Herr Philipp Aronstein has supplied the German-speaking student of drama with a handbook of the English theatre from 1576 to 1642 and of the English playwrights from John Heywood to William Cartwright: *Das englische Renaissancedrama* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner. 1929. x + 336 pp. 12 M.). In 320 pages we have the gist of Volumes v and vi of the *Cambridge History*, with some additions and amendments from more recent scholarship, but with little if any deviation from the orthodox views of 1912. For his orderly detail in so small a space one can have nothing but admiration. On the other hand, something of completeness is sacrificed under the strenuous

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compression. Certainly the volume deserves a better bibliography of the dramatists than the single page which, while sending the student to no less than five of the author's own articles, does not begin to suggest modern English, American, and other studies in the field, and entirely passes over the work done on several Elizabethan dramatists. It neglects Middleton completely; refers, under Chapman and Ford, only to the essays of Swinburne; and, under Massinger, only to Swinburne, Sir Leslie Stephen, and Wurzbach, omitting all mention of the books of Cruickshank and Chelli and other scholars, which appeared in ample time to be noticed. One questions also the propriety of the author's apparent inconsistency in rendering the English titles in German. While holding mostly to German versions (e.g., *Der Idiot* for *The Changeling*), he now and then surprises the reader with an untranslated form, such as *Humour Out of Breath* and *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody*. Occasional misprints, like 'Chapmann' (p. viii), are rare in this carefully prepared and useful volume. M. B.

The thesis which Miss Norma Dobie Solve defends in *Stuart Politics in Chapman's Tragedy of Chabot* (University of Michigan Publications, Language and Literature, Vol. IV. Michigan: Ann Arbor. 1928. x + 176 pp. $2.50) is that *The Tragedie of Chabot, Admiral of France* (lic. 1630, pub. 1639), last of George Chapman's plays from French history, was written between March, 1621, and December, 1624, and was based not only on *Les Recherches de la France*, Book 16, Chapter 9, of Etienne Pasquier (1607, 1611, 1621), but on the current events of English court politics which so sadly affected Chapman's own fortunes; namely, the unjust trial, conviction, and death sentence of Robert, Earl of Somerset (1616), and the subsequent removal of Sir Francis Bacon (1621). After reviewing the opinions upon the authorship of the play, the author discusses the career of Chapman under the successive patronages of Prince Henry and Somerset, recounts the political events in question, analyses the play, designating those portions which derived from Pasquier and those in which Chapman departed from the book to represent under a thin disguise the situations and especially the characters of the court of James I. The author handles her material with admirable justice, carefully measuring the value of fact and probability, and presenting a clear and reasoned argument which, acceptable in itself, throws also some much-needed light upon the life of George Chapman.

M. B.

Dr Heinrich Kauter's edition of Richard Hodges' *The English Primrose* (1644) (Heidelberg: Carl Winter. 1930. xiv + 61 pp. 7 M.) is a facsimile reprint of the British Museum copy, with critical footnotes and collations from the Bodleian copy. Dr Kauter has added a complete index, giving detailed references. Educationists no less than phonologists will be interested in this useful edition of one of the best of our early grammar writers, a conservative reformer who taught boys pronunciation by means of a simple and ingenious system of diacritics. J. H. G. G.

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Mr Logan Pearsall Smith's anthology, *The Golden Grove: Selected Passages from the Sermons and Writings of Jeremy Taylor* (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1930. lxiv + 330 pp. 10*s*.), does for Taylor something of the same service which the editor has already performed for Donne. With the selections from Taylor themselves the only fault that can fairly be found is that which endangers all books of selections, that they may cause some disappointment if they breed a resolution to read the complete works. Mr Pearsall Smith's introduction is as discerning and as felicitous in phrasing as might have been expected. The notes are less satisfactory, fuller in their identifications of Scriptural passages than some readers, even not theologians, would require, but yet not complete even in this, and decidedly wanting in annotations of other difficulties and obscurities, such as *cognation* (p. 225), which might trouble the general reader for whom the book is intended. If there are to be explanations of this sort, they ought to be complete. Mr Robert Gathorne-Hardy's Bibliography of the works of Jeremy Taylor adds to the usefulness of the volume.

E. C. B.

The attractiveness of Mr Sigurd Hustvedt's book, *Ballad Books and Ballad Men* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: H. Milford. 1930. xii + 376 pp. 18*s*. 6*d*.), is suggested by its sub-title, *Raids and Rescues in Britain and the Scandinavian North since 1800*. It is in some way a sequel to the author's earlier *Ballad Criticism in Scandinavia and Great Britain during the Eighteenth Century*, and for that reason contains little about the actual criticism of the ballad. There is, however, a certain amount of incidental history of criticism, arising naturally from the consideration of the theories both of ballads and of the right way of editing held by the collectors and editors of the nineteenth century, and it is therefore a little surprising, particularly in view of Mr Hustvedt's own definition of the ballad on p. 4, that there is no mention of W. P. Ker's paper *On the History of the Ballads*, now reprinted in *Form and Style*. It is also curious that on p. 5 there should be no reference to Heusler's *Lied und Epos*. For such omissions there is full compensation in the printing, as Appendix A, of the interesting and valuable correspondence of Grundtvig and Child, which is now for the first time easily accessible to students. Appendix B contains Grundtvig's *Index* of English and Scottish ballads, taken from his draft of the list which he sent to Child and of which only fragments survive. Mr Hustvedt's survey is thorough without being heavy reading. It is to be wished that someone would deal with the ballad literature and collectors of the south and east of Europe as he has dealt here with those of the north. And why should Europe be the limit to these studies? Miss G. D. Ashthana in her comparison of Hindi and English ballads has shown how similar conditions produce astonishingly similar results. There are still raids and rescues to be made, as a preliminary to the writing of more such compendious and amusing books of reference as this.

E. C. B.

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In *English Literary Periodicals* (New York: Nelson. 1930. 424 pp. $7.50) Mr Walter Graham surveys in close detail the whole history of the English periodical having literary pretensions or reviewing books, from the beginnings to the present day; he extends the term 'periodical' so far, in his last chapter, as to include daily newspapers that make a special feature of critical notices or literary causeries. About one-quarter of the book deals with the last hundred and thirty years; and this is by no means so well proportioned as the earlier part. It is of too summary a nature, and not accurate enough, to be much more than a suggestive guide. By far the most interesting chapters are those tracing the rise of periodical literature and its flowering time in the reign of Queen Anne, with the five that follow, on the magazines and reviews preceding the romantic period. Mr Graham treated of these earlier phases in *The Beginnings of English Literary Periodicals* (New York. 1926), and finds that actual reviewing, that is, statements of opinion about new books, dates from 1646. But it was the effort to provide entertainment that gave a fillip to the periodical in the next half-century, and the forms of entertainment were novel and various. Soon the literary periodical came to be the work of professional writers. And when the professionals began to number among them such persons as Defoe, then Steele and Addison, and presently Johnson and Hawkesworth, the periodical took a place of honour in the world of letters. All this is systematically chronicled, and would provide lively reading but for the need to condense so much information into a few hundred pages. As it is, the work, with its bibliography and index, will be useful for reference, and will lead those interested into some forgotten bypaths. The few odd illustrations might have been considerably multiplied with advantage. E. A. B.

The repercussions of the studies of Professors A. K. Porter and R. S. Loomis on the Arthurian episode depicted in the archivolt at Modena show no signs of diminishing. A reproduction of that illusive piece of sculpture forms the frontispiece of *Lancelot and Guenevere, a Study on the Origins of Courtly Love*, by Tom Peete Cross and William A. Nitze (Chicago: University of Chicago Press; Cambridge: University Press. 1930. vii + 104 pp. 13*s.* 6*d.*). It deals with Chrétien's *Roman de la Charrete* as the first romance that, substituting Lancelot for Tristan as the hero of 'the amatory literature of the Middle Ages,' illustrates the coming into being of the social convention of *l'amour courtois*. The work is divided into four sections: 'Outline of the *Charrete*'; 'The *matière* of the Romance'; 'The *sens* of the Romance'; 'The love service in the Romance.' Its general contention, put forward with much wealth of illustration, is that the *matière* which Mary of Champagne gave to Chrétien was a version of the abduction of Guenevere by Melvas, derived from a Celtic story combining an abduction with a visit to the Otherworld, but, for the first time, the rôle of deliverer is played by the abducted woman's lover, the main ideas of the *sens* being 'the extra-conjugal nature of the love affair, symbolised by Lancelot and Guenevere,' and 'the deliberate or chosen

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obedience of the former to the latter in this relationship' (p. 68). We are shown how Geoffrey of Monmouth, Ovid, and the earliest Provençal poets had their share in the evolution of the conception of love, which 'is worked out as a social "system" in the *Tractatus de amore* of Andreas Capellanus, and illustrated in the *Roman de la Charrete*' (p. 98). Perhaps the most valuable part of the volume is the account and comparison of the various forms of the abduction theme, especially in Celtic literature, which lend support to the theory that Arthur's queen, or her prototype, was originally a Celtic *fée* who had left her Otherworld mate and become the wife of a mortal, thus explaining 'a number of apparent inconsistencies in the romances dealing with Guenevere's character' (p. 58). Incidentally the authors' researches tend to confirm the interpretation offered by Professor Loomis of the Modena sculpture or, at least, his identification of 'Winlogee' with Guenevere. E. G. G.

In the second volume of *Arthuriana* (*A Review of Mediaeval Studies*, edited by E. Vinaver and F. M. Williams. Oxford: Blackwell. 1930. 89 pp. 4*s*. 6*d*.) the scope has been extended to include matter other than Arthurian. Thus Miss M. D. Legge writes on 'Recent Methods of Textual Criticism,' in connexion with the controversy between M. Bédier and Dom Quentin; Professor Ewert contributes an important article on 'Textual Criticism with special reference to Anglo-Norman'; Dr Vinaver publishes a note on a thirteenth-century fragment in verse which he purposes to edit and elucidate further. The purely Arthurian items include one of Dr E. Brugger's always welcome excursions in Arthurian localisation, 'The Hebrides in Arthurian Literature'; Miss M. B. Fox on 'Merlin in the Arthurian Prose Cycle'; Professor J. Fraser's account of 'The Prince of Gascony,' an unpublished Irish story; Miss F. M. Williams, 'Notes on the *Tristan* Romance' (Béroul and Thomas Hardy), and a paper on the relations between *Flamenca* and Chrétien de Troyes; with briefer notes by Mr I. Gorman on a suggested connexion between the tombstone episode of the prose *Lancelot* and the sixth book of the *Aeneid*, and Mr E. S. Murrell on the possible existence of an old French prose romance of *Yvain*. There is a useful bibliography of recent Arthurian publications, both books and articles. E. G. G.

The Influence of Ariosto's Epic and Lyric Poetry on Ronsard and his Group, by Alice Cameron (Maryland, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1930. xix + 186 pp. $1.25), is one of those books which convey the agreeable impression that it must have been a pleasure to write it. The careful reading and comparing of so much good poetry would have been a charming occupation, and a great deal of research has gone to the compilation of this thesis. But, as it often happens that what one is anxiously looking for one acquires the faculty of seeing, in conjunction with many obvious borrowings and others which when pointed out cannot well be rejected, the author finds traces of plagiarism in isolated expressions, similes, even words which might rather be regarded as the

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commonplaces of literature, or at any rate as the common property of all poets; as, for example, the absence of the loved one being compared to a dreary winter unlighted by the sun, or the resemblance of this restless life to a field of grain bowed this way and that by the winds. The writer is more interesting and informative in the short conclusions to each chapter, in which she points out what the individual poet really owed to the great Italian—how Ronsard, singularly unlike him in character, was chiefly his debtor for striking phrases, and Baif was most concerned in reproducing his rhyme and metre, whereas Du Bellay perhaps approached him more nearly in character. Yet the perusal of this thesis leaves us with the feeling that, however copious the borrowings of Ronsard and his circle from Ariosto, it was a mere surface influence, the French and Italian mind being too fundamentally different to interpenetrate each other.

M. F. J.

With his *Dizionario Italiano-Inglese e Inglese-Italiano* (Turin: Società Editrice Internazionale. Second edition. 1931. 2 vols. 1698 and 2145 pp. 60 lire), Professor Nicola Spinelli, who has already published a useful commercial dictionary, has now provided by far the most comprehensive and generally satisfactory English-Italian dictionary. As it is primarily intended for Italian students of English, the second volume includes an extensive list of proper names with their pronunciations generally accurate, despite the unavoidable vagaries of a phonetic system of transcription that appears to be inadequate to the task. Here and there one meets with inconsistencies, particularly in the treatment of English *w-*. Thus *Wren*, pron. *rén* is right, but what of *Woolwich*, pron. *úlitc* and *Wolsey*, *úlzi*? Likewise it is difficult to understand why accents are marked on the Italian words in the Italian-English volume, and not consistently on the English words in the parallel volume. It is true that some guidance is given to the pronunciation of most words, but even there the accent is not always indicated. These are, however, very small blemishes when we consider the fullness of the vocabulary. There are, of course, some intentional omissions, but, I should fancy, very few unintentional ones (e.g., *locuzione*) if we bear in mind that the author's object is to provide a dictionary of the modern language. Obsolete and poetic words are omitted, and may be occasionally missed by users (e.g., *donneare*, a verb that has a tendency to turn up in modern prose writers). The renderings both into Italian and into English are accurate and clear; particular attention is given to terms of sport, idioms and occasionally slang. The work is well and correctly printed and its price is amazingly moderate.

C. F.

We notice *Ship without Sails*, by Barbara Barclay Carter (London: Constable. 1931. vii + 423 pp. 7*s.* 6*d.*), because, though in the form of a historical novel, it is an imaginative reconstruction, 'psychological and historical,' of Dante in the latter part of his life. Even the professed student of the poet can take pleasure in the vivid transcripts from the life

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of the period in Italy and at the University of Paris, the characterisation of some of the personages (notably Moroello Malaspina and Can Grande della Scala), and the skilful way in which the composition of the *Divina Commedia*, its gradually taking shape under pressure of internal passion and external events, is woven into the narrative. The author has naturally to accept some questionable traditions (like the rediscovery of the first seven cantos of the *Inferno*), and to allow herself certain embroideries upon probabilities, such as the prominence given to Dante's supposed eldest son Giovanni, whose existence has only been discovered of late years; the placing of the somewhat hypothetical sojourn in Paris after the death of Henry of Luxembourg; and the poet's relations with the Franciscan inquisitor of Ravenna, which here become an essential episode in the spiritual history of his last years. I might observe that Conradin was not the son of Manfred (p. 16), and that Dante could not possibly have attended 'disputations of the Dominican Fathers of San Marco' (p. 343) as the Dominicans only came down from Fiesole to San Marco when the convent was refounded by Cosimo de' Medici. The title, taken from a famous passage of the *Convivio* ('Veramente io sono stato legno sanza velo e sanza governo'), is intended to suggest the 'nef sanz voile et sanz aviron' that Lancelot enters in the *Queste del Saint Graal*, thus raising again—as incidentally elsewhere in the book—the interesting and still undecided question of the influence, so strongly maintained by Rajna, of the Grail legend upon the *Divina Commedia*. E. G. G.

We have received the first four volumes of a new series of 'testi cristiani,' Greek and Latin, with Italian translations on the opposite pages, detailed critical introductions and notes, under the general editorship of Professor G. Manacorda (Florence: 'Edizioni Testi Cristiani'). The volumes before us include St Augustine's *De Magistro* and *De Vera Religione*, edited by P. Domenico Bassi (22 lire); the Byzantine hymns of Romanus, edited by Giuseppe Cammelli (25 lire); the *Graecorum affectionum curatio* of Theodoretus, edited by Nicola Festa (25 lire); the *Mystagogia* and other writings of St Maximus, edited by Raffaele Cantarella (25 lire). Well printed and bound in cloth, and issued at a moderate price, the series should prove useful to English as well as Italian students of the early Fathers and their successors. We shall look forward in particular to the promised volume of Duns Scotus, and would plead for the inclusion in the series of the mystical works of Richard of St Victor, so important for the study of Dante, and of which the available texts are unsatisfactory. E. G. G.

There have been several partial translations of Josep ben Meir ibn Sabara's *Sepher Shaashuim*, but the first complete rendering, from the text of Israel Abrahams, has been made for Catalan readers by Professor Ignacio González Llubera, of the University of Belfast (*Llibre d'Ensenyaments Delectables*. Biblioteca Hebraico-Catalana, Vol. II. Barcelona: Alpha. 1931. xxv + 191 pp.). The work is a miscellany composed by a

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medical man, who frequently discusses physical and medical questions, occasionally in the form of examination papers. The sources of his erudition are Greco-Arabian, and they involve him in conflict with the forces of conservative Rabbinism in Barcelona. The author, who is not cast in the heroic mould, relieves his feelings by sarcastic descriptions of the City of Ignorance, and by tales to the moral detriment of synagogue officials. He hardly conceals his indifference to Talmudic lore, and his style is a mosaic of Biblical phrases torn from their original contexts, and not infrequently employed with cynical malapropism. The main appeal of the work will doubtless be to Romance scholars, for more than half the miscellany consists of *exempla* or of proverbs. There is, as one might expect, a chapter 'De la maldat de les dones'; and among the sayings of the philosophers, Socrates is allowed to 'get his own back' on Xanthippe. There is a competent introduction and numerous notes. To the notes on pp. 76–9 ('El Sant Paralític') should be added a reference to R. Menéndez Pidal's *Estudios Literarios*, Madrid, Atenea, s.d., pp. 76–7 (or to the Spanish Academy *Discurso* of October 19th, 1902), which sums up the Jewish partial parallels to the plot of *El Condenado por Desconfiado*.

W. J. E.

The second and concluding volume of the *Estudios eruditos in Memoriam de Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín* (Madrid: Jaime Ratés. 1930. 755 pp.), edited by Professors Gil Fagoaga and Moldenhauer, is almost equally divided between historical and literary subjects. There are also three essays on philosophical themes, three on education, two on art, one on anthropology, two on archæology, and three on Iberian linguistics. P. H. Churchman discusses the inorganic *-d* of *ningund rey* and similar phrases. A. M. Espinosa contributes notes on New Mexicanisms (*a redo vaya, cómo stá muncho, desfondingarse, entengas, esmorecerse, esque, jayarse, meramento, ójala, ónde güeno, quése, rejunjuñar, replantigarse, ti albechu*). J. Leite de Vasconcellos discusses the Portuguese dialect spoken at Alamedilla in Salamanca province. Among the archæological essays that by P. Bosch Gimpera, 'Els Ibers Històrics,' is of widest significance. He considers that the Iberians were probably the best known of the Spanish tribes after the Phœnicians had closed the Straits to the Greeks, while the name has different values in different ages of Classical antiquity. Two articles are on subjects drawn from medieval history: C. H. Haskins writes on 'Michael Scot in Spain,' and G. Cirot determines what Ambrosio de Morales meant in citing Isidore of Beja, Sampiro and Sebastian. Events in the reign of Philip II are dealt with by F. Martínez y Martínez and C. Riba, and V. Castañeda describes an adventure of the Count of Albátera in 1699. C. Pitollet, correcting a passage in Reynier's *Vie Universitaire dans l'ancienne Espagne*, gives the documentation for the protest by Salamanca and other universities against the Jesuit college in Madrid during Jansen's second visit (1626–7); P. Dudon says what is known of Loyola's interview with Vives at Bruges. E. Werner has an account of Spanish trips by Köler and Khevenhüller in 1533–4 and 1559–

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60, and R. Foulché-Delbosc describes that of 'Le Sieur A. P.' between 1665 and 1667. G. Desdevises du Dezert and A. Pons write on the Napoleonic period and after. K. Sapper has an interesting note on the fitness of Spaniards as colonists in the Tropics, using English experience as a term of comparison.

The literary essays include three on comparative literature. K. Voretzsch gives a useful summary of Spanish studies in the German Romantic period; E. Buceta treats of the same in England in the early years of last century; and M. Méndez Bejarano, under the uninformative caption 'Lágrimas poéticas,' discusses the themes of Adonis, Dido and Inés de Castro, the last most fully. There is a note by A. L. Valverde on the Cervantine phrase 'Bancos de Flandes,' which he refers to Flemish bankers at the fair of Medina del Campo. H. Thomas writes with his usual bibliographical fullness an account of English translations of ten works by Guevara. Portuguese themes occupy the pens of F. de Figueiredo and A. Valbuena Prat (the former dealing principally with Herculano and Garrett, the latter estimating Camões' debt to Garcilaso); and P. Sáinz Rodríguez writes on Menéndez y Pelayo's conception of patriotism and regionalism. There is a useful series of articles dealing with the Spanish stage. In the primitive period are the 'Torres Naharro' of J. E. Gillet, the *Comedia de Preteo y Tibaldo* of H. Serís (textual criticism), and L. Sorrento's 'I *Trionfi* del Petrarca *a lo divino* e l' allegoria religiosa negli *Autos*' (*Aucto de los Triunfos de Petrarca*, edited in L. Rouanet's collection). A. Hämel writes on Lope de Vega's *De la Libertad de Castilla*, with special reference to probable ballad sources, and H. Rennert discusses the same author's autograph *El Sembrar en Buena Tierra*, textually and with reference to the list of players. J. P. Wickersham Crawford describes Fanny Kemble's five-act blank-verse tragedy *The Star of Seville*, based on Lord Holland's analysis of the Pseudo-Lopean *Estrella de Sevilla* in his *Some Account of the Life and Writings of Lope Félix de Vega Carpio and Guillén de Carpio* (London, 2nd ed., 1817). W. J. E.

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NEW PUBLICATIONS

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GENERAL.

Arthurian Bibliography. I (1922–29). Ed. by J. J. Parry. New York, Modern Language Association of America. 75 c.

BELLOC, H., On Translation. Taylorian Lecture, 1931. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 2*s.*

CARGILL, O., Drama and Liturgy. New York, Columbia Univ. Press; London, H. Milford. 12*s.* 6*d.*

GORDON, F. G., Through Basque to Minoan. London, H. Milford. 10*s.* 6*d.*

HEIDELBERGER, E., Formen der Publizistik bei Börne und Courier (Wortkunst, Neue Folge, v). Munich, Huber. 4 M.

Indogermanisches Jahrbuch. Herausg. von A. Debrunner und W. Porzig. XV. Berlin, W. de Gruyter. 28 M.

KRUTCH, J. W., Five Masters. Boccaccio, Cervantes, Richardson, Stendhal, Proust. A Study in the Mutations of the Novel. London, J. Cape. 12*s.* 6*d.*

LANZ, H., The Metaphysical Basis of Rime. Stanford Univ. Press; London, H. Milford. 31*s.* 6*d.*

PEDERSEN, H., Linguistic Science in the 19th Century. Transl. by J. Spargo. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard Univ. Press; London, H. Milford. 21*s.*

RUSSELL, G. O., Speech and Voice. New York, Macmillan Co.; London, Macmillan. 17*s.*

STEWART, J., Poetry in France and England (Hogarth Lectures on Literature). London, Hogarth Press. 3*s.* 6*d.*

ROMANCE LANGUAGES.

Mediæval Latin.

MANITIUS, M., Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters. III. Munich, C. H. Beck. 56 M.

SPITZER, L., Romanische Stil- und Literaturstudien (Kölner romanistische Arbeiten, i). Marburg, Elwert. 15 M.

Italian.

BASSI, D., Maria nel poema di Dante. Florence, Libr. Fiorentina. L. 6.

BORGESE, G. A., Il senso della letteratura italiana. Milan, Treves. L. 10.

CARRARA, E., Benvenuto Cellini (1500–71). Turin, Paravia. L. 5.25.

DUCHARTE, P. L., The Italian Comedy. London, G. G. Harrap. 42*s.*

JOSIA, A., Un poeta dell' ironia: Jacopone da Todi. Rome, Casa ed. Accademia. L. 10.

LEVI, G. A., G. Leopardi. Messina, Principato. L. 25.

LOCKERT, L., The Inferno of Dante. Princeton, Princeton Univ. Press. $2.50.

MACHIAVELLI, N., Il Principe. Prolegomeni e note critiche di L. Russo. Florence, Le Monnier. L. 20.

MAZZINI, G., Scritti di letteratura e d' arte. A cura di G. Rispoli. Florence, Vallecchi. L. 12.

MONTI, V., Epistolario. A cura di A. Bertoldi. VI. Florence, Le Monnier. L. 50.

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NATALI, G., La vita e l' opera di G. Parini. Florence, Le Monnier. L. 5.

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NOVELLI, G., La nuova poesia religiosa italiana. Palermo, La Tradizione. L. 30.

PUCCI, A., Le Noie. Ed. with an Introduction by K. McKenzie. (Elliott Monographs, xxvi.) Princeton, Princeton Univ. Press. London, H. Milford. 12*s.* 6*d.*

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STIRNER, B., Ariost und die französische Poesie der Renaissance (Universitas-Archiv, liv). Münster, Helios. 4 M. 50.

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ZICCARDI, G., Forme di vita e d' arte nel '700. Saggi su C. Goldoni, C. Gozzi, G. Parini. Florence, Le Monnier. L. 24.

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CALVET, J., Histoire de la littérature française en dix volumes. I. Paris, J. de Gigard. 50 fr.

OWEN, A. M. A., Le Traité de Walter de Bibbesworth sur la langue française. Paris, Presses universitaires. 45 fr.

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BLICHER, S. S., Samlede Skrifter. Udg. af J. Hørvig. XXVIII. Copenhagen, Gyldendal. 4 kr. 50.

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Codex Wormianus (The Younger Edda). MS. No. 242 fol. in the Arnemagnean Collection. With Introduction by S. Nordal. Copenhagen, Levin og Munksgaard. 200 kr.

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BOYNTON, H. W., J. Fenimore Cooper. London, Appleton. 18*s.*

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CHEW, S. C., Swinburne. London, J. Murray. 15*s.*

CLARK, A. M., Thomas Heywood, Playwright and Miscellanist. Oxford, B. Blackwell. 21*s.*

COLERIDGE, S. T., Lectures and Notes on Shakespeare and other dramatists (World's Classics). London, H. Milford. 2*s.*

CORKERY, D., Synge and Anglo-Irish Literature. Cork, Univ. Press. 7*s.* 6*d.*

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DEANE, C. V., Dramatic Theory and the Rhymed Heroic Play. London, H. Milford. 10*s.* 6*d.*

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